



*Cenantes. eis accepit Iesus panem, et benedixit ac fregit, deditq; discipulis suis, et ait, accipite et comedite: hoc est-  
And as they did eat, Iesus took the bread, and when he had blessed, he broke it, and gave it to the Disciples, and sayd: tak-  
eate: this is my body. Matth. 26.  
Place this before the title Page*

*Geo. Martin pr.*

# Antiquitates Apostolicæ:

## O R, THE HISTORY OF THE LIVES, ACTS and MARTYRDOMS OF THE HOLY APOSTLES OF OUR S A V I O U R.

And the Two EVANGELISTS,  
SS. MARK and LUKE.

To which is added  
An Introductory Discourse concerning the Three great Dispensations of the  
Church, Patriarchal, Mosaic, and Evangelical.  
Being a Continuation of *ANTIQUITIES CHRISTIANÆ*,  
OR,  
The Life and Death of the *Holy JESUS*.

By *WILLIAM CAVE*, D. D. Chaplain in  
Ordinary to His *MAJESTY*.


*Orig. contr. Gelf. lib. 1. in Preara. p. 2.*

*Ἰησοῦς αὖτε ἑλθὼν μετὰ τοὺς μαθητάς, ἔσθιον καὶ πίνον. Καὶ λαβὼν τὸν ἄρτον, εὐχαριστήσας, ἔκλεψε, καὶ παρέθηκεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσθίων καὶ πίνον. Καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον, εὐχαριστήσας, ἔδωκεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς. καὶ αὐτοὶ πίνον. καὶ ὁ ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν, ὁτι τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ νέκρωτος, ὃ ἐστὶν ὑμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ πίνω. καὶ ὑμεῖς πίνετε. καὶ ὁ ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν, ὁτι ὁ ἀποκύβητος τοῦ νέκρωτος, ὃς ἐστὶν ὑμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ ἀποκύβητος. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποκύβητοι. καὶ ὁ ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν, ὁτι ὁ ἀποκύβητος τοῦ νέκρωτος, ὃς ἐστὶν ὑμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ ἀποκύβητος. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποκύβητοι. καὶ ὁ ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν, ὁτι ὁ ἀποκύβητος τοῦ νέκρωτος, ὃς ἐστὶν ὑμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ ἀποκύβητος. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποκύβητοι.*

L O N D O N,  
Printed by *R. Norton*, for *R. Royston*, Bookseller to his most Sacred Majesty,  
at the Angel in Amen-Corner, M D C LXXVI.

TO THE  
Right Honourable, and Right Reverend Father in God  
**NATHANAEL,**  
Lord BISHOP of  
**DURHAM,**  
And Clerk of the Closet to His MAJESTY.

MY LORD,

 *NOTHING* but a great experience of Your Lordships Candor could warrant the laying what concernment I have in these Papers at Your Lordships feet. Not but that the subject is in it self Great and Venerable, and a considerable part of it built upon that Authority that needs no Patronage to defend it: But to prefix Your Lordships Name to a subject so thinly and meanly manag'd, may perhaps deserve a bigger Apologie than I can make. I have only brought some few scattered handfuls of Primitive Story, contenting my self to Glean, where I could not Reap. And I am well assur'd, that Your Lordships wisdom and love to Truth would neither allow me to make my Materials, nor to trade in Legends and Fabulous reports. And yet alas! how little solid Foundation is left to Build upon in these matters? So fatally mischievous was the carelesness of those who ought to have been the Guardians of Books and Learning in their several Ages, in suffering the Records of the Ancient Church to perish. Unfaithful Trustees, to look no better after such Divine and inestimable Treasures committed to them. Not to mention those infinite Devastations that in all Ages have been made by Wars and Flames,

which

## THE EPISTLE.

which certainly have prov'd the most severe and merciless Plagues and Enemies to Books.

By such unhappy accidents as these we have been robb'd of the Treasures of the wiser and better Ages of the World, and especially the Records of the first times of Christianity, whereof scarce any footsteps do remain. So that in this Enquiry I have been forc'd to traverse remote and desert paths, ways that afford little fruit to the weary Passenger: but the consideration, that it was Primitive and Apostolical, sweetned my journey, and rendred it pleasant and delightful. Our inbred thirst after knowledge naturally obliges us to pursue the notices of former times, which are recommended to us with this peculiar advantage, that the Stream must needs be purer and clearer, the nearer it comes to the Fountain; for the Ancients (as Plato speaks) were *ἀρετῶτεροι ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἐγγυσιτέρω θεῶν οἰκούμενοι*, better than we, and dwelt nearer to the Gods. And though 'tis true the state of those times is very obscure and dark, and truth oft covered over with heaps of idle and improbable Traditions; yet may it be worth our labour to seek for a few Jewels, though under a whole heap of Rubbish. Is not the Gleaning of the Ancients (say the Jews) better than the Vintage of later times? The very fragments of Antiquity are Venerable, and at once instruct our minds, and gratifie our curiosity. Besides, I was somewhat the more inclinable to retire again into these studies, that I might get as far as I could from the crowd and the noise of a quarrelsome and contentious Age.

MY LORD,

We live in times, wherein Religion is almost wholly disputed into talk and clamour, men wrangle eternally about useles and insignificant Notions, and which have no tendency to make a man either wiser or better. And in these quarrels the Laws of Charity are violated, and men persecute

## THE EPISTLE.

cut one another with hard names and characters of reproach, and after all consecrate their fierceness with the honourable title of Zeal for Truth. And what is yet a much sorer evil, the Peace and Order of an excellent Church, incomparably the best that ever was since the first Ages of the Gospel, is broken down, her holy Offices derided, her solemn Assemblies deserted, her Laws and Constitutions slighted, the Guides and Ministers of Religion despised, and reduc'd to their Primitive Character, The Scum and Off-scouring of the World. How much these evils have contributed to the Atheism and Impiety of the present Age, I shall not take upon me to determine. Sure I am, the thing it self is too sadly visible, men are not content to be modest and retired Atheists, and with the Fool to say only in their hearts, there is no God; but Impiety appears with an open forehead, and disputes its place in every company, and without any regard to the Voice of Nature, the Dictates of Conscience, and the common sence of Mankind, men peremptorily determine against a Supreme Being, account it a pleasant divertisement to Droll upon Religion, and a piece of Wit to plead for Atheism. To avoid the Press and troublesome importunity of such uncomfortable Reflections, I find no better way, than to retire into those Primitive and better times, those first and purest Ages of the Gospel, when men really were, what they pretended to be, when a solid Piety and Devotion, a strict Temperance and Sobriety, a Catholick and unbounded Charity, an exemplary Honesty and Integrity, a great reverence for every thing that was Divine and Sacred, rendred Christianity Venerable to the World, and led not only the Rude and the Barbarous, but the Learned and Politer part of Mankind in triumph after it.

But, My Lord, I must remember that the Minutes of great Men are Sacred, and not to be invaded by every tedious impertinent address. I have done, when I have begg'd

In Phileb. pag.  
16. Tom. 1.

אלה טוב  
עוללות  
הראשונים  
מכציר  
האחרונים

## THE EPISTLE.

*begg'd leave to acquaint Your Lordship, that had it not been more through other mens fault than my own, these Papers had many Months since waited upon You in the number of those Publick Congratulations, which gave You joy of that great Place, which You worthily sustain in the Church. Which that You may long and prosperously enjoy, happily adorn, and successfully discharge to the honour of God, the benefit of the Church, and the endearing Your Lordships Memory to Posterity, is the hearty Prayer of,*

My Lord,

Your Lordships faithfully

devoted Servant,

WILLIAM CAVE.

## TO THE READER.



THE design of the following *APPARATUS* is only to present the Reader with a short Scheme of the state of things in the preceding periods of the Church, to let him see by what degrees and measures the *Evangelical* state was introduc'd, and what Methods God in all Ages made use of to conduct Mankind in the paths of Piety and Vertue. In the Infancy of the World he taught men by the Dictates of Nature, and the common Notices of Good and Evil (*τὸ πρεσβύτατον νόμιμον*, as *Philo* calls them, *the most Ancient Law*) by lively Oracles, and great Examples of Piety. He set forth the Holy *Patriarchs* (as *Chrysostom* observes) as Tutors to the rest of Mankind, who by their Religious lives might train up others to the practice of Vertue, and as Physicians, be able to cure the minds of those, who were infected and overrun with Vice. Afterwards (*says he*) having sufficiently testified his care of their welfare and happiness by many instances of a wise and benign Providence towards them both in the land of *Canaan* and in *Egypt*, he gave them Prophets, and by them wrought Signs and Wonders, together with innumerable other expressions of his bounty. At last finding that none of these Methods did succeed, not Patriarchs, not Prophets, not Miracles, not daily Warnings and Chastisements brought upon the World, he gave the last and highest instance of his love and goodness to Mankind, he sent his only begotten Son out of his own bosom, *τῶν ψυχῶν ἢ τῶν σωμάτων ἰατρὸν*, *the great Physician both of Soul and Body*, who taking upon him the form of a Servant, and being born of a Virgin, conversed in the World, and bore our sorrows and infirmities, that by rescuing Humane Nature from under the weight and burden of Sin, he might exalt it to Eternal Life. A brief account of these things is the main intent of the following Discourse, wherein the Reader will easily see, that I considered not what might, but what was fit to be said, with respect to the end I designed it for. It was drawn up under some more disadvantageous circumstances, than a matter of this nature did require; which were it worth the while to represent to the Reader, might possibly plead for a softer Censure. However such as it is, it is submitted to the Readers Ingenuity and Candor.

*Lib. de Abrah.  
pag. 350.*

*Homil. XXVII  
in Genes. Tom.  
2. p. 285.*

W. C.

AN  
**A P P A R A T U S.**  
 OR  
 DISCOURSE INTRODUCTORY  
 TO THE  
 Whole WORK, concerning the Three Great Dispensations  
 OF THE  
**C H U R C H,**  
 PATRIARCHAL, MOSAICAL, and EVANGELICAL.

SECTION I.

Of the PATRIARCHAL Dispensation.

*The Tradition of Elias. The three great Periods of the Church. The Patriarchal Age. The Laws then in force natural or positive. Natural Laws what; evinced from the testimony of natural conscience. The Seven Precepts of the Sons of Noah. Their respect to the Law of Nature. Positive Laws under that dispensation. Eating Bloud why prohibited. The mystery and signification of it. Circumcision when commanded and why. The Laws concerning Religion. Their publick Worship what. Sacrifices in what sense natural, and how far instituted. The manner of God's testifying his acceptance. What the place of their publick Worship. Altars, and Groves whence. Abraham's Oak, its long continuance, and destruction by Constantine. The Original of the Druids. The times of their religious Assemblies. In process of time, Genes. 4. what meant by it. The Seventh Day whether kept from the beginning. The Ministers of Religion, who. The Priesthood of the first-born. In what cases exercised by younger sons. The state of Religion successively under the several Patriarchs. The condition of it in Adam's Family. The Sacrifices of Cain and Abel, and their different success, whence. Seth, his great Learning and Piety. The face of the Church in the time of Enoch. What meant by, Then began Men to call upon the Name of the Lord. No Idolatry before the Flood. The Sons of God, who. The great corruption of Religion in the time of Jared. Enoch's Piety, and walking with God. His translation, what. The incomparable sanctity of Noah, and his strictness in an evil Age. The character of the men of that time. His preservation from the Deluge. God's Covenant with him. Sem or Japhet whether the Elder Brother. The confusion of Languages when, and why. Abraham's Idolatry and conversion. His eminency for Religion noted in the several instances of it. God's Covenant with him concerning the Messiah. The Piety of Isaac, and Jacob. Jacob's blessing the twelve Tribes, and foretelling the Messiah. Patriarchs extraordinary under this dispensation. Melchisedeck who: wherein a type of Christ.*

IMPRIMATUR.  
 THO. TOMKYN.

Ex Æd. Lambeth.  
 Feb. 25. 1674.

*Christ. Job, his Name, Country, Kindred, Quality, Religion, Sufferings; when he lived. A reflection upon the religion of the old World, and its agreement with Christianity.*

Heb. i. 1, 2.



**G**OD who at sundry times, and in divers manners spake in time past to the Fathers by the Prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son. For having created Man for the noblest purposes, to love, serve, and enjoy his Maker; he was careful in all Ages by various Revelations of his Will to acquaint him with the notices of his duty; and to shew him what was good, and what the Lord did require of him: till all other Methods proving weak and ineffectual for the recovery and the happiness of humane nature, God was pleased to crown all the former dispensations with the Revelation of his Son. There is among the \* Jews an ancient Tradition of the House of Elias, that the World should last Six Thousand Years, which they thus compute, שני אלפים תהו שני אלפים ימות המשיח שני אלפים תורה שני אלפים Two Thousand Years empty, (little being recorded of those first Ages of the World) Two Thousand Years the Law, and Two Thousand the Days of the Messiah. A Tradition, which if it minister to no other purposes, does yet afford us a very convenient division of the several Ages and Periods of the Church, which may be considered under a three-fold Oeconomy, the Patriarchal, Mosaic, and Evangelical dispensation. A short view of the two former will give us great advantage to survey the later, that new and better dispensation which God has made to the World.

\* Talm. Tract. Sanhedr. cap. Halac. & alibi. Mid. Menass. Ben Jy. de Resurrect. lib. 3. c. 3. & Concil. Quest. 30. in Genes.

2. THE Patriarchal Age, ימי תהו as the Jews call it, the days of emptiness, commenced from the beginning of the World, and lasted till the delivery of the Law upon Mount Sinai. And under this state the Laws which God gave for the exercise of Religion, and the Government of his Church were either Natural, or Positive. Natural Laws are those innate Notions and Principles, whether speculative or practical, with which every Man is born into the World, those common sentiments of Vertue and Religion, those Principia justæ & decori, Principles of fit and right, that naturally are upon the minds of Men, and are obvious to their reason at first sight, commanding what is just and honest, and forbidding what is evil and uncomely; and that not only in the general, that what is good is to be embraced, and what is evil to be avoided, but in the particular instances of duty according to their conformity or repugnancy to natural light, being conversant about those things, that do not derive their value and authority from any arbitrary constitutions, but from the moral and intrinsic nature of the things themselves. These Laws, as being the results and dictates of right reason, are, especially as to their first and more immediate emanations, the same in all Men in the World, and in all Times and Places, המצור שנתפרסמו בכל אומות as the Jews call them, Precepts that are evident among all Nations, indeed they are interwoven into Mens nature, inserted into the texture and constitution of their minds, and do discover themselves as soon as ever they arrive to the free use and exercise of their reason. That there are such Laws and Principles naturally planted in Mens breasts, is evident from the consent of Mankind, and the common experience of the World. Whence else comes it to pass, that all wicked Men even among the Heathens themselves, after the commission of gross sins, such as do more sensibly rouse and awaken conscience, are filled with horrors and fears of punishment? but because they are conscious to themselves of having violated some Law and Rule of Duty. Now what Law can this be? not the written



written and revealed Law, for this the Heathens never had: it must be therefore the inbred Law of Nature, that's born with them, and fixed in their minds, antecedently to any external revelation. *For when the Gentiles which have not the Law, do by nature* (by the light and evidence, by the force and tendency of their natural notions and dictates) *the things contained in the Law, these having not a Law, are a Law unto themselves, which shew the work of the Law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts, λογισμοί, the reasonings of their minds, in the mean while* (μεῖλα ἑὸ ἀλλήλων, by turns) *accusing or else excusing one another*; that is, although they had not a written Law, as the Jews had of old, and we Christians have at this day, yet by the help of their natural Principles they performed the same actions, and discharged the same Duties that are contained in, and commanded by the written and external Law, shewing by their practices that they had a Law (some common notions of good and evil) written in their hearts. And to this their very Consciences bear witness, for according as they either observe or break these natural Laws, their Consciences do either acquit or condemn them. Hence we find God in the very infancy of the World, appealing to *Cain* for the truth of this, as a thing sufficiently plain and obvious, *Why art thou wroth, and why is thy countenance fallen? if thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted, ὅρα be lift up?* able to walk with a pleased and a cheerful countenance, the great indication of a mind satisfied in the conscience of its duty: but if thou doest not well, sin lies at the door; the punishments of sin will be ready to follow thee, and conscience as a Minister of vengeance will perpetually pursue and haunt thee. By these Laws Mankind was principally governed in the first Ages of the World, there being for near Two Thousand Years no other fixed and standing Rule of Duty, than the dictates of this Law of Nature; those Principles of Vice and Vertue, of Justice and Honesty, that are written in the heart of every Man.

3. THE Jews very frequently tell us of some particular commands to the number of Seven, which they call מצורֵי בני נוח *the Precepts of the Sons of Noah*, Six whereof were given to Adam and his Children, and the Seventh given to Noah, which they thus reckon up. The first was עֲבוֹדָה זָרָה *concerning strange worship*, that they should not give Divine honour to Idols, or the Gods of the Heathens, answerable to the two first commands of the Decalogue, *Thou shalt have no other Gods but me; thou shalt not make unto thee any graven Image, nor the likeness of any thing, that is in Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath, or in the Water under the Earth; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, or serve them: for, &c.* From the violation of this Law it was that Job, one of the Patriarchs that lived under this dispensation, solemnly purges himself, when speaking concerning the worship of the Celestial Lights, the great if not only Idolatry of those early Ages, says he, *If I beheld the Sun when it shined, or the Moon walking in her brightness, and my heart hath been secretly inticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand, this also were an iniquity to be punished by the Judge, for I should have denied the God that is above.* The second עֲבוֹדָה זָרָה *concerning blessing, or worshipping*, that they should not blaspheme the Name of God. This Law Job also had respect to, when he was careful to sanctify his Children, and to propitiate the Divine Majesty for them every Morning, for it may be (said he) that my Sons have sinned, and cursed God in their hearts. The third was שְׂפֹכוֹת דָּם *concerning the shedding of blood*, forbidding Man-slaughter; a Law expressly renewed to Noah after the Flood, and which possibly Job aimed at, when he vindicates himself, that he had not rejoiced at the destruction of him that had

Rom. 2. 14, 15.

Gen. 4. 6, 7.

Gen. Babyl. Tit. Sanhedr. cap. 7. fol. 56. Mishmon. Tr. Melak. cap. 9. &amp; alibi passim ap. Fuld. eos. vid. Selden. de Jur. N. &amp; G. l. 1. c. 10. &amp; de Synedr. Vol. 2. c. 2. p. 8.

Job 31. 26, 27, 28.

Job 1. 6.

Job 31. 29.

ted him, or lift up himself when evil found him. Nor was all effusion of humane blood forbidden by this Law, capital punishments being in some cases necessary for the preservation of humane Society, but only that no Man should shed the blood of an innocent Person, or pursue a private revenge without the warrant of publick Authority. The fourth was *על גלוי עריות* concerning the disclosing of uncleanness, against filthiness and adultery, unlawful marriages, and incestuous mixtures: *If mine heart* (says Job in his Apology) *hath been deceived by a Woman, or if I have laid wait at my neighbour's door; then let my Wife grind, &c. for this is an heinous crime, yea it is an iniquity to be punished by the Judges.* The fifth was *על הגנול* concerning theft and rapine, the invading another Man's right and property, the violation of bargains and compacts, the falsifying a Man's word or promise, the deceiving of another by fraud, lying, or any evil arts. From all which Job justifies himself, that he had not walked with vanity, nor had his foot hastened to deceit, that his step had not turned out of the way, nor his heart walked after his eyes, nor any blot cleaved to his hands. And elsewhere he bewails it as the great iniquity of the Times, that there were some that removed the Land-marks, that violently took away the Flocks, and fed thereof, that drove away the Asses of the Fatherless, and took the Widows Oxe for a pledge, that turned the needy out of the way, and made the poor of the Earth hide themselves together, &c. The sixth was *על הדין* concerning judgments, or the administration of Justice, that Judges and Magistrates should be appointed in every Place for the Order and Government of Civil Societies, the determination of Causes, and executing of Justice between Man and Man. And that such there then were, seems evident from the *עין פלירי* which Job twice speaks of in one Chapter, the judged iniquity, which the Jews expound, and we truly render, *an iniquity to be punished by the Judges.* The seventh *על אבר מין החי* concerning the member of any live-creature, that is, as God expresses it in the Precept to Noah, they might not eat the blood, or the flesh with the life thereof. Whether these Precepts were by any solemn and external promulgation particularly delivered to the Ante-deluvian Patriarchs (as the Jews seem to contend) I will not say: for my part I cannot but look upon them (the last only excepted) as a considerable part of Nature's Statute-law, as comprizing the greater strokes and lineaments of those natural dictates that are imprinted upon the souls of Men. For what more comely and reasonable, and more agreeable to the first notions of our minds, than that we should worship and adore God alone, as the Author of our beings, and the Fountain of our happiness, and not derive the lustre of his incommunicable perfections upon any Creature; that we should entertain great and honourable thoughts of God, and such as become the Grandeur and Majesty of his being; that we should abstain from doing any wrong or injury to another, from invading his right, violating his privileges, and much more from making any attempt upon his life, the dearest blessing in this World; that we should be just and fair in our transactions, and do to all men, as we would they should do to us; that we should live chastely and temperately, and not by wild and extravagant lusts and sensualities offend against the natural modesty of our minds; that Order and Government should be maintained in the World, Justice advanced, and every Man secured in his just possessions? And so suitable did these Laws seem to the reason and understandings of Men, that the Jews though the most zealous People under Heaven of their Legal Institutions, received those Gentiles who observed them as Proselytes into their Church, though they did not oblige themselves to Circumcision, and the rest of the Mosaic Rites. Nay, in the first Age of Christianity, when the great

Job 31.9,10, 11.

Verf. 5.7.

Chap. 24.2,3, 4. &amp; seq.

Chap. 31.11- 23.

controversie arose between the Jewish and Gentile-Converts about the obligation of the Law of Moses as necessary to salvation, the observation only of these Precepts, at least a great part of them, was imposed upon the Gentile-Converts as the best expedient to end the difference, by the Apostolical Synod at Jerusalem.

4. BUT though the Law of Nature was the common Law by which God then principally governed the World, yet was not he wanting by Methods extraordinary to supply, as occasion was, the exigencies and necessities of his Church, communicating his mind to them by Dreams and Visions, and other ways of Revelation, which we shall more particularly remark, when we come to the Mosaic Economy. Hence arose those positive Laws which we meet with in this period of the Church, some whereof are more expressly recorded, others more obscurely intimated. Among those that are more plain and obvious two are especially considerable, the prohibition for not eating blood, and the Precept of Circumcision, the one given to Noah, the other to Abraham. The prohibition concerning blood is thus recorded, *every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you: but flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat.* The blood is the vehiculum to carry the spirits, as the Veins are the channels to convey the blood, now the animal spirits give vital heat and activity to every part, and being let out, the blood presently cools, and the Creature dies. Not flesh with the blood, which is the life thereof, that is, not flesh while it is alive, while the blood and the spirits are yet in it. The mystery and signification whereof was no other than this, that God would not have Men train'd up to arts of cruelty, or whatever did but carry the colour and aspect of a merciless and a savage temper, lest severity towards Beasts should degenerate into fierceness towards Men. It's good to defend the out-guards, and to stop the remotest ways that lead towards sin, especially considering the violent propensities of humane nature to passion and revenge. Men commence bloody and inhumane by degrees, and little approaches in time render a thing in it self abhorrent not only familiar, but delightful. The Romans who at first entertained the People in the Amphitheatre only with wild Beasts killing one another, came afterwards wantonly to sport away the Lives of the Gladiators, yea to cast Persons to be devoured by Bears and Lions, for no other end than the diversification and pleasure of the People. He who can please himself in tearing and eating the Parts of a living Creature, may in short time make no scruple to do violence to the Life of Man. Besides eating blood naturally begets a savage temper, makes the spirits rank and fiery, and apt to be easily inflamed and blown up into choler and fierceness. And that hereby God did design to bar out ferity, and to secure mercy and gentleness, is evident from what follows after: *and surely your blood of your lives will I require: at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of Man, at the hand of every Man's brother will I require the life of man; whose blood sheddeth Man's blood, by Man shall his blood be shed.* The life of a Beast might not be wantonly sacrificed to Mens humours, therefore not Man's; the life of Man being so sacred, and dear to God, that if kill'd by a Beast, the Beast it self was to die for it; if by man, that man's life was to go for retaliation, by man shall his blood be shed; and here by man we must necessarily understand the ordinary Judge and Magistrate, or בית דין של מטה as the Jews call it, the lower Judicature, with respect to that Divine and Superiour Court, the immediate judgment of God himself.

Gen. 9.3,4.

ῥέοντες αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ τὸν αἵμα ὁ κακῶν ἢ ἀδελφῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀπαιτῶν ἡμᾶς, εἰς τὴν βίαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σὺν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ ἐκτρέφοντες λογισμῶν. ἡ γὰρ ἐν τῷ μαζοράζον, ἀπὸ τοῦ οὗ διακρίνεται, οἱ κακῶν καὶ οἱ ἀγαθῶν πολεμοῦντες ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μαζοράζον οἱ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ οἱ κακοὶ τρέφονται. Porphyr. de Abst. lib. 1. Sed. 47. p. 39.

By which means God admirably provided for the safety and security of Man's life, and for the order and welfare of humane society: and it was no more than necessary, the remembrance of the violence and oppression of the *Nephilim* or *Giants* before the Flood being yet fresh in memory, and there was no doubt but such *mighty Hunters*, men of robust bodies, of barbarous and inhumane tempers would afterwards arise. This Law against eating blood was afterwards renewed under the *Mosaick Institution*, but with this peculiar signification, *for the life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the Altar, to make an atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul:* that is, the blood might not be eaten, not only for the former reason, but because God had designed it for particular purposes, to be the great Instrument of Expiation, and an eminent type of the Blood of the Son of God, who was to die as the great expiatory Sacrifice for the World: Nay it was re-established by the Apostles in the infancy of Christianity, and observed by the Primitive Christians for several Ages, as we have elsewhere observed.

Levit. 17. 11.

Gen. 17. 9, 10, 11.

\* Talm. Trad. Jebam. cap. 8.

\* Vid. Maimon. Mor. Nevoch. part. 3. c. 49. p. 506.

5. THE other Precept was concerning *Circumcision*, given to *Abraham* at the time of God's entering into Covenant with him. God said unto *Abraham*, *Thou shalt keep my Covenant, &c. This is my Covenant which ye shall keep between me and you, and thy Seed after thee, every Man-child among you shall be circumcised: and ye shall circumcise the flesh of your fore-skin, and it shall be a token of the Covenant betwixt me and you.* God had now made a Covenant with *Abraham* to take his Posterity for his peculiar People, and that out of them should arise the promised *Messiah*: and as all federal compacts have some solemn and external rites of ratification, so God was pleased to add Circumcision as the sign and seal of this Covenant, partly as it had a peculiar fitness in it to denote the promised Seed, partly that it might be a discriminating badge of *Abraham's* Children (that part whom God had especially chosen out of the rest of Mankind) from all other People. On *Abraham's* part it was a sufficient argument of his hearty compliance with the terms of this Covenant, that he would so cheerfully submit to so unpleasing and difficult a sign as was imposed upon him. For Circumcision could not but be both painful and dangerous in one of his Years, as it was afterwards to be to all new-born Infants: whence *Zipporah* complained of *Moses*, commanding her to circumcise her Son, that he was *רמין חתן* *an husband of blouds*, a cruel and inhumane Husband. And this the \* *Jews* tell us was the reason, why circumcision was omitted during their Forty Years Journey in the Wilderness, it was *משום חורשן ואורחן* *by reason of the trouble and inconvenience of the way*, God mercifully dispensing with the want of it, lest it should hinder their travelling, the foreness and weakness of the circumcised Person not comporting with hard and continual Journeys. It was to be administered the *eighth day*, not sooner, the tenderness of the Infant not well till then complying with it, besides that the Mother of a Male child was reckoned legally impure till the *seventh Day*; not later, probably because the longer it was deferred, the more unwilling would Parents be to put their Children to pain, of which they would every Day become more sensible, not to say the satisfaction it would be to them, to see their Children solemnly entered into Covenant. Circumcision was afterwards incorporated into the Body of the *Jewish Law*, and entertained with a mighty Veneration, as their great and standing Privilege, relied on as the main Basis and Foundation of their confidence, and hopes of acceptance with Heaven, and accounted in a manner equivalent to all the other Rites of the *Mosaick Law*.

## 6. BUT

6. BUT besides these two, we find other positive Precepts, which though not so clearly expressed, are yet sufficiently intimated to us. Thus there seems to have been a Law that none of the Holy Line, none of the Posterity of *Seth* should marry with Infidels, or those corrupt and idolatrous Nations which God had rejected, as appears in that it's charged as a great part of the sin of the old World, that *the Sons of God* matched with *the Daughters of Men*, as also from the great care which *Abraham* took that his Son *Isaac* should not take a Wife of the *Daughters* of the *Canaanites* among whom he dwelt. There was also *יבום מצור* *Jus Leviratus*, whereby the next Brother to him who died without Issue was obliged to marry the Widow of the deceased, and to raise up seed unto his Brother, the contempt whereof cost *Onan* his Life: together with many more particular Laws which the story of those Times might suggest to us. But what is of most use and importance to us, is to observe what Laws God gave for the administration of his Worship, which will be best known by considering what worship generally prevailed in those early Times; wherein we shall especially remark the nature of their publick Worship, the Places where, the Times when, and the Persons by whom it was administered.

Gen. 6. 2, 3.

Gen. 18. 19.

Gen. 18. 2.

Exod. 4. 31.

7. IT cannot be doubted but that the Holy Patriarchs of those days were careful to instruct their Children, and all that were under their charge (their Families being then very vast and numerous) in the Duties of Religion, to explain and improve the natural Laws written upon their minds, and acquaint them with those Divine Traditions, and positive Revelations which they themselves had received from God: this being part of that great character which God gave of *Abraham*, *I know him, that he will command his Children, and his Household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment.* To this they joyned Prayer and Invocation, than which no duty is more natural and necessary; more natural, because it fitly expresses that great reverence and veneration which we have for the Divine Majesty, and that propensity that is in Mankind to make known their wants: none more necessary, because our whole dependance being upon the continuance and constant returns of the Divine power and goodness, 'tis most reasonable that we should make our Daily addresses to him, *in whom we live, move, and have our being.* Nor were they wanting in returns of praise, and solemn celebrations of the goodness of Heaven, both by entertaining high and venerable thoughts of God, and by actions suitable to those honourable sentiments which they had of him. In these acts of worship they were careful to use gestures of the greatest reverence and submission, which commonly was prostration. *Abraham bowed himself towards the ground:* and when God sent the *Israelites* the happy news of their deliverance out of *Egypt*, they bowed their Heads and worshipped. A posture which hath ever been the usual mode of adoration in those Eastern Countries unto this day. But the greatest instance of the Publick Worship of those times was *Sacrifices*; a very early piece of Devotion, in all probability taking its rise from *Adam's* fall. They were either *Eucharistical*, expressions of thankfulness for blessings received, or *expiatory*, offered for the remission of sin. Whether these Sacrifices were first taken up at Mens arbitrary pleasure, or positively instituted and commanded by God, might admit of a very large enquiry. But to me the case seems plainly this, That as to Eucharistical Sacrifices, such as first-fruits, and the like oblations, Mens own reason might

Καὶ ἐγένετο μετ' ἡμέρας ἡμετέρας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ κυρίῳ. ἡ δὲ σκεπή τοῦ κυρίου ἐπὶ γὰρ ἡν ἡ ἀναπείθετο τὸ φῶς οὐρανὸς ὁ δημιουργὸς τῆς γῆς ἀνὰ τὴν μοῖαν ἑαυτὸν ἀδύνατον σέβας τὸ τοιαῦτον ἐννοεῖται; ἡ δὲ εἰς ἑτέρας, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐν τῷ σωτηριῷ γενῶσι. ἡμετέρας, φησὶν, ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ κυρίῳ. ἡ δὲ σκεπή τοῦ κυρίου ἐπὶ γὰρ ἡν ἡ ἀναπείθετο τὸ φῶς οὐρανὸς ὁ δημιουργὸς τῆς γῆς ἀνὰ τὴν μοῖαν ἑαυτὸν ἀδύνατον σέβας τὸ τοιαῦτον ἐννοεῖται; ἡ δὲ εἰς ἑτέρας, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐν τῷ σωτηριῷ γενῶσι. ἡμετέρας, φησὶν, ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ κυρίῳ. ἡ δὲ σκεπή τοῦ κυρίου ἐπὶ γὰρ ἡν ἡ ἀναπείθετο τὸ φῶς οὐρανὸς ὁ δημιουργὸς τῆς γῆς ἀνὰ τὴν μοῖαν ἑαυτὸν ἀδύνατον σέβας τὸ τοιαῦτον ἐννοεῖται. Chrysost. Homil. XVIII. in Genes. p. 173. Tom. 2.

suggest



Gen. 4. 3.

Gen. 2. 3.

was left at a roving uncertainty in a matter of so great importance, but that they had their stated and solemn times of Worship: especially when we find among all Nations, even the most rude and unpolished Heathens, times peculiarly set apart for the honour of their gods, and the publick solemnities of Religion. And so no question it was in the more early Ages of the World, they had fix'd and appropriate Seasons, when they met together to do homage unto God, and to offer up their joynt-acknowledgments to Heaven. Thus we read of *Cain* that he brought his oblation *in process of time*, *מקץ ימים* at the end of days, at one of those fixed and periodical returns, when they used to meet in the Religious Assemblies, the word *קץ* denoting not simply an end, but a determinate and an appointed end. I know many with great zeal and eagerness contend, that the *Sabbath* or Seventh Day from the Creation was set apart, and universally observed as the time of Publick Worship, and that from the beginning of the World. But alas the foundation upon which this opinion is built, is very weak and sandy, having nothing to rely on, but one place where it is said, that *God resting on the Seventh Day from all his Works, blessed the Seventh Day and sanctified it*. Which words are reasonably thought to have been set down by *Moses* by way of *Prolepsis*, as it was in his time, if they relate at all to the *Sabbath*, and are not rather to be understood of God's blessing and sanctifying the Seventh Day, as having then completed all his Works in the creating of Man, and in whom, as in the crown and glory of the Creation, he would sanctify himself. For that it should be meant of a Weekly *Sabbath*, hath as little countenance from this Text, as it hath from the practice of those times, there being no footsteps or shadow of any such *Sabbath* kept through all the Patriarchal periods of the Church, till the times of *Moses*, which besides the evidence of the story, is universally owned by the Ancient *Jews*, and very many of the Fathers do expressly assert it.

10. THE last circumstance concerns the *Persons* by whom the Publick Worship was administred. Impossible it is that any Society should be regularly managed, where there are not some peculiar Persons to superintend, direct, and govern the affairs of it. And God who in all other things is a God of Order, is much more so in matters of Religion: and therefore no doubt from the beginning appointed those, whose care and business it should be to discharge the publick parts of Piety and Devotion in the name of the rest. Now the Priesthood in those times was vested in the Heads of Tribes, and in the *first-born* of every Family. To the Patriarch or Head of every Tribe it belonged to bless the Family, to offer Sacrifice, to interceed for them by Prayer, and to minister in other solemn acts of Religion. And this Office hereditarily descended to the first-born, who had power to discharge it during the life of his Father; for it was not necessary, that he who was Priest by virtue of his primogeniture, should be also the eldest of the House. *Jacob*, who succeeded in his Brother's right, offered Sacrifices in the life of his Father *Isaac*, and *Abraham* was a Priest, though *Sem* the Head of the Family, and ten degrees removed from him in a direct line, was then alive, yea survived *Abraham* (as some learned men think) near Forty Years. Every first-born had three great Prerogatives, a double portion of the Paternal inheritance, a Lordship and Principality over his Brethren, and a right to the Priesthood, to instruct them in the knowledge of Divine things, and to manage the common Offices of Religion. So that in those times there was a particular Priesthood in every Family, the administration whereof was usually appropriate to the first-born. Thus *Noah*, *Abraham*, and *Isaac* offered Sacrifices, and *Job* (who lived about that time, or not long after) both for his Children

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dren and his Friends. Thus *Esau* was a Priest by his primogeniture, and that goodly Raiment of her son *Esau* which *Rebecca* put upon *Jacob*, when he went in to his Father, is by many not improbably understood of the Sacerdotal Vestments, wherein as first-born he was wont to execute his Office. Of these Priests we are to understand that Place, *Let the Priests which come near to the Lord, sanctify themselves*. This could not be meant of the Levitical Priests, (the *Aaronical* Order not being yet instituted) and therefore must be understood of the Priesthood of the first-born, and so *Solomon Jarchi's* gloss expounds it. Thus when *Moses* had built an Altar at the foot of the Mountain, he sent young men of the children of *Israel*, which offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings unto the Lord. Where for young men, the *Chaldee* Paraphrase and the *Hiernsalem Targum* have *בוכרי בני ישראל* the first-born of the children of *Israel*; so has that of *Jonathan*, who expressly adds this reason, for unto that very Hour the worship remained among the first-born, the Tabernacle of the Covenant not being yet made, nor the *Aaronical* Priesthood set up. So when *Jacob* bequeathed his blessing to *Reuben*, *Reuben thou art my first-born, my might, and the beginning of my strength, the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power*, the same *Jewish* Paraphrasts tell us, that there were three things in this blessing conveyed and confirmed to *Reuben*, the Birth-right, the Kingdom, and the Priesthood, but that for his enormous and unnatural sin they were transferred to others, the primogeniture to *Joseph*, the Kingdom to *Judah*, and the Priesthood to *Levi*. But though the Sacerdotal function ordinarily belonged to the first-born, yet was it not so wholly invested in them, but that it might in some cases be exercised by younger Brothers, especially when passing into other Families, and themselves becoming Heads of Tribes and Families. *Abraham* we know was not a first-born, and it's highly probable that *sem* himself was not *Noah's* eldest Son, *Moses* was a Priest, yea *כהן הכהנים* as the *Jews* call him, the Priest of Priests, and yet was but *Amram's* second Son, and *Aaron's* younger Brother. So that the case in short seemed to lie thus: The Patriarch or surviving Head of every Tribe was a kind of High-Priest over all the Families that were descended from him, the first-born in every Family was the ordinary Priest, who might officiate in his Father's stead, and who after his decease succeeded in his room, the younger Brethren, when leaving their Father's house, and themselves becoming heads of Families, and their seats removed too far distant to make use of the ordinary Priesthood, did themselves take the office upon them, and exercise it over all those that were under them, and sprung from them, though the main honour and dignity was reserved for the Priesthood of the first-born. Thus *Abraham*, though but a second Son, yet when become the head of a great Family, and removed into another Country, became a Priest, and that not only during the life of his Father, but of *Sem* himself, the grand surviving Patriarch of that time. I observe no more concerning this, than that this right of the first-born was a prime honour and privilege, and therefore the reason (say the *Jews*) why *Jacob* was so greatly desirous of the birth-right, was because in those days the Priesthood was entail'd upon it. And for this chiefly no doubt it was that *Esau* is called *βέηνλος*, a prophane person, for selling his birth-right for a mess of Pottage, because thereby he made so light of the sacred honour of the Priesthood, the Venerable office of ministering before God.

11. HAVING thus seen what were the Laws, what the Worship of those times, it remains briefly to consider what was the face of the Church, and the state of Religion under the several Patriarchs of this Oeconomy. Not to meddle with the story either of the Creation or Apostasie of *Adam*,

no

Exod. 19. 22.

Exod. 24. 5.

Gen. 49. 3.

\* Brev. Rabba  
fol. 71. col. 1.  
ap. Selden. de  
success. ad leg.  
Ebr. c. 5. p. 45.  
Heb. 12. 16.



R. Eliez.  
Masf. Beref.  
c. 22. ibid.

cileable with such a fence, if it were, yet העיקר חסר as one of the *Rab-*  
*bins* has well noted, that there wants a foundation for any such exposition,  
no mention being made in *Moses* his story of any such false Gods as were then  
worshipped, no footsteps of Idolatry appearing in the World till after the  
Flood. Nor indeed is it reasonable to suppose, that the Creation of the  
World being yet fresh in memory, and Divine Traditions so lately received  
from *Adam*, and God frequently communicating himself to men, that the  
case being thus, men could in so short a time be fallen under so great an  
apostasy, as wholly to forget and renounce the true God, and give Divine  
honours to senseless and inanimate creatures; I can hardly think that the  
*Cainites* themselves should be guilty of this, much less *Enosh* and his Chil-  
dren. The meaning of the words then is plainly this, That in *Enosh* his  
time the holy Line being greatly multiplied, they applied themselves to the  
worship of God in a more publick and remarkable manner, either by fra-  
ming themselves into more distinct societies for the exercise of publick  
worship, or by meeting at more fixed and stated times, or by invoking  
God under more solemn and peculiar rites than they had done before. And  
this probably they did the rather, to obviate that torrent of prophaneness  
and impiety, which by means of the sons of *Cain* they saw flowing in upon  
the World. This will be further confirmed, if we take the words as by  
some they are rendered, *then men began to be called by the name of the Lord*,  
that is, the difference and separation that was between the children of *Seth*  
and *Cain* every day ripening into a wider distance, the posterity of *Seth* be-  
gan to take to themselves a distinctive title, that the World might the bet-  
ter distinguish between those who kept to the service of God, and those who  
threw off Religion, and let loose the reins to disorder and impiety. And  
hereof we meet with clear intimation in the story of those times when we  
read of בני אלהים *the sons of God* (who doubtless were the pious and de-  
vout posterity of *Seth*, calling themselves after the name of the Lord,  
whom they constantly and sincerely worshipped, notwithstanding the fan-  
cy of *Josephus*, and the Fathers, that they were Angels, or that of the *Jew-*  
*ish* Paraphrasts, that they were בני רכביא *the sons of great men and Prin-*  
*ces*) in opposition to the בני אדם *the sons of men*, the impure and debauched  
posterity of *Cain*, who made light of Religion, and were wholly govern-  
ed by earthly and sensual inclinations. And the matching of these *sons of*  
*God* with the *daughters of men*, that is, those of the Family of *Cain*, and the  
fatal consequences of those unhappy marriages, was that which provoked  
God to destroy the World. I have no more to add concerning *Enosh*, than  
that we are told, that dying he gave the same commands to his Children,  
which he had received of his Father, that they should make Religion their  
great care and business, and keep themselves pure from society and converse  
with the Line of *Cain*.

Gen. 6. 2.

\* *Elmasin. ap.*  
*Flouring. p. 233.*

*Id. ibid. p. 234.*

\* *Elmasin. &*  
*Patrie. apud*  
*Flouring. ubi*  
*supr. p. 235.*

14. AFTER *Enosh* was his son *Kenan*, who, as the *Arabian* \* *Histori-*  
an informs us, ruled the people committed to him by a wife and excellent  
government, and gave the same charge at his death that had been given to  
him. Next *Kenan* comes *Mahaleel*, who carries devotion and piety in  
his very name, signifying, *one that praises God*, of whom they say, that he  
trained up the people in ways of justice and piety, blessed his Children at  
his death, and having charged them to separate from the *Cainites*, appoint-  
ed his son *Jared* to be his successor; whose name denotes a *descent*, proba-  
bly either because of the notable decrease and declension of piety in his time,  
or because in his days some of the *Sethites* descended from the holy Moun-  
tain to mix with the posterity of *Cain*. For so the \* *Oriental* writers inform

us,

us, that a great noise and shout coming up from the Valley, an hundred of  
the holy Mountaineers agreed to go down to the sons of *Cain*, whom *Jared*  
endeavoured to hinder by all the arts of counsel and perswasion. But what  
can stop a mind bent upon an evil course? down they went, and being  
ravished with the beauty of the *Cainite*-women, promiscuously committed  
folly and lewdness with them; from whence sprang a race of Giants, men  
of vast and robust bodies, but of more vicious and ungovernable tempers,  
who made their Will their Law, and Might the standard and rule of Equi-  
ty. Attempting to return back to the holy Mount, Heaven had shut up their  
way, the stones of the Mountain burning like fire when they came upon  
them; which whether the Reader will have faith enough to believe, I  
know not. *Jared* being near his death, advised his Children to be wise  
by the folly of their Brethren, and to have nothing to do with that prophane  
generation. His son *Enoch* followed in his steps, a man of admirable strict-  
ness and piety; and peculiarly exemplary for his innocent and holy con-  
versation, it being particularly noted of him, that *he walked with God*: He  
set the Divine Majesty before him, as the guide and pattern, the spectator  
and rewarder of his actions, in all his ways endeavoured to approve himself  
to his All-seeing eye, by doing nothing but what was grateful and accep-  
table to him; he was the great instance of virtue and goodness in an evil  
Age, and by the even tenor and constancy of a holy and a religious life shew-  
ed his firm belief and expectation of a future state, and his hearty depen-  
dence upon the Divine goodness for the rewards of a better life. And God,  
who is never behind-hand with his servants, crowned his extraordinary obe-  
dience with an uncommon reward. *By faith Enoch was translated, that he*  
*should not see death, and was not found, because God had translated him: For*  
*before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God.* *And what*  
*that faith was, is plain by what follows after, a belief of God's Being and his*  
*Bounty, Without faith it is impossible to please him: For he that cometh to God,*  
*must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek*  
*him.* What this translation was, and whither it was made, whether into  
that Terrestrial Paradise out of which *Adam* was expelled and banished, and  
whereunto *Enoch* had desired of God he might be translated, as some fancy,  
or whether placed among the Stars, as others, or carried into the highest  
Heavens, as others will have it, were nice and useless speculations. 'Tis  
certain he was taken out of these mutable Regions, and set beyond the reach  
of those miseries and misfortunes, to which a present state of sin and morta-  
lity does betray us; translated, probably, both Soul and Body, that he might  
be a type and specimen of a future Resurrection, and a sensible demonstration  
to the World that there is a reward for the righteous, and another state after  
this, wherein good Men shall be happy for ever. I pass by the fancy of the  
*Jews* as vain and frivolous, that though *Enoch* was a good Man, yet was he  
very mutable and inconstant, and apt to be led aside, and that this was the  
reason, why God translated him so soon, lest he should have been debauched  
by the charms and allurements of a wicked World. He was an eminent  
Prophet, and a fragment of his Prophecy is yet extant in *S. Jude's* Epistle,  
by which it appears, that wickedness was then grown rampant, and the  
manners of men very corrupt and vicious, and that he as plainly told them of  
their faults, and that Divine vengeance that would certainly overtake them.  
Of *Methuselah* his Son nothing considerable is upon Record, but his great  
Age, living full DCCCCLXIX. Years (the longest proportion which any of  
the Patriarchs arrived to) and died in that very Year wherein the Flood  
came upon the World.

Gen. 5. 24.

Heb. 11. 5. 6.

15. FROM his Son *Lamech*, concerning whom we find nothing memorable, we proceed to his Grandchild *Noah*, by the very imposition of whose Name his Parents presaged that he would be a *refreshment* and comfort to the World, and highly instrumental to remove that *curse* which God by an Universal Deluge was bringing upon the Earth, *He called his Name Noah, saying, This same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed*; he was one in whom his Parents did *acquiesce* and rest satisfied, that he would be eminently useful and serviceable to the World. Indeed he proved a person of incomparable sanctity and integrity, a *Preacher of righteousness* to others, and who as carefully practised it himself. *He was a just man, and perfect in his generation, and he walked with God.* He did not warp and decline with the humour of the Age he lived in, but maintained his station, and kept his Line. *He was upright in his Generation.* 'Tis no thanks to be religious, when it is the humour and fashion of the Times: the great trial is, when we live in the midst of a corrupt generation. It is the crown of virtue to be good, when there are all manner of temptations to the contrary, when the greatest part of Men go the other way, when virtue and honesty are laughed and drolled on, and censured as an over-wise and affected singularity; when lust and debauchery are accounted the modes of Gallantry, and pride and oppression suffered to ride in prosperous triumphs without controul. Thus it was with *Noah*, he contended with the Vices of the Age, and dared to own God and Religion, when almost all Mankind besides himself had rejected and thrown them off. For in his time wickedness openly appeared with a brazen Forehead, and violence had covered the face of the Earth, the promiscuous mixtures of the Children of *Seth* and *Cain* had produced *Giants* and mighty Men, men strong to do evil, and who had as much will as power, *ὄβριτοι καὶ παῖδες, καὶ παῖδες ὑπερόπτοι καὶ διὰ τὴν δύναμιν πεποιθότες*, as *Josephus* describes them, a race of men insolent and ungovernable, scornful and injurious, and who bearing up themselves in the confidence of their own strength, despised all justice and equity, and made every thing truckle under their extravagant lusts and appetites. The very same character does *Lucian* give of the Men of this Age, speaking of the times of *Deucalion* (their *Noah*) and the Flood, *ὄβριτοι καὶ κάρτα εὐνοίαι* (says he) *ἀθέμιτα ἔργα ἔπρασσον. ἔτε γὰρ ὄρκια ἐφύλασσον, εἰς ξείνους ἐδέχοντο, ἔτε ἰκεῖων ἠείχοντο, ἀνθ' ὧν σφίσι ἡ μεγάλη συμφορὴ ἀπικέτο. αὐτίκα γὰρ ἡ γῆ πολλὸν ὕδωρ ἐκιδύοι, &c.* Men exceedingly scornful and contumelious, and guilty of the most unrighteous and enormous actions, violating all Oaths and Covenants, throwing off kindness and hospitality, and rejecting all addresses and supplications made to them. For which cause great miseries overtook them: for Heaven and Earth, Seas and Rivers conspired together to pour out mighty Floods upon the World; which swept all away, but *Deucalion* only, who for his prudence and piety was left to repair Mankind. And so he goes on with the relation consonant to the accounts of the Sacred story. This infection had spread it self over all parts, and was become so general and Epidemical, that *all Flesh had corrupted their ways*, and scarce any besides *Noah* left to keep up the face of a Church, and the profession of Religion. Things being come to this pass quickly alarm'd the Divine Justice, and made the World ripe for vengeance; the patience of God was now tired out, and he resolved to make Mankind feel the just effects of his incensed severity. But yet in the midst of judgment he remembers mercy: he tells them, that though he would not suffer his patience to be eternally prostituted to the wanton humours of wicked men, yet that he would bear with them CXX. Years longer in order to their reformation. So loth is God to take

Gen. 5. 29.

Gen. 6. 9.

Antiquit. Jud.  
lib. 1. c. 4. p. 8.De Dec. Syria.  
p. 882. Tom. 2.

take advantage of the sins of men, *not willing that any should perish, but that all should come unto Repentance.* In the mean time righteous *Noah* found favour with Heaven (a good man hath a peculiar guardianship and protection in the worst of times) and God orders him to *prepare an Ark for the saving of his House.* An Hundred Years was this Ark in building, not but that it might have been finished in a far less time, but that God was willing to give them so long a space for wise and sober considerations, *Noah* preaching all the while both by his doctrine and his practice, that they would break off their sins by repentance, and prevent their ruine. But *they that are filthy, will be filthy still*; the hardened World persisted in their impieties, till the wrath of God came upon them to the uttermost; and *destroyed the World of the ungodly.* God shut up *Noah*, his Wife, his three Sons and their Wives into the Ark, together with provisions, and so many Creatures of every sort as were sufficient not only for food, but for reparation of the kind (Miracles must not be expected, where ordinary means may be had) and then *opened the Windows of Heaven, and broke up the Fountains of the Deep*, and brought in the Flood that swept all away. Twelve months *Noah* and his Family continued in this floating habitation; when the Waters being gone, and the Earth dried, he came forth, and the first thing he did, was to erect an *Altar*, and offer up an Eucharistical Sacrifice to God for so remarkable a deliverance (some of the *Jews* tell us, that coming out of the Ark he was bitten by a Lion, and rendred unfit for Sacrifice, and that therefore *Sem* did it in his room) he did not concern himself for food, or a present habitation, but immediately betook himself to his devotion. God was infinitely pleased with the pious and grateful sense of the good man, and openly declared that his displeasure was over, and that he would no more bring upon the World such effects of his severity as he had lately done, and that the Ordinances of Nature should duly perform their constant motions, and regularly observe their periodical revolutions. And because Man was the principal Creature in this lower World, he restored to him his Charter of Dominion and Sovereignty over the Creatures, and by enacting some Laws against Murder and Cruelty secured the peace and happiness of his life: and then established a *Covenant* with *Noah* and all Mankind, that he would no more drown the World, for the ratification and ensurance whereof he placed the *Rain-bow* in the Clouds, as a perpetual sign and memorial of his Promise. *Noah* after this betook himself to Husbandry, and planting Vineyards, and being unwarily overtaken with the fruit of the Vine, became a scorn to *Cham* one of his own Sons, while the two others piously covered their Fathers shame. Awaking out of his sleep, and knowing what had been done, he prophetically cursed *Cham* and his Posterity; blessed *Sem*, and in *Japhet* foretold the calling of the *Gentiles* to the worship of God, and the knowledge of the *Messiah*, that God should *enlarge Japhet, and that he should dwell in the Tents of Shem.* He died in the DCCCCL. Year of his Age, having seen both Worlds, that before the Flood, and that which came after it.

16. *SEM* and *Japhet* were the two good Sons of *Noah*, in the assigning whose primogeniture, though the Scripture be not positive and decreatory, yet do the *most* probable reasons appear for *Japhet*, especially if we compute their Age. *Sem* was an Hundred Years old two Years after the Flood (for then he begat *Arphaxad*) now the Flood happened just in the DC. Year of *Noah's* Age; whence it follows that *Sem* was born, when his Father was Five Hundred and Two Years old. But *Noah* being expressly said to have begotten Sons in the Five Hundreth Year of his Age, plain it is that there must be one Son at least two Years Elder than *Sem*, which could

Gen. 11. 10.

7. 11.

5. 32.

be no other than *Japhet*, *Cham* being acknowledged by all the Younger Brother. And hence it is that *Sem* is called, the Brother יפת הנרר of *Japhet the Greater*, or as we render it, *the Elder*. They were both pious and devout Men, having been brought up under the religious Institutions, not only of their Father *Noah*, but their Grand-father *Lamech*, and their Great-grand-father *Methuselah*, who had for some Hundreds of Years conversed with *Adam*. The holy story records nothing concerning the state of Religion in their days, and little heed is to be given to the *Eastern* Writers, when they tell us of *Sem*, that according to the command of his Father he took the Body of *Adam*, which *Noah* had secretly hidden in the Ark, and joyning himself to *Melchisedeck*, they went and buried it in the heart of the Earth, an Angel going before, and conducting them to the place, with a great deal more, with little truth, and to as little purpose. As for the Patriarchs born after the Flood, little notice is taken of them besides the bare mention of their names, *Arphaxad*, *Salah*, *Eber*. Of this last they say, that he was a great Prophet, that he instituted Schools and Seminaries for the advancement and propagation of Religion: and there was great reason for him to bestir himself, if it be true, what the *Arabian* Historians tell us, that now Idolatry began mightily to prevail, and men generally carved to themselves the Images of their Ancestors, to which upon all occasions they addressed themselves with the most solemn veneration, the *Demons* giving answers through the Images which they worshipped. *Heber* was the Father of the *Jewish* Nation, who from him are said to have derived the title of *Hebrews*, Εβραῖοι, אֲבֹתָם. Ἰουδαίαι: Εβραῖος ἀρχαῖον ἐκάλουν, as *Josephus* tells us, (though there want not those who assign other reasons of the name) and that the *Hebrew* Language was preserved in his family, which till his time had been the mother-tongue, and the common Language of the World. To *Eber* succeeded his son *Peleg*, a name given him out of a Prophetical foresight of that memorable *division* that hapned in his time. For now it was that a company of bold daring persons combining themselves under the conduct and command of *Nimrod*, resolved to erect a vast and stupendous Fabrick, partly to raise themselves a mighty reputation in the World, partly to secure themselves from the Invasion of an after-deluge, and probably as a place of retreat and defence, the better to enable them to put in practice that oppression and tyranny which they designed to exercise over the World. But whatever it was, God was displeased with the attempt, and to shew how easily he can baffle the subtillest Councils, and in a moment subvert the firmest projects, on a sudden he confounded the Language of these foolish Builders, so that they were forced to desist from their vain and ambitious design, as not being able to understand and converse with one another. To *Peleg* succeeded his son *Rehu*, to *Rehu* *Serug*, to him *Nachor*, to *Nachor* *Terah*, who dwelt in *Ur* of the *Chaldeans*, where conversing with those Idolatrous Nations, he laps'd himself into the most gross Idolatry. So apt are men to follow a multitude to do evil, so fatally mischievous is ill company, and a bad example. But the best way to avoid the plague, is to remove out of the house of infection. Away goes *Terah* to *Haran*, where by repentance he is said to have recovered himself out of the snare of the Devil.

*Antiq. & Pict. Libi sup.*  
p. 265.

*Antiq. Jud. l. 1.*  
c. 7. § 15.

\* *Schaleb.*  
*Heb. p. 8. ci.*  
*Antiq. l. 1. c. 1.*  
*Smeg. Orient. c.*  
*8. p. 291. con-*  
*fer. Maimon.*  
*Mor. Nevoch.*  
*part. 3. c. 29.*  
p. 221.

17. *ABRAHAM* the second son of *Terah* succeeds in the Patriarchal Line. In his minority he was educated in the Idolatries of his Father's house, who, they say, was a maker of Statues and Images: And the \* *Jews* tell us many pleasant stories of *Abraham's* going into the shop in the absence of his Father, his breaking the Images, and jeering those that came to buy, or worship them; of his Father's carrying him to *Nimrod* to be punished,

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his witty answers, and miraculous escapes. But God who had designed him for higher and nobler purposes, called him at length out of his Father's house, fully discovered himself to him, and by many solemn promises and federal compacts peculiarly engaged him to himself. He was a man intirely devoted to the honour of God, and had consecrated all his services to the interests of Religion, scarce any duty either towards God or men for which he is not eminent upon record. Towards God, how great was his zeal and care to promote his worship? erecting Altars almost in every place, whereon he publickly offered his prayers and sacrifice. His love to God wholly swallowed up the love and regard that he had to his dearest interests, witness his intire renunciation of himself, his chearful renouncing all the concerns of his Estate and Family, and especially his readiness to sacrifice his only son, the son of his old age, and which is above all, the son of the promise, when God by way of trial required it of him. How vigorous and triumphant was his faith, especially in the great promise of a son, which he firmly embraced against all humane probabilities to the contrary? *Against hope he believed in hope, and being strong in faith, gave glory to God.* How hearty was his dependence upon the Divine Providence, when called to leave his Father's house, and to go into a strange Country, how chearfully did he obey and go out, though he knew not whither he went? How unconquerable was his patience, how even the composure of his mind in all conditions? in fifteen several journeys that he undertook, and ten difficult temptations which he underwent, he never betrayed the least murmuring or hard thought of God. Towards others he shewed the greatest tenderness and respect, the most meek and unpassionate temper, a mind inflamed with a desire of peace and concord: Admirable his justice and equity in all his dealings, his great hospitality and bounty towards strangers, and for that end (say the *Jews*) he got him an house near the entering into *Haran*, that he might entertain strangers as they went in, or came out of the City, at his own table; as indeed he seems to have had that most excellent and Divine temper of mind, an universal love and charity towards all men. But his greatest charity appeared in the care that he took of the Souls of men. *Maimonides* tells us, that he kept a publick School of institution, whither he gathered men together, and instructed them in that truth, which he himself had embraced, and he gives us an account by what methods of reasoning and information he used to convince and persuade them. But whatever he did towards others, we are sure he did it towards those that were under his own charge. He had a numerous family, and a vast retinue, and he was as careful to inform them in the knowledge of the true God, and to instruct them in all the duties of Religion. 'Tis the character which God himself gave of him, *I know Abraham, that he will command his children, and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment.* And so he did, his house being a School of piety, wherein Religion was both taught and practised, many reclaimed from the errors and idolatries of the times, and all his domesticks and dependants solemnly dedicated to God by Circumcision. Therefore when 'tis said, that he brought with him all the Souls which they had gotten in *Haran*, the Paraphrase of *Onkelos* renders it, ית נפשתא דשעכירו לאוריתא כחרן, *Jonathans Targum*, and much at the same rate that of *Jerusalem*, ית נפשתא דינוייר, the Souls which they had made proselytes in *Haran*, or as *Solomon Jarchi* expresses it, a little more after the *Hebrew* mode, the Souls which they had gathered, בתחת כנפי השכינא under the wings of the Divine Majesty; and he sur-

*Mor. Nevoch.*  
*part. 2. cap. 39.*  
p. 301.

*Gen. 12. 5.*

*Gen. 14. 14.*

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ther adds, that *Abraham* profelyted the men, and *Sarah* the women. So when elfewhere we read of his *trained servants*, some of the *Jewish* Masters expound it by *למצור* those that were initiated and trained up in the knowledge of the Law. Such being the temper of this holy man, God was pleased frequently to converse with him, and to impart his mind to him, acquainting him with the secret counsels and purposes of his Providence, whence he is stiled *the friend of God*. But that which shewed him to be most dear to Heaven, was the Covenant which God solemnly made with him, wherein binding *Abraham* and his seed to a sincere and universal obedience, he obliged himself to become *their God*, to be his shield and his exceeding great reward, to take his posterity for his peculiar people, to encrease their number, and to enlarge their power, to settle them in a rich and a pleasant Country (a type of that Heavenly and better Country that is above) and which was the crown of all, that *in his seed all the Nations of the Earth should be blessed*, that is, the promised *Messiah* should proceed out of his loins, who should be a common blessing to mankind, in whom both Jew and Gentile should be justified and saved, and he by that means become (spiritually) *the Father of many Nations*. This Covenant was ratified and ensured on God's part by a solemn oath, *For when God made promise to Abraham, because he could swear by no greater, he swore by himself, saying, Surely blessing I will bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply thee.* On *Abraham's* part it was sealed with the Sacrament of *Circumcision*, which God instituted as a peculiar federal rite, to distinguish *Abraham's* posterity from all other people. *Abraham* died in the CLXXV. year of his Age, and was buried in the Sepulchre which himself had purchased of the sons of *Heth*. Contemporary with *Abraham* was his Nephew *Lot*, a just man, but vexed with the filthy conversation of the wicked; for dwelling in the midst of an impure and debauched generation, *In seeing and hearing he vexed his righteous Soul from day to day with their unlawful deeds.* This endeared him to Heaven, who took a particular care of him, and sent an Angel on purpose to conduct him and his family out of *Sodom*, before he let loose that fatal vengeance that over-turned it.

Heb. 6. 13, 14.

2 Pet. 2. 7, 8.

Gen. 24. 63.

Gen. 26. 28, 29.

18. *Abraham* being dead, *Isaac* stood up in his stead, the son of his Parents' old age, and the fruit of an extraordinary promise. Being delivered from being a sacrifice, he frequented (say the Jews) the School of *Sem*, wherein he was educated in the knowledge of Divine things till his marriage with *Rebecca*. But however that was, he was a good man, we read of his going out to meditate or pray in the field at even-tide, and elfewhere we find him publicly sacrificing and calling upon God. In all his distresses God still appeared to him, animated him against his fears, and encouraged him to go on in the steps of his Father, renewing the same promises to him which he had made to *Abraham*. Nay, so visible and remarkable was the interest which he had in Heaven, that *Abimelech* King of the *Philistines* and his Courtiers thought it their wisest course to confederate with him for this very reason, because they saw certainly that the Lord was with him, and that he was the blessed of the Lord. Religion is the truest interest, and the wisest portion, 'tis the surest protection, and the safest refuge. When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him. *Isaac* dying in the CLXXX. year of his life, the Patriarchate devolved upon his son *Jacob*, by vertue of the primogeniture which he had purchased of his brother *Esau*, and which had been confirmed to him by the grant and blessing of his Father (though subtilly procured by the artifice and policy of his Mother) who also told him, that God Almighty would bless and multiply him

him and his seed after him, and that the blessing of *Abraham* should come upon them. He intirely devoted himself to the fear and service of God, kept up his Worship, and vindicated it from the incroachments of Idolatry, he erected Altars at every turn, and zealously purged his house from those *Tera-phim* or Idols which *Rachel* had brought along with her out of *Laban's* house, either to prevent her Father's enquiring at them which way *Jacob* had made his escape, or to take away from him the instruments of his Idolatry, or possibly that she might have wherewith to propitiate and pacifie her Father in case he should pursue and overtake them, as *Josephus* thinks, though surely then she would have produced them, when she saw her Father so zealous to retrieve them. He had frequent Visions and Divine condescensions, God appearing to him, and ratifying the Covenant that he had made with *Abraham*, and changing his name from *Jacob* to *Israel*, as a memorial of the mighty prevalency which he had with Heaven. In his later time he removed his family into *Egypt*, where God had prepared his way by the preferment of his son *Joseph* to be Vice-Roy and Lord of that vast and fertile Country, advanced to that place of state and grandeur by many strange and unsearchable methods of the Divine Providence. By his two Wives, the Daughters of his Uncle *Laban*, and his two Handmaids he had twelve Sons, who afterwards became founders of the Twelve Tribes of the *Jewish* Nation; to whom upon his deathbed he bequeathed his blessings, consigning their several portions, and the particular fates of every Tribe, among whom that of *Judah* is most remarkable, to whom it was foretold, that the *Messiah* should arise out of that Tribe, that the Regal Power and Political Sovereignty should be annexed to it, and remain in it till the *Messiah* came, at whole coming the Scepter should depart, and the Law-giver from between his knees: And thus all their own Paraphrasts, both *Onkelos*, *Jonathan*, and he of *Jerusalem* do expound it, that there should not want Kings or Rulers of the house of *Judah*, nor Scribes to teach the Law of that race, ער ומן רייתי מלכה until the time that *Messiah* the King shall come, whose the Kingdom is. And so it accordingly came to pass, for at the time of *Christ's* Birth, *Herod*, who was a stranger, had usurped the Throne, debased the authority of their great *Sanhedrim*, murdered their Senators, de vested them of all Judiciary power, and kept them so low, that they had not power left to put a man to death. And unto him shall the gathering of the people be. A prophecy exactly accomplished, when in the first Ages of Christianity the Nations of the World flocked to the standard of *Christ* at the publication of the Gospel. *Jacob* died CXLVII. years old, and was buried in *Canaan*, in the Sepulchre of his Fathers: After whose decease his posterity for some hundreds of years were afflicted under the *Egyptian* yoke. Till God remembring the Covenant he had made with their Fathers, powerfully rescued them from the Iron Furnace, and conducted them through the wilderness into the Land of Promise, where he framed and ordered their Commonwealth, appointed Laws for the government of their Church, and settled them under a more fixed and certain dispensation.

19. HITHERTO we have surveyed the state of the Church in the constant succession of the Patriarchal Line. But if we step a little further into the History of those times, we shall find that there were some extraordinary persons without the Pale of that holy Tribe, renowned for the worship of God, and the profession of Religion; among whom two are most considerable, *Melchisedeck* and *Job*. *Melchisedeck* was King of *Salem* in the land of *Canaan*, and Priest of the most high God. The short account which the Scripture gives of him hath left room for various fancies and conjectures.

Antiq. Jud. lib. 1. c. 19. p. 31.

Gen. 49. 10.

figures. The opinion that has most generally obtained is, that *Melchisedeck* was *Sem*, one of the sons of *Noah*, who was of a great Age, and lived above LXX. years after *Abraham's* coming into *Canaan*, and might therefore well enough meet him in his triumphant return from his conquest over the Kings of the Plain. But notwithstanding the universal authority which this opinion assumes to it self, it appears not to me with any tolerable probability, partly because *Canaan*, where *Melchisedeck* lived, was none of those Countries which were allotted to *Sem* and to his posterity, and unlikely it is that he should be Prince in a foreign Country: partly, because those things which the Scripture reports concerning *Melchisedeck*, do no ways agree to *Sem*, as that *he was without Father and Mother, without genealogie, &c.* whereas *Moses* does most exactly describe and record *Sem* and his Family, both as to his Ancestors, and as to his posterity. That therefore which seems most probable in the case, is, that he was one of the *Reguli*, or petty Kings (whereof there were many) in the land of *Canaan*, but a pious and devout man, and a worshipper of the true God, as there were many others in those days among the *Idolatrous Nations*; he being extraordinarily raised up by God from among the *Canaanites*, and brought in without mention of Parents, original or end, without any Predecessor or Successor in his office, that he might be a fitter type of the Royal and Eternal Priesthood of *Christ*. And for any more particular account concerning his person, it were folly and rashness over-curiously to enquire after what God seems industriously to have concealed from us. The great character under which the Scripture takes notice of him, is his relation to our blessed Saviour, who is more than once said to be a Priest, *κατὰ τάξιν*, after the order, in the same way and manner that *Melchisedeck* was, or (as the Apostle explains himself) after the similitude of *Melchisedeck*. Our Lord was such a Priest as *Melchisedeck* was, there being a nearer similitude and conformity between them, than ever was between any other Priests whatsoever. A subject which *S. Paul* largely and particularly treats of. Passing by the minuter instances of the parallel, taken from the name of his person, *Melchisedeck*, that is, *King of righteousness*, and his title to his Kingdom, *King of Salem*, that is, *of Peace*; we shall observe three things especially wherein he was a type of *Christ*. First, in the peculiar qualification of his person, something being recorded of him uncommon to the rest of men, and that is, that he was *without Father, without Mother, and without descent*. Not that *Melchisedeck* like *Adam* was immediately created, or in an instant dropt down from Heaven, but that he hath no kindred recorded in the story, which brings him in without any mention of Father or Mother, *ἐκ ὧν ποτὲ τίνα πατέρα ἔχεν, ἢ τίνα μητέρα*, as *Chrysostom* glosses, we know not what Father or Mother he had: He was (says *S. Paul*) ἀγενεολόγητος, without genealogie, without having any pedigree extant upon record, whence the ancient *Syriack* Version truly expresses the sense of the whole passage thus, *Whose neither Father nor Mother are written, ܡܠܚܝܨܕܝܩ among the generations*, that is, the genealogies of the ancient Patriarchs. And thus he eminently typified *Christ*, of whom this is really true: He is without Father in respect of his humane nature, begotten only of a pure Virgin; without Mother, in respect of his Divinity, being begotten of his Father before all Worlds, by an eternal and ineffable generation. Secondly, *Melchisedeck* typified our Saviour in the duration and continuance of his office; for so 'tis said of him, that he was *without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life, but made like unto the Son of God, abideth a Priest continually*.

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By which we are not to understand that *Melchisedeck* never died, for being a man he was subject to the same common Law of mortality with other men: But the meaning is, that as he is said to be *without Father and Mother*, because the Scripture speaking of him makes no mention of his Parents, his Genealogy and descent: So he is said to *abide a Priest for ever, without any beginning of days, or end of life*, because we have no account of any that either preceeded, or succeeded him in his office, no mention of the time either when he took it up, or laid it down. And herein how lively and eminent a type of *Christ*, the true *Melchisedeck*, who as to his Divine nature was without beginning of days from Eternal Ages, and who either in the execution or virtue of his office abides for ever. There is no abolition, no translation of his office, no expectation of any to arise that shall succeed him in it: *He was made a Priest not after the Law of a carnal Commandment, a transient and mutable dispensation, but after the power of an endless life*. Thirdly, *Melchisedeck* was a type of *Christ* in his excellency above all other Priests. *S. Paul's* great design is to evince the preheminance and precedency of *Melchisedeck* above all the Priests of the *Mosaick* ministration, yea, above *Abraham* himself, the Founder and Father of the *Jewish* Nation, from whom they reckoned it so great an honour to derive themselves. And this the Apostle proves by a double instance. First, that *Abraham*, in whose loins the *Levitical* Priests then were, paid tithes to *Melchisedeck*, when he gave him the tenth of all his spoils, as due to God and his Ministers, thereby confessing himself and his posterity inferiour to him. Now consider *Heb. 4. 5. 6.* how great this man was, unto whom even the Patriarch *Abraham* gave the tenth of the spoils. Secondly, that *Melchisedeck* conferred upon *Abraham* a solemn benediction, it being a standing part of the Priests office to bless the people. And this was an undeniable argument of his superiority. *He whose descent is not counted from them* (the legal Priests) *received tithes of Abraham, and blessed him that had the promises: And without all contradiction the less is blessed of the better*. Whereby it evidently appears, that *Melchisedeck* was greater than *Abraham*, and consequently than all the *Levitical* Priests that descended from him. Now herein he admirably prefigured and shadowed out our blessed Saviour, a person peculiarly chosen out by God, sent into the World upon a nobler and a more important errand, owned by more solemn and mighty attestations from Heaven, than ever was any other person; his office incomparably beyond that of the legal Oeconomy, his person greater, his undertaking weightier, his design more sublime and excellent, his oblation more valuable and meritorious, his prayers more prevalent and successful, his office more durable and lasting, than ever any whose business it was to intercede and mediate between God and man. *Ibid. Ver. 6. 7.*

20. THE other extraordinary person under this Oeconomy is *Job*, concerning whom two things are to be enquired into, Who he was, and when he lived. For the first, we find him described by his Name, his Country, his Kindred, his Quality, his Religion, and his Sufferings, though in many of them we are left under great uncertainties, and to the satisfaction only of probable conjectures. For his name, among many conjectures two are especially considerable, though founded upon very different reasons, one that it is from *אֵיב* signifying one that grieves or groans, mystically prefiguring those grievous miseries and sufferings that afterwards came upon him; the other, more probably, from *אָהַב* to love, or to desire, noting him the desire and delight of his Parents, earnestly prayed for, and affectionately embraced with the tenderest endearments. His Country was the land of *Uz*, though where that was, is almost as much dispu-

Heb. 7. 15.

Heb. 7. 3.

Homil. 1. 2. in  
Hebr. p. 1838.

disputed, as about the source of *Nilus*: Some will have it *Armenia*, others *Palestine*, or the land of *Canaan*, and some of the Jewish Masters assure us, that *בֵּית מדרשו* his school, or place of institution was at *Liberias*, and nothing more commonly shewed to Travellers than *Job's Well* in the way between *Ramah* and *Jerusalem*; others place it in *Syria* near *Damascus*, so called from *Uz*, the supposed Founder of that City; others a little more Northward at *Apamea*, now called *Hama*, where his house is said to be shewed at this day: Most make it to be part of *Idumæa* near *mount Seir*, or else *Arabia* the Desert (probably it was in the confines of both) this part of *Arabia* being nearest to the *Sabæans* and *Chaldæans*, who invaded him, and most applicable to his dwelling among the *Sons of the East*, to the situation of his friends who came to visit him, and best corresponding with those frequent *Arabisms* discernable both in the Language and Discourses of *Job* and his Friends; not to say that this Country produced persons exceedingly addicted to Learning and Contemplation, and the studies of natural Philosophy, whence the wise men who came out of the *East* to worship *Christ* are thought by many to have been *Arabians*. For his kindred and his friends, we find four taken notice of, who came to visit him in his distress; *Eliphaz the Temanite*, the son probably of *Teman*, and grandchild of *Esau* by his eldest son *Eliphaz*, the Country deriving its name *Teman* from his Father, and was situate in *Idumæa* in the borders of the *Desert Arabia*: *Eildad the Shuhite*, a descendant in all likelihood of *Shuah*, one of the sons of *Abraham* by his wife *Keturah*, whose seat was in this part of *Arabia*: *Zophar the Naamathite*, a Country lying near those parts: And *Elihu the Buzite*, of the off-spring of *Euz* the son of *Nahor*, and so nearly related to *Job* himself. He was the son of *Parachel*, of the kindred of *Ram*, who was the head of the Family, and his habitation was in the parts of *Arabia* the Desert near *Eufrates*, or at least in the Southern part of *Mesopotamia* bordering upon it. As for *Job* himself, he is made by some a *Canaanite*, of the posterity of *Cham*; by others to descend from *sem* by his son *Amram*, whose eldest sons name was *Uz*; by most from *Esau*, the Father of the *Idumæan* Nations; but most probably either from *Nahor*, *Abraham's* brother, whose sons were *Huz*, *Buz*, *Chesed*, &c. or from *Abraham* himself by some of the sons which he had by his wife *Keturah*, whereby an account is most probably given, how *Job* came to be imbued with those seeds of Piety and true Religion, for which he was so eminently remarkable, as deriving them from those Religious principles and instructions which *Abraham* and *Nahor* had bequeathed to their posterity. His quality and the circumstances of his External state were very considerable, a man rich and honourable; *His substance was seven thousand Sheep, and three thousand Camels, and five hundred yoke of Oxen, and five hundred she-Ases, and a very great household, so that he was the greatest of all the men of the East*; himself largely describes the great honour and prosperity of his fortunes, that *he washed his steps in Butter, and the rock poured out rivers of Oil*; when he went out to the gate through the City, and prepared his seat in the street, the young men saw him, and hid themselves, the aged arose and stood up, the Princes refrained talking, and laid their hand on their mouth, &c. He delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless and him that had none to help him, the blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon him, &c. He brake the jaws of the wicked, and pluckt the spoil out of their teeth, &c. Indeed so great his state and dignity, that it has led many into a persuasion, that he was King of *Idumæa*, a powerful and mighty Prince; a fancy that has received no small encouragement from the common but groundless confounding of *Job* with *Jobab* King of *Edom*, of the

race

race of *Esau*. For the story gives no intimation of any such royal dignity, to which *Job* was advanced, but always speaks of him as a private person, though exceeding wealthy and prosperous, and thereby probably of extraordinary power and estimation in his Country. Nay, that he might not want fit Companions in his Regal capacity, three of his friends are made Kings as well as he, the LXX. Translators themselves styling *Eliphaz* King of the *Temanites*, *Bildad* of the *Suchites*, and *Zophar* King of the *Mineans*, though with as little, probably less reason than the former.

21. BUT whatever his condition was, we are sure he was no less eminent for Piety and Religion, he was a man perfect and upright, one that feared God, and eschewed evil. Though living among the Idolatrous Gentiles, he kept up the true and sincere worship of God, daily offered up Sacrifices and Prayers to Heaven, piously instructed his Children and Family, lived in an intire dependence upon the Divine Providence, in all his discourses expressed the highest and most honourable sentiments and thoughts of God, and such as best became the Majesty of an Infinite Being; in all transactions he was just and righteous, compassionate and charitable, modest and humble, indeed by the character of God himself, who knew him best, *There was none like him in the Earth, a perfect and an upright man, fearing God, and eschewing evil*: his mind was submissive and compliant, his patience generous and unshaken, great even to a Proverb, *You have heard of the Patience of Job*. And enough he had to try it to the utmost, if we consider what sufferings he underwent; those evils which are wont but singly to seize upon other men, all centred and met in him. Plundered in his Estate by the *Sabaean* and *Chaldæan* Free-booters (whose standing livelihood were spoils and robberies) and not an Oxe or Ass left of all the Herd, not a Sheep or a Lamb either for Food or Sacrifice: Undone in his Posterity, his Seven Sons, and Three Daughters being all slain at once by the fall of one House: blasted in his credit and good name, and that by his nearest friends, who traduced and challenged him for a dissembler and an hypocrite. Ruined in his health, being smitten with sore boils from the crown of the Head to the sole of the Foot, till his Body became a very Hospital of Diseases: tormented in his mind with sad and uncomfortable reflections, *The arrows of the Almighty being shot within him, the poison whereof drank up his spirit, the terrors of God setting themselves in array against him*. All which were aggravated and set home by *Satan*, the grand Engineer of all those torments, and all this continuing for at least Twelve Months (say the Jews) probably for a much longer time; and yet endured with great courage and fortitude of mind, till God put a period to this tedious Trial, and crowned his sufferings with an ample restitution. We have seen who this excellent Person was, we are next to enquire when he lived. And here we meet with almost an infinite variety of Opinions, some making him contemporary with *Abraham*, others with *Jacob*, which had he been, we should doubtless have found some mention of him in their story, as well as we do of *Melchisedeck*: others again refer him to the time of the Law given at Mount *Sinai*, and the *Israelites* travels in the Wilderness; others to the times of the Judges after the settlement of the *Israelites* in the Land of Promise, nay, some to the reign of *David* and *Solomon*; and I know not whether the Reader will not smile at the fancy of the Turkish Chronologists, who make *Job* Major-domo to *Solomon*, as they make *Alexander the Great*, the General of his Army. Others go further, and place him among those that were carried away in the *Babylonish* Captivity, yea in the time of *Ahasuerus*, and make his fair Daughters to be of the number of those beautiful young Virgins that were sought-for for

*Vid. Maimon. Mor. Nevoch. part. 3. cap. 22. p. 395.*

*Ang. Busbequ. de Legat. Turcic. Epist. 1. p. 94.*

the King. Follies that need no confutation. 'Tis certain that he was elder than *Moses*, his Kindred and Family, his way of sacrificing, the Idolatry rife in his time, evidently placing him before that Age; besides that there are not the least foot-steps in all his Book of any of the great things done for the *Israelites* deliverance, which we can hardly suppose should have been omitted, being examples so fresh in memory, and so apposite to the design of that Book. Most probable therefore it is, that he lived about the time of the *Israelitish* Captivity in *Egypt*, though whether, as some *Jews* will have it, born that very Year that *Jacob* came down into *Egypt*, and dying that Year that they went out of *Egypt*, I dare not peremptorily affirm. And this no question is the reason why we find nothing concerning him in the Writings of *Moses*, the History of those Times being crowded up into a very little room, little being recorded even of the *Israelites* themselves for near Two Hundred Years, more than in general that they were heavily oppressed under the *Egyptian* Yoke. More concerning this great and good Man, and the things relating to him, if the Reader desire to know, he may among others consult the elaborate exertions of the younger *Spanhemius* in his *Historia Jobi*, where the largest curiosity may find enough to satisfy it.

22. AND now for a Conclusion to this *Oeconomy*, if we reflect a little upon the state of things under this period of the World, we shall find that the Religion of those early Ages was plain and simple, unforced and natural, and highly agreeable to the common dictates and notions of Mens minds. They were not educated under any foreign Institutions, nor conducted by a Body of numerous Laws and written Constitutions, but were αὐτήκοοι καὶ αὐτομαθεῖς (as *Philo* says of them) tutor'd and instructed by the dictates of their own minds, and the Principles of that Law that was written in their hearts, following the order of Nature and right Reason, as the safest, and most ancient Rule. By which means (as one of the Ancients observes) ἐλευθεροὶ καὶ ἀναιμένον ἐυσέβειας καὶ ὁρθῶν τέχων, βίω μὲν τῷ κατὰ τὴ φύσιν κεκοσμημένοι, they maintained a free and uninterrupted course of Religion, conducting their lives according to the rules of Nature, so that having purged their minds from lust and passion, and attained to the true knowledge of God, they had no need of external and written Laws. Their Creed was short and perspicuous, their notions of God great and venerable, their devotion and piety real and substantial, their worship grave and serious, and such as became the grandeur and majesty of the Divine being, their Rites and Ceremonies few and proper, their obedience prompt and sincere, and indeed the whole conduct of their conversation discovering it self in the most essential and important duties of the humane life. According to this standard it was that our blessed Saviour mainly designed to reform Religion in his most excellent Institutions, to retrieve the piety and purity, the innocency and simplicity of those first and more uncorrupted Ages of the World, to improve the Laws of Nature, and to reduce Mankind from ritual observances to natural and moral duties, as the most vital and essential parts of Religion, and was therefore pleased to charge Christianity with no more than two positive Institutions, *Baptism*, and the *Lord's Supper*, that Men might learn, that the main of Religion lies not in such things as these. Hence *Eusebius* undertakes at large to prove the faith and manners of the Holy Patriarchs, who lived before the times of *Moses*, and the belief and practice of *Christians* to be ἓνα καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν, one and the same. Which he does not only assert and make good in general, but deduce from particular instances, the examples of *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Melchisedeck*, *Job*, &c. whom he expressly proves to have believed and lived ἀντικρὺς χειρὶ κοινῶς,

altogether

altogether after the manner of *Christians*: Nay, that they had the name also as well as the thing, ὥστε καὶ τὸ χεῖρ κοινῶς ἡμῖν ὁμοίως ἐκοινάνην, as he shews from that place (which he proves to be meant of *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*) μὴ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τῶν χειρῶν μου, Touch not my *Christians*, mine Anointed, and do my *Prophets* no harm. And in short, that as they had the same common Religion, so they had the common blessing and reward.

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SECT.

*Phil. lib. de A-  
brab. pag. 350.*

*Euseb. Pr. spa-  
rat. Evangel.  
lib. 7. c. 6. pag.  
104.*

*Demonstrat. E-  
vangel. lib. 1.  
cap. 5. & 6.  
p. 9. 10. &c. &  
loc. sup. cit.*

## S E C T II.

## Of the M O S A I C A L Dispensation.

*Moses the Minister of this Oeconomy. His miraculous preservation. His learned and noble education. The Divine temper of his mind. His conducting the Israelites out of Egypt. Their arrival at Mount Sinai. The Law given, and how. Moral Laws; the Decalogue whether a perfect Compendium of the Moral Law. The Ceremonial Laws, what. Reduced to their proper Heads. Such as concerned the matter of their Worship. Sacrifices; and the several kinds of them. Circumcision. The Passover, and its typical relation. The place of Publick Worship. The Tabernacle and Temple, and the several parts of them, and their typical aspects considered. Their stated times and feasts, weekly, monthly, annual. The Sabbatical Year. The Year of Jubilee. Laws concerning the Persons ministering; Priests, Levites, the High-Priest; how a type of Christ. The Design of the Ceremonial Law, and its abolition. The Judicial Laws, what. The Mosaick Law how divided by the Jews into affirmative and negative Precepts, and why. The several ways of Divine revelation. Urim and Thummim what, and the manner of its giving Answers. Bath-Col. Whether any such way of revelation among the Jews. Revelation by Dreams. By Visions. The Revelation of the Holy Spirit, what. Moses his way of Prophecy wherein exceeding the rest. The paccate way of the spirit of prophecy. This spirit when it ceased in the Jewish Church. The state of the Church under this Dispensation briefly noted. From the giving of the Law till Samuel. From Samuel till Solomon. Its condition under the succeeding Kings till the Captivity. From thence till the coming of Christ. The state of the Jewish Church in the time of Christ more particularly considered. The prophanations of the Temple. The Corruption of their Worship. The abuse of the Priesthood. The Depravation of the Law by false glosses. Their Oral and unwritten Law. Its original and succession according to the mind of the Jews: Their unreasonable and blasphemous preferring it above the written Law. Their religious observing the Traditions of the Elders. The Vow of Corban, what. The superseding Moral Duties by it. The Sects in the Jewish Church. The Pharisees, their denomination, rise, temper and principles. Sadducees, their impious Principles, and evil lives. The Essenes, their original, opinions, and way of life. The Herodians, who. The Samaritans. Karræans. The sect of the Zealots. The Roman Tyranny over the Jews.*

1. **T**HE Church, which had hitherto lyen disperfed in private Families, and had often been reduced to an inconsiderable number, being now multiplied into a great and a populous Nation, God was pleased to enter into Covenant, not any longer with particular Persons, but with the Body of the People, and to govern the Church by more certain and regular ways and methods, than it had hitherto been. This Dispensation began with the delivery of the Law, and continued till the final period of the Jewish state, consisting only of meats and drinks, and divers washings, and carnal Ordinances, imposed on them until the time of reformation. In

the survey whereof we shall chiefly consider what Laws were given for the Government of the Church, by what Methods of revelation God communicated his mind and will to them, and what was the state of the Church, especially towards the conclusion of this Oeconomy.

2. THE great Minister of this Dispensation was *Moses* the Son of *Amram*, of the House of *Levi*, a Person, whose signal preservation when but an Infant prefiged him to be born for great and generous undertakings. *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt* desirous to suppress the growing numbers of the *Jewish* Nation had afflicted and kept them under with all the rigorous severities of tyranny and oppression. But this not taking its effect, he made a Law that all *Hebrew* Male children should be drowned as soon as born, knowing well enough how to kill the root, if he could keep any more Branches from springing up. But the wisdom of Heaven defeated his crafty and barbarous designs. Among others that were born at that time was *Moses* a goodly Child, and whom his Mother was infinitely desirous to preserve: but having concealed him, till the saving of his might endanger the losing her own life, her affection suggested to her this little stratagem: she prepared an Ark made of Paper-reeds, and pitched within, and so putting him a-board this little Vessel, threw him into the River *Nile*, committing him to the mercy of the waves, and the conduct of the Divine Providence. God, who wisely orders all events, had so disposed things, that *Pharaoh's* daughter (whose name, say the *Jews*, was *Bithia*, *Thermuth* says *Josephus*, say the *Arabians*, *Sihhoun*) being troubled with a distemper that would not endure the hot Bathes, was come down at this time to wash in the *Nile*, where the cries of the tender Babe soon reached her ears. She commanded the Ark to be brought a-shore, which was no sooner opened, but the mournful oratory of the weeping Infant sensibly struck her with compassionate relentments: And the *Jews* add, that she no sooner touched the Babe, but she was immediately healed, and cried out that he was a holy Child, and that she would save his life; for which (say they) she obtained the favour to be brought under the wings of the Divine Majesty, and to be called the daughter of God. His Sister *Miriam*, who had all this while beheld the scene afar off, officiously proffered her service to the Princess to call an *Hebrew* Nurse, and accordingly went and brought his Mother. To her care he was committed with a charge to look tenderly to him, and the promise of a reward. But the hopes of that could add but little, where nature was so much concerned. Home goes the Mother joyful and proud of her own pledge, and the royal charge, carefully providing for his tender years. His infant state being pass'd, he was restored to the Princess, who adopted him for her own son, bred him up at Court, where he was polished with all the arts of a noble and ingenuous education, instructed in the modes of civility and behaviour, in the methods of policy and government, Learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*, whose renown for wisdom is not only once and again taken notice of in holy Writ, but their admirable skill in all liberal Sciences, Natural, Moral and Divine, beyond the rate and proportion of other Nations, is sufficiently celebrated by foreign Writers. To these accomplishments God was pleased to add a Divine temper of mind, a great zeal for God, not able to endure any thing that seemed to clash with the interests of the Divine honour and glory; a mighty courage and resolution in God's service, whose edge was not to be taken off either by threats or charms; He was not afraid of the Kings commandment, nor feared the wrath of the King, for he endured as seeing him that is invisible. His contempt of the World was great and admirable, slighting the honours of *Pharaoh's* Court, and the fair probabilities

*Antiq. Jud. l. 2. c. 5 p. 56.*

*R. Eliez. c. 48. apud Flotting. Smeg. Orient. c. 8. p. 402.*

*Heb. 11. 27.*

ities of the Crown, the treasures and pleasures of that rich, soft and luxurious Country, out of a firm belief of the invisible rewards of another World; He refused to be called the son of *Pharaoh's* daughter, chusing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; Esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in *Egypt*; for he had respect unto the recompence of reward. *Josephus* relates, that when but a child he was presented by the Princess to her Father, as one whom she had adopted for her son, and designed for his successor in the Kingdom, the King taking him up into his arms, put his Crown upon his head, which the child immediately pull'd off again, and throwing it upon the ground, trampled it under his feet. An action which however looked upon by some Courtiers then present, *ὡς οἰωνόν ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ φέρων*, as portending a fatal Omen to the Kingdom, did however evidently preface his generous contempt of the grandeur and honours of the Court, and those plausible advantages of Sovereignty that were offered to him. His patience was insuperable, not tired out with the abuses and disappointments of the King of *Egypt*, with the hardships and troubles of the Wilderness, and which was beyond all, with the cross and vexatious humours of a stubborn and unquiet generation. He was of a most calm and treatable disposition, his spirit not easily ruffled with passion; he who in the cause of God and Religion could be bold and fierce as a Lion, was in his own patient as a Lamb, God himself having given this character of him, *That he was the meekest man upon the Earth.*

*Ver. 24, 25, 26.*

*Loc. supr. cit. p. 57.*

3. THIS great personage thus excellently qualified, God made choice of him to be the Commander and conductor of the *Jewish* Nation; and his Ambassador to the King of *Egypt*, to demand the enfranchisement of his people, and free liberty to go serve and worship the God of their Fathers. And that he might not seem a mere pretender to Divine revelation, but that he really had an immediate commission from Heaven, God was pleased to furnish him with extraordinary Credentials, and to seal his Commission with a power of working Miracles beyond all the Arts of Magick, and those tricks for which the *Egyptian* Sorcerers were so famous in the World. But *Pharaoh* unwilling to part with such useful Vassals, and having oppressed them beyond possibility of reconciliation, would not hearken to the proposal, but sometimes downright rejected it, otherwhiles sought by subtil and plausible pretences to evade and shift it off; till by many astonishing Miracles, and severe Judgments God extorted at length a grant from him. Under the conduct of *Moses* they set forwards after at least two hundred years servitude under the *Egyptian* yoke; and though *Pharaoh* sensible of his error, with a great Army pursued them, either to cut them off, or bring them back, God made way for them through the midst of the Sea, the waters becoming like a wall of Brass on each side of them, till being all passed to the other shore, those invisible cords which had hitherto tied up that liquid Element, bursting in sunder, the waters returned and overwhelmed their enemies that pursued them. Thus God by the same stroke can protect his friends, and punish his enemies. Nor did the Divine Providence here take its leave of them, but became their constant guard and defence in all their journeys, waiting upon them through their several stations in the wilderness; the most memorable whereof was that at Mount *Sinai* in *Arabia*: The place where God delivered them the pattern in the Mount, according to which the form both of their Church and State was to be framed and modelled. In order hereunto *Moses* is called up into the Mount, where by Fasting and Prayer he conversed with Heaven,

ven, and received the body of their Laws. Three days the people were by a pious and devout care to sanctify and prepare themselves for the promulgation of the Law, they might not come near their Wives, were commanded to wash their clothes, as an embleme and representation of that cleansing of the heart, and that inward purity of mind, wherewith they were to entertain the Divine will. On the third day in the morning God descended from Heaven with great appearances of Majesty and terror, with *thunders and lightnings*, with *black clouds and tempests*, with *shouts and the loud noise of a trumpet* (which trumpet, say the *Jews*, was made of the horn of that Ram that was offered in the room of Isaac) with *fire and smoke* on the top of the Mount, ascending up like *the smoke of a Furnace*; the Mountain it self greatly quaking, the people trembling; *nay, so terrible was the sight, that Moses* (who had so frequently, so familiarly conversed with God) *said, I exceedingly fear and quake.* All which pompous trains of terror and magnificence God made use of at this time, to excite the more solemn attention to his Laws, and to beget a greater reverence and veneration for them in the minds of the people, and to let them see how able he was to call them to account, and by the severest penalties to vindicate the violation of his Law.

Heb. 12. 21.

Exod. 24. 12.

4. THE Code and Digest of those Laws, which God now gave to the *Jews* as the terms of that National Covenant that he made with them, consisted of three sorts of Precepts, *Moral, Ecclesiastical and Political*; which the *Jews* will have intimated by those three words, that so frequently occur in the writings of *Moses, Laws, Statutes and Judgments.* By חֻקִּים *Laws*, they understand the Moral Law, the notices of good and evil naturally implanted in mens minds: By חֻקִּים or *Statutes*, Ceremonial Precepts, instituted by God with peculiar reference to his Church: By מִשְׁפָּטִים or *Judgments*, Political Laws concerning Justice and Equity, the order of humane society, and the prudent and peaceable managery of the Commonwealth. The *Moral Laws* inserted into this Code are those contained in the *Decalogue*, עֲשֵׂת הַדְּבָרִים as they are called, *the ten words* that were written upon two Tables of Stone. These were nothing else but a summary Comprehension of the great Laws of Nature, engraven at first upon the minds of all men in the World; the most material part whereof was now consigned to writing, and incorporated into the body of the *Jewish Law.* I know the *Decalogue* is generally taken to be a complete System of all natural Laws: But whoever impartially considers the matter, will find that there are many instances of duty so far from being commanded in it, that they are not reducible to any part of it, unless hook'd in by subtilties of wit, and drawn thither by forc'd and unnatural inferences. What provision except in one case or two do any of those Commandments make against neglects of duty? Where do they oblige us to do good to others, to love, assist, relieve our enemies? Gratitude and thankfulness to benefactors is one of the prime and essential Laws of Nature, and yet no where that I know of (unless we will have it implied in the Preface to the Law) commanded or intimated in the *Decalogue*: With many other cases, which 'tis naturally evident are our duty, whereof no footsteps are to be seen in this *Compendium*, unless hunted out by nice and sagacious reasonings, and made out by a long train of consequences, never originally intended in the Commandment, and which not one in a thousand are capable of deducing from it. It is probable therefore that God reduc'd only so many of the Laws of Nature into writing, as were proper to the present state and capacities of that people to whom they were given, super-

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adding some, and explaining others by the Preaching and Ministry of the Prophets, who in their several Ages endeavoured to bring men out of the Shades and Thickets, into clear light and Noon-day, by clearing up mens obligations to those natural and essential duties, in the practice whereof humane nature was to be advanced unto its just accomplishment and perfection. Hence it was that our Lord, who *came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil and perfect it*, has explained the obligations of the natural Law more fully and clearly, more plainly and intelligibly, rendred our duty more fixed and certain, and extended many instances of obedience to higher measures, to a greater exactness and perfection, than ever they were understood to have before. Thus he commands a free and universal charity, not only that we love our friends and relations, but that *we love our enemies, bless them that curse us, do good to them that hate us, and pray for them that despitefully use and persecute us*: He hath forbidden malice and revenge with more plainness and smartness; obliged us not only to live according to the measures of sobriety, but extended it to *self-denial*, and *taking up the Cross*, and laying down our lives, whenever the honour of God, and the interest of Religion calls for it; he not only commands us to do no wrong, but when we have done it, to make restitution; not only to retrench our irregular appetites, but *to cut off our right hand, and pluck out our right eye, and cast them from us*, that is, mortify and offer violence to those vicious inclinations, which are as dear to us, as the most useful and necessary parts and members of our body. Besides all this, had God intended the *Decalogue* for a perfect summary of the Laws of Nature, we cannot suppose that he would have taken any but such into the collection, whereas the Fourth Commandment concerning the *Seventh day* is unquestionably Typical and Ceremonial, and has nothing more of a Natural and Eternal obligation in it, than that God should be served and honoured both with publick and private worship, which cannot be done without some portions of time set apart for it: but that this should be done just at such a time, and by such proportions, upon the *Seventh* rather than the *Sixth* or the *Eighth day*, is no part of natural Religion. And indeed the reasons and arguments that are annexed to it, to enforce the observance of it, clearly shew that it is of a later date, and of another nature than the rest of those Precepts in whose company we find it, though it seems at first sight to pass without any peculiar note of discrimination from the rest. As for the rest they are Laws of Eternal righteousness, and did not derive their value and authority from the Divine sanction which God here gave them at Mount *Sinai*, but from their own moral and internal goodness and equity, being founded in the nature of things, and the essential and unchangeable differences of good and evil. By which means they always were, always will be obligatory and indispensable, being as Eternal and Immutable as the nature of God himself.

5. THE second sort of Laws were *Ceremonial*, Divine Constitutions concerning Ritual observances, and matters of Ecclesiastical cognizance and relation, and were instituted for a double end, partly for the more orderly government of the Church, and the more decent administration of the worship of God; partly that they might be types and figures of the Evangelical state, *shadows of good things to come*, visible and symbolical representations of the *Messiah*, and those great blessings and priviledges which he was to introduce into the World; which doubtless was the reason why God was so infinitely punctual and particular in his directions about these matters, giving orders about the minutest circumstances of the Temple-ministration, because every part of it had a glance at a future and better state of

Exod. 29.

of things. The number of them was great, and the observation burdensome, the whole Nation groaning under the servility of that yoke. They were such as principally related to God's worship, and may be reduced either to such as concerned the worship it self, or the circumstances of time, place and persons that did attend it. Their worship consisted chiefly in three things, Prayers, Sacrifices and Sacraments. *Prayers* were daily put up together with their Offerings, and though we have very few Constitutions concerning them, yet the constant practice of that Church, and the particular forms of Prayer yet extant in their writings, are a sufficient evidence. *Sacrifices* were the constant and most solemn part of their publick worship; yea, they had their *עלה המיר* *their continual burnt-offering*, a Lamb offered Morning and Evening with a Measure of Flower, Oil and Wine, the charge whereof was defrayed out of the Treasury of the Temple. The rest of their Sacrifices may be considered either as they were *Expiatory*, or *Eucharistical*. Expiatory were those that were offered as an atonement for the sins of the people, to pacify the Divine displeasure, and to procure his pardon, which they did by virtue of their Typical relation to that great Sacrifice which the Son of God was in the fulness of time to offer up for the sins of the World. They were either of a more general relation, for the expiation of sin in general, whole burnt-offerings, which were intirely (the skin and the entrails only excepted) burnt to ashes; or of a more private and particular concernment, designed for the redemption of particular offences, whereof there were two sorts: *חטאת* or *the sin-offering*, for involuntary offences committed through error or ignorance, which according to the condition and capacity of the Person were either for the Priest, or the Prince, or the whole Body of the People, or a private Person. The other *אשם* or *the trespass-offering*, for sins done wittingly, studied and premeditated transgressions, and which the Man could not pretend to be the effects of surprize or chance. *Eucharistical* Sacrifices were testimonies of gratitude to God for mercies received, whereof three sorts especially. 1. *מנחה* or *the meat-offering*, made up of things without life, oil, fine flower, incense, &c. which the worshipper offered as a thankful return for the daily preservation and provisions of life, and therefore it consisted only of the fruits of the ground. 2. *זבח שלמים* or *the peace-offering*; this was done either out of a grateful sense of some blessing conferred, or as a voluntary offering to which the Person had obliged himself by vow in expectation of some safety or deliverance which he had prayed for. In this Sacrifice God had his part, the fat which was the only part of it burnt by fire, the Priest his, as the instrument of the ministration, the Offerer his, that he might have wherewith to rejoice before the Lord. 3. *תורה* a *thanksgiving-offering*, or a Sacrifice of praise, it was a mixt kind of Sacrifice, consisting of living Creatures, and the fruits of the Earth, which they might offer at their own will, but it must be eaten the same day, and none of it left until the morrow. What other provisions we meet with concerning ceremonial uncleannesses, first-fruits, the first-born, tenths, &c. are conveniently reducible to some of these heads which we have already mentioned. The last part of their worship concerned their *Sacraments*, which were two, *Circumcision*, and the *Paschal Supper*. Circumcision was the federal Rite annexed by God as a Seal to the Covenant which he made with Abraham and his Posterity, and accordingly renewed and taken into the Body of the Mosaical constitutions. It was to be administred the eighth day, which the Jews understand not of so many days complete, but the current time, six full days, and part of the other. In the room of this, *Baptism* succeeds in the Christian Church.

Church. The *Paschover*, which was the eating of the *Paschal* Lamb, was instituted as an Annual memorial of their signal and miraculous deliverance out of Egypt, and as a typical representation of our spiritual Redemption by Christ from the bondage of sin and that Hell that follows it. It was to be celebrated with a Male-lamb without blemish taken out of the Flock, to note the Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the World, who was taken from among men, a Lamb without blemish and without spot, holy, harmless, and separate from sinners. The Door-posts of the House were to be sprinkled with the blood of the Lamb; to signify our security from the Divine vengeance by the blood of sprinkling. The Lamb was to be roasted and eaten whole, typifying the great sufferings of our blessed Saviour, who was to pass through the fire of Divine wrath, and to be wholly embrac'd and entertain'd by us in all his Offices, as King, Priest, and Prophet. None but those that were clean and circumcised might eat of it, to shew that only true believers, holy and good men can be partakers of Christ and the merits of his Death; It was to be eaten standing, with their Loins girt, and their staff in their hand, to put them in mind what haste they made out of the house of bondage, and to intimate to us what present diligence we should use to get from under the empire and tyranny of sin and Satan, under the conduct and assistance of the Captain of our Salvation. The eating of it was to be mixed with bitter herbs, partly as a memorial of that bitter servitude which they underwent in the Land of Egypt, partly as a type of that repentance and bearing of the cross (duties difficult and unpleasant) which all true Christians must undergo. Lastly, it was to be eaten with unleavened Bread, all manner of leaven being at that time to be banished out of their Houses with the most critical diligence and curiosity, to represent what infinite care we should take to cleanse and purify our hearts, to purge out the old leaven, that we may be a new lump: and that since Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us, therefore we should keep the Feast (the Festival commemoration of his Death) not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. 1 Cor. 5. 7. 8.

6. THE Places of their Publick Worship were either the *Tabernacle* made in the Wilderness, or the *Temple* built by Solomon, between which in the main there was no other difference, than that the Tabernacle was an ambulatory Temple, as the Temple was a standing Tabernacle, together with all the rich costly Furniture that was in them. The parts of it were three, the *Holiest of all*, whither none entred but the High-Priest, and that but once a Year, this was a type of Heaven; the *holy place*, whither the Priests entred every Day to perform their Sacred Ministrations; and the *outward Court*, whither the People came to offer up their Prayers and Sacrifices. In the *Sanctum sanctorum*, or Holiest of all there was the *Golden Censer*, typifying the Merits and Intercession of Christ; the *Ark of the Covenant*, as a representation of him who is the Mediator of the Covenant between God and man; the *Golden Pot of Manna*, a type of our Lord, the true Manna, the Bread that came down from Heaven; the *Rod of Aaron that budded*, signifying the Branch of the Root of Jesse, that though our Saviour's Family should be reduced to a state of so much meanness and obscurity, as to appear but like the trunk or stump of a Tree, yet there should come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch grow out of his roots, which should stand for an Ensign of the People, and in him should the Gentiles trust. And within the Ark were the two Tables of the Covenant, to denote him, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and who is the end and perfection of the Law: Over it were the *Cherubims of glory shadowing the Mercy-seat*, who looking

Isa. 11. 1-10.  
Rom. 15. 12.

looking towards each other, and both to the Mercy-seat denoted the two Testaments, or Dispensations of the Church, which admirably agree, and both direct to Christ the Mediator of the Covenant. The Propitiatory, or Mercy-seat was the Golden covering to the Ark, where God veiling his Majesty was wont to manifest his Presence, to give Answers, and shew Himself reconciled to the People, herein eminently prefiguring our Blessed Saviour, who interposes between us and the Divine Majesty, *whom God hath set forth to be a Propitiation, through faith in his blood for the remission of sins; so that now we may come boldly to the Throne of Grace, and find mercy to help us.* Within the Sanctuary, or the Holy Place was the Golden Candlestick with Seven Branches, representing Christ, who is the *Light of the World*, and who enlightens everyone that comes into the World, and before whose Throne there are said to be seven Lamps of Fire, which are the seven spirits of God: The Table, compassed about with a Border and a Crown of Gold, denoting the Ministry, and the Shew-bread set upon it, shadowing out Christ, the *Licua of Life*, who by the Ministry of the Gospel is offered to the World: here also was the Golden Altar of Incense, whereon they burnt the sweet Perfumes Morning and Evening, to signify to us that our Lord is the true Altar, by whom all our Prayers and Services are rendered the odour of a sweet smell acceptable unto God; to this the Psalmist refers, *Let my Prayer be set forth before thee as Incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the Evening Sacrifice.* The third part of the Tabernacle, as also of the Temple, was the Court of Israel, wherein stood the Brazen Altar, upon which the Holy Fire was continually preserved, by which the Sacrifices were consumed, one of the Five great Prerogatives that were wanting in the second Temple. Here was the Brazen Laver, with its Basis, made of the brazen Looking-glasses of the Women that assembled at the Door of the Tabernacle, wherein the Priests washed their Hands and their Feet, when going into the Sanctuary, and both they and the People, when about to offer Sacrifice; to teach us to purifie our hearts and to cleanse our selves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, especially when we approach to offer up our services to Heaven; hereunto David alludes, *I will wash mine hands in innocency, so will I compass thine Altar, O Lord.* Solomon in building the Temple made an addition of a fourth Court, the Court of the Gentiles, whereinto the unclean Jews and Gentiles might enter, and in this was the Corban or Treasury, and it is sometimes in the New Testament called the Temple. To these Laws concerning the Place of Worship we may reduce those that relate to the holy Vessels and Utensils of the Tabernacle and the Temple, Candlesticks, Snuffers, Dishes, &c. which also had their proper mysteries and significations.

7. THE stated times and seasons of their worship are next to be considered, and they were either Daily, Weekly, Monthly, or Yearly. Their Daily worship was at the time of the Morning, and the Evening Sacrifice; their Weekly solemnity was the Sabbath, which was to be kept with all imaginable care and strictness, they being commanded to rest in it from all servile labours, and to attend the Duties and Offices of Religion, a type of that rest that remains for the People of God. Their monthly Festivals were the New-moons, wherein they were to blow the Trumpets over their Sacrifices and Oblations, and to observe them with great expressions of joy and triumph, in a thankful resentment of the blessings which all that Month had been conferred upon them. Their Annual Solemnities were either ordinary or extraordinary; Ordinary were those that returned every Year, whereof the first was the Passover, to be celebrated upon the Fourteenth day of the first Month, as a Memorial of their great deliverance out of Egypt:

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The second, *Pentecost*, called also the *Feast of Weeks*, because just seven Weeks, or fifty days after the Passover: Instituted it was partly in memory of the promulgation of the Law, published at Mount Sinai fifty days after their celebration of the Passover in Egypt, partly as a thanksgiving for the in-gathering of their Harvest, which usually was fully brought in about this time. The third was the *Feast of Tabernacles*, kept upon the Fifteenth day of the Seventh Month for the space of Seven days together; at which time they dwelt in Booths made of green Boughs, as a memento of that time when they sojourn'd in Tents and Tabernacles in the Wilderness, and a sensible demonstration of the transitory duration of the present life, that the *Earthly house of our Tabernacle must be dissolved*, and that therefore we should secure a building of God, an house not made with hands, Eternal in the Heavens. These were the three great solemnities, wherein all the Males were obliged to appear at Jerusalem, and to present themselves and their offerings in testimony of their homage and devotion unto God: Besides which they had some of lesser moment, such as their *Feast of Trumpets*, and that of Expiation. The Annual Festivals extraordinary were those that recurr'd but once in the periodical return of several years; such was the *Sabbatical year*, wherein the Land was to lye fallow, and to rest from ploughing and sowing, and all manner of cultivation; and this was to be every seventh year, typifying the Eternal Sabbathism in Heaven, where good men shall rest from their labours, and their works shall follow them. But the great Sabbatical year of all was that of Jubilee, which returned at the end of seven ordinary Sabbatical years, that is, every fiftieth year, the approach whereof was proclaimed by the sound of Trumpets; in it servants were released, all debts discharged, and mortgaged Estates reverted to their proper heirs. And how evidently did this shadow out the state of the Gospel, and our Lord's being sent to preach good tidings to the meek, to bind up the broken-hearted, to preach liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, that they might lift up their heads, because their redemption drew nigh?

8. LASTLY, They had Laws concerning the persons by whom their publick worship was administered; and here there was appointed an High-Priest, who had his proper offices and rules of duty, his peculiar attire and consecration; ordinary Priests, whose business was to instruct the people, to Pray and offer sacrifice, to bless the Congregation, and judge in cases of Leprosie, and such like; at their Ordination, they were to be chosen before all the people, to be sprinkled with the water of Expiation, their Hair shaved, and their Bodies washed, afterwards anointed, and sacrifices to be offered for them, and then they might enter upon their Priestly ministrations. Next to these were the Levites, who were to assist the Priests in preparing the Sacrifices, to bear the Tabernacle (while it lasted) and lay up its Vessels and Utensils, to purifie and cleanse the Vessels and Instruments; to guard the Courts and Chambers of the Temple, to watch weekly in the Temple by their turns, to sing and celebrate the praises of God with Hymns and Musical Instruments, and to joyn with the Priests in judging and determining Ceremonial causes; they were not to be taken into the full discharge of their Function till the thirtieth, nor to be kept at it beyond the fiftieth year of their age; God mercifully thinking it fit to give them then a Writ of Ease, whose strength might be presumed sufficiently impaired by truckling for so many years under such toilsom and laborious ministrations. Though the Levitical Priests were types of Christ, yet it was the High-Priest, who did eminently typifie him, and that in the unity and singularity

Isa. 61. 1, 2.  
Luke 4. 18.

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ty of his office ; for though many Orders and Courses of inferior Priests and Ministers, yet was there but one High-Priest, *There is one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus* ; in the qualifications necessary to his election, as to place, he was to be taken out of the Tribe of *Levi* ; as to his person, which was to be every ways perfect and comely, and the manner of his Consecration ; in his singular capacity, that he alone might enter into the *holy of holies*, which he did once every year upon the great day of Expiation, with a mighty pomp and train of Ceremonies, killing Sacrifices, burning Incense, sprinkling the blood of the Sacrifice before and upon the Mercy-seat, going within the veil, and making an atonement within the holy place. All which immediately referred to *Christ*, who by the sacrifice of himself, and through the veil of his own flesh entered, not into the holy place made with hands, but into *Heaven it self*, now to appear in the presence of God for us. All which might be represented more at large, but that I intend not a discourse about these matters.

9. BESIDES the Laws which we have hitherto enumerated, there were several other particular Commands, Ritual Constitutions about Meats and Drinks, and other parts of humane life. Such was the difference they were to make between the Creatures, some to be clean, and others unclean ; such were several sorts of pollution and uncleanness, which were not in their own nature sins, but Ceremonial defilements ; of this kind were several provisions about Apparel, Diet, and the ordering Family-affairs, all evidently of a Ceremonial aspect, but too long to be insisted on in this place. The main design of this Ceremonial Law was to point out to us the Evangelical state, *The Law had only a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things themselves, the body was Christ*, and therefore though the Law came by *Moses*, yet *grace and truth* (the truth of all those types and figures) *came by Christ*. It was time for *Moses* to resign the Chair, when once this great Prophet was come into the World. Ceremonies could no longer be of use, when once the substance was at hand : well may the Stars disappear at the rising of the Sun : the *Messiah being cut off, should cause the Sacrifice and the Oblation to cease*. At the time of *Christ's* death the veil of the Temple from top to bottom rent in sunder, to shew that his death had revealed the mysteries, and destroyed the foundations of the legal Oeconomy, and put a period to the whole Temple-ministration. Nay, the Jews themselves confess, that forty years before the destruction of the Temple ( a date that corresponds exactly with the death of *Christ* ) the *Lot did no more go up into the right hand of the Priest* ( this is meant of his dismissal of the Scape-goat ) *nor the scarlet Ribbon, usually laid upon the forehead of the Goat, any more grow white*, ( this was a sign that the Goat was accepted for the remission of their sins ) *nor the Evening Lamp burn any longer*, and that *the gates of the Temple opened of their own accord*. By which as at once they confirm what the Gospel reports of the opening of the *Sanctum Sanctorum* by the scissure of the veil ; so they plainly confess, that at that very time their Sacrifices and Temple-services began to cease and fail : As indeed the reason of them then ceasing, the things themselves must needs vanish into nothing.

10. THE third sort of Laws given to the Jews were *Judicial* and *Political*, these were the Municipal Laws of the Nation, enacted for the good of the State, and were a kind of appendage to the second Table of the Decalogue, as the Ceremonial Laws were of the first. They might be reduced to four general heads ; such as respected men in their private and domestic capacities, concerning Husbands and Wives, Parents and Children, Masters

Masters and Servants ; such as concerned the Publick and the Commonwealth, relating to Magistrates, and Courts of Justice, to Contracts and matters of right and wrong, to Estates and Inheritances, to Executions and Punishments, &c. such as belong'd to strangers, and matters of a foreign nature, as Laws concerning Peace and War, Commerce and Dealing with persons of another Nation ; or lastly, such as secured the honour and the interests of Religion, Laws against Apostates and Idolaters, Wizards, Conjurers and false Prophets, against Blasphemy, Sacrilege, and such like ; all which not being so proper to my purpose, I omit a more particular enumeration of them. These Laws were peculiarly calculated for the Jewish State, and that while kept up in that Country wherein God had placed them, and therefore must needs determine and expire with it. Nor can they be made a pattern and standard for the Laws of other Nations ; for, though proceeding from the wisest Law-giver, they cannot reasonably be imposed upon any State or Kingdom, unless where there is an equal concurrence of circumstances, as there were in that people, for whom God enacted them. They went off the Stage with the Jewish Polity, and if any parts of them do still remain obligatory, they bind not as *Judicial* Laws, but as branches of the Law of Nature, the reason of them being Immutable and Eternal. I know not whether it may here be useful to remark what the Jews so frequently tell us of, that the intire body of the *Mosaic* Law consists of DCXIII. Precepts, intimated ( say they ) in that place where 'tis said *Moses commanded us a Law*, where the Numeral Letters of the word *תורה* Deut. 33. 4. or *Law* make up the number of DCXI. and the two that are wanting to make up the complete number are the two first Precepts of the Decalogue, which were not given by *Moses* to the people, but immediately by God himself. Others say that there are just DCXIII. letters in the Decalogue, and that every letter answers to a Law : But some that have had the patience to tell them, assure us that there are two whole words consisting of seven letters supernumerary, which in my mind quite spoils the computation. These DCXIII. Precepts they divide into CCXLVIII. *Affirmative*, according to the number of the parts of man's body ( which they make account are just so many ) to put him in mind to serve God with all his bodily powers, as if every member of his body should say to him, *עשה בי מצוה* *make use of me to fulfil the command* ; and into CCCLXV. *Negative*, according to the number of the days of the year, that so every day may call upon a man, and say to him, *לא תעשה בי עברה* *oh do not in me transgress the Command* : Or as others will have it, they answer to the *Veins* or *Nerves* in the body of man ; that as the complete frame and compages of man's body is made up of CCXLVIII. Members, and CCCLXV. Nerves, and the Law of so many affirmative, and so many negative Precepts, it denotes to us, that the whole perfection and accomplishment of man lies in an accurate and diligent observance of the Divine Law. Each of these divisions they reduce under twelve houses, answerable to the twelve Tribes of Israel. In the Affirmative Precepts the first House is that of *Divine Worship*, consisting of twenty Precepts ; the second, the *House of the Sanctuary*, containing XIX ; the third, the *House of Sacrifices*, wherein are LVII ; the fourth, that of *Cleanliness and Pollution*, containing XVIII ; the fifth, of *Tithes* and *Alms*, under which are XXXII ; the sixth, of *Meats and Drinks*, containing VII ; the seventh, of the *Passover*, concerning Feasts, containing XX ; the eighth, of *Judgment*, XIII ; the ninth, of *Doctrine*, XXV ; the tenth, of *Marriage*, and concerning Women, XII ; the eleventh, of *Judgments* criminal, VIII ; the twelfth, of *Civil Judgments*, XVII. In the Negative

Heb. 10. 1.

John 1. 17.

from cap 4. fol.  
39. ap. Buxtorf.  
Recent. Oper.  
Aelm. p. 218.

Auth. Tzeror  
Hammar ap.  
Poyf. de leg.  
Div. c. 23.  
p. 338.

R. Moyses  
Traité de Num.  
pr. cc. ap. Poyf.  
ib.

Vid. Meniff.  
Deu Israel de  
Resurr. lib. 2.  
c. 18.

Precepts, the first House is concerning the *worship of the Planets*, containing XLVII Commands; the second, of *separation from the Heathens*, XIII; the third, concerning the *reverence due to holy things*, XXIX; the fourth, of *Sacrifice and Priesthood*, LXXXII; the fifth, of *Meats*, XXXVIII; the sixth, of *Fields and Harvest*, XVIII; the seventh, of *Doctrine*, XLV; the eighth, of *Justice*, XLVII; the ninth, of *Feasts*, X; the tenth, of *Purity and Chastity*, XXIV; the eleventh, of *Wedlock*, VIII; the twelfth, concerning the *Kingdom*, IV. A method not contemptible, as which might minister to a distinct and useful explication of the whole Law of *Moses*.

11. THE next thing considerable under the *Mosaical Oeconomy*, was the methods of the Divine revelation, by what ways God communicated his mind to them, either concerning present emergencies or future events, and this was done, *πολυμερῶς ἢ πολυτρόπως*, as the Apostle tells us, at *sundry times*, or by *sundry degrees and parcels*, and *in diverse manners*, by various methods of revelation, whereof three most considerable, the *Urim* and *Thummim*, the *audible voice*, and the *spirit of Prophecy*, imparted in dreams, visions, &c. We shall make some brief remarks upon them, referring the Reader, who desires fuller satisfaction herein, to those who purposely treat about these matters. The *Urim* and *Thummim* was a way of revelation peculiar to the High Priest: *Thou shalt put on the breast-plate of Judgment, the Urim and the Thummim, and they shall be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before the Lord, and Aaron shall bear the judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart before the Lord continually.* Thus Eleazar the Priest is commanded to *ask counsel after the Judgment of Urim before the Lord.*

What this *Urim* and *Thummim* was, and what the manner of receiving answers by it, is difficult, if not impossible to tell, there being scarce any one difficulty that I know of in the Bible that hath more exercised the thoughts either of *Jewish* or *Christian* Writers. Whether it was some addition to the High-Priests breast-plate made by the hand of some curious Artist, or whether only those two words engraven upon it, or the great name *Jehovah* carved and put within the foldings of the breast-plate, or whether the twelve stones resplendent with light, and completed to perfection with the Tribes names therein, or whether some other mysterious piece of artifice immediately framed by the hand of Heaven, and given to *Moses*, when he delivered him the two Tables of the Law, is vain and endless to enquire, because impossible to determine. Nor is the manner of its giving answers less uncertain: Whether at such times the fresh and orient lustre of the stones signified the answer in the Affirmative, while their dull and dead colour spake the Negative; or whether it was by some extraordinary protuberancy and thrusting forth of the letters engraven upon the stones, from the conjunction whereof the Divine Oracle was gathered; or whether probably it might be, that when the High-Priest enquired of God, with this breast-plate upon him, God did either by a lively voice, or by immediate suggestions to his mind, give him a distinct and perspicuous answer, illuminating his mind with the *Urim*, or the light of the knowledge of his will in those cases, and satisfying his doubts and scruples with the *Thummim* of a perfect and complete determination of those difficulties that were propounded to him, thereby enabling him to give a satisfactory and infallible answer in all the particulars that lay before him. And this several of the *Jews* seem to intend, when they make this way of revelation one of the degrees of the *Holy Ghost*, and say that no sooner did the High-Priest put on the *Pectoral*, and had the case propounded to him, but that he was immediately

mediately clothed with the Holy Spirit. But it's to little purpose to hunt after that where fancy and conjecture must decide the case. Indeed among the various conjectures about this matter, none appears with greater probability than the opinion of those who conceive the *Urim* and *Thummim* to have been a couple of *Teraphim*, or little Images (probably formed in humane shape) put within the hollow foldings of the Pontifical breast-plate, from whence God by the ministry of an Angel vocally answered those interrogatories which the High-Priest made: Nothing being more common even in the early Ages of the World, than such *Teraphim* in those *Eastern* Countries, usually placed in their Temples, and whence the *Dæmon* was wont oracularly to determine the cases brought before him. And as God permitted the *Jews* the use of Sacrifices, which had been notoriously abused to Superstition and Idolatry in the Heathen World, so he might indulge them these *Teraphim* (though now converted to a sacred use) that so he might by degrees wean them from the Rites of the *Gentile* World, to which they had so fond an inclination. And this probably was the reason, why when *Moses* is so particular in describing the other parts of the Sacerdotal Ornaments, nothing at all is said of this, because a thing of common use among the Nations, with whom they had conversed, and notoriously known among themselves. And such we may suppose the Prophet intended, when he threatened the *Jews*, that they should abide without a sacrifice, without an Image or Altar, without an Ephod, and without a *Teraphim*. A notion very happily improved by an ingenious Pen, whose acute conjectures, and elaborate dissertations about this matter justly deserve commendation even from those who differ from it. It seems to have been a kind of political Oracle, and to be consulted only in great and weighty cases, as the Election of Supreme Magistrates, making War, &c. and only by Persons of the highest rank, none being permitted (say the *Jews*) to enquire of it, unless in a case wherein the King, or the *Sanhedrim*, or the whole Congregation was concerned.

12. A SECOND way of Divine Revelation was by an *audible voice*, accompanied many times with *Thunder*, descending as it were from Heaven, and directing them in any emergency of affairs. This the *Jewish* Writers call *בְּחַק קוֹל*, the *daughter* or *Echo* of a *Voice*, which they confess to have been the lowest kind of revelation, and to have been in use only in the times of the second Temple, when all other ways of Prophecy were ceased. But notwithstanding their common and confident assertions whether ever there was any such standing way of revelation as this, is justly questionable (nay, it is peremptorily denied by one incomparably versed in the *Talmudick* Writings, who adds, that if there was any such thing at any time, it was done by *Magick Arts*, and diabolical delusions) partly because it is only delivered by *Jewish* Writers, whose faith and honesty is too well known to the World to be trusted in stories that make so much for the honour of their Nation, not to mention their extravagant propension to lies and fabulous reports; partly, because by their own confession God had withdrawn all his standing Oracles and ordinary ways of Revelation, their notorious impieties having caused Heaven to retire, and therefore much less would it correspond with them by such immediate converses; partly, because this seemed to be a way more accommodate to the Evangelical dispensation at the appearance of the Son of God in the World. A voice from Heaven is the most immediate testimony, and therefore fittest to do honour to him who came down from Heaven, and was sure to meet with an obdurate and incredulous Generation, and to give evidence to that Doctrine

that he published to the World. Thus by a *Bath-Col* or a Voice from Heaven God bare witness to our Saviour at his Baptism, and a second time at his Transfiguration, and again at the Passover at *Jerusalem*, when there came a Voice from Heaven, which the People took for Thunder, or the Communication of an Angel, and most of *S. John's* intelligences from above recorded in his Book of *Revelation* are ushered in with an, *I heard a Voice from Heaven.*

13. BUT the most frequent and standing method of Divine communications was that whereby God was wont to transact with the Prophets, and in extraordinary cases with other Men, which was either by Dreams, Visions, or immediate Inspirations. The way by *Dreams* was when the Person being overtaken with a deep sleep, and all the exterior senses locked up, God presented the *Species* and *Images* of things to their understandings, and that in such a manner, that they might be able to apprehend the will of God, which they presently did upon their awaking out of sleep. These Divine Dreams the *Jews* distinguish into two sorts, *Monitory*, such as were sent only by way of instruction and admonition, to give Men notice of what they were to do, or warning of what they should avoid, such were the Dreams of *Pharaoh*, *Abimelech*, *Laban*, &c. or else they were *Prophetical*, when God by such a powerful energy acted upon the mind and imagination of the Prophet, as carried the strength and force of a Divine evidence along with it. This was sometimes done by a clear and distinct impression of the thing upon the mind without any dark or enigmatical representation of it, such as God made to *Samuel*, when he first revealed himself to him in the Temple: sometimes by apparition, yet so as the Man though asleep was able to discern an Angel conversing with him. By *Visions*, God usually communicated himself two ways. First, when something really appeared to the sight; thus *Moses* beheld the Bush burning, and stood there while God conversed with him; *Manoah* and his Wife saw the Angel, while he took his leave, and in a flaming *Pyramid* went up to Heaven; the three Angels appeared to *Abraham* a little before the fatal ruine of *Sodom*; all which apparitions were unquestionably true and real, the Angel assuming an humane shape, that he might the freelier converse with, and deliver his message to those to whom he was sent. Secondly, by powerful impressions upon the imagination, usually done while the Prophet was awake, and had the free and uninterrupted exercise of his reason, though the Vision oft overpowered, and cast him into a trance, that the Soul being more retired from sensible objects might the closer intend those Divine notices that were represented to it. Thus all the Prophets had the *Idea's* of those things that they were to deliver to the People, the more strongly impressed upon their fancies, and this commonly when they were in the greatest solitude and privacy, and their powers most called in, that the *Prophetical influx* might have the greater force upon them. In some such way *S. Paul* was caught up into the third Heaven, probably not so much by any real separation of his Soul from his Body, or local translation of his Spirit thither, as by a profound abstraction of it from his corporeal Senses, God, during the time of the trance, entertaining it with an internal and admirable scene of the glory and happiness of that state, as truly and effectually, as if his Soul had been really conveyed thither.

14. THIRDLY, God was wont to communicate his mind by immediate *Inspirations*, whereby he immediately transacted with the understandings of Men, without any relation to their fancy or their senses. It was the most pacate and serene way of Prophecy, God imparting his mind to the Prophet

Prophet not by Dreams or Visions, but while they were awake, their powers active, and their minds calm and undisturbed. This the *Jews* call *רוח הקדש* the *Holy Spirit*, or that kind of Revelation that was directly conveyed into the mind by the most efficacious irradiation and inspiration of the Holy Spirit; God by these Divine illapses enabling the Prophet clearly and immediately to apprehend the things delivered to him. And in this way the *כתובים* or *holy Writings* were dictated and conveyed to the World, in which respect the Apostle says, that *all Scripture is θεόπνευστος*, given by divine inspiration. The highest pitch of this Prophetical revelation was *נבואה משה* the *gradus Mosaicus*, or that way of Prophecy that God used towards *Moses*, of whom it is particularly said, that *the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a Man speaketh unto his friend*: and elsewhere it is evidently distinguished from all inferior ways of Prophecy, *If there be a Prophet among you, I the Lord will make my self known unto him in a Vision, and will speak unto him in a Dream: my Servant Moses is not so, with him I will speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches, and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold*: Clearly implying a mighty preeminence in God's way of revelation to *Moses* above that of other Prophets, which the *Jewish* Writers make to have lyen in four things. First, that in all God's communications to *Moses* he immediately spake to his understanding, without any impressions upon fancy, any visible appearances, any Dreams or Visions of the Night. Secondly, that *Moses* had prophecies conveyed to him without any fears or consternations, whereas the other Prophets were astonished and weakned at the sight of God. Thirdly, that *Moses* had no previous dispositions or preparations to make him capable of the Divine revelation, but could directly go to God and consult him, as *a man speaketh with his friend*, other Prophets being forced many times by some preparatory arts to invite the Prophetick spirit to come upon them. Fourthly, that *Moses* had a freedom and liberty of spirit to prophesie at all times, and could when he pleased have recourse to the Sacred Oracle. But as to this the Scripture intimates no such thing, the spirit of Prophecy retiring from him at some times as well as from the rest of the Prophets. And indeed the Prophetick spirit did not reside in the holy men by way of habit, but occasionally, as God saw fitting to pour it out upon them; it was not in them as light is in the Sun, but as light in the Air, and consequently depended upon the immediate irradiations of the Spirit of God.

15. THESE Divine Communications were so conveyed to the minds of the Prophets and inspired persons, that they always knew them to be Divine revelations; so mighty and perspicuous was the evidence that came along with them, that there could be no doubt, but they were the birth of Heaven. It's true, when the Prophetick spirit at any time seized upon wicked men, they understood not its effect upon them, nor were in the least improved and bettered by it; the revelation passed through them, as a sound through a Trunk, or water through a Leaden-pipe, without any particular and distinct apprehension of the thing, or useful impression made upon their minds, as is evident besides others in the case of *Caiaphas* and *Balaam*, of which last the *Jews* say expressly *נבא בר צין אליהם ולא ידע מנבא* that he prophesied according to the will of God, but understood not what he prophesied. But it was otherwise with the true Prophets, they always knew who 'twas that acted them, and what was the meaning of that intelligence that was communicated to them. In the *Gentile* world, when the *Demon* entered into the inspired person, he was usually carried out to the furious transports of rage and madness. But in the Prophets of God, although the impulse

*Vid. Maimon. Mor. Nivoch. part. 2. cap. 45. p. 317.*

*Exod. 33. 11.*

*Numb. 12. 6. 7, 8.*

impulse might sometimes be very strong and violent, ( whence the Prophet *Jeremy* complains, *Mine heart within me is broken, all my bones shake, I am like a drunken man, like a man whom wine hath overcome, because of the Lord, and because of the words of his holiness* ) so as a little to ruffle their imagination, yet never so as to discompose their reason, or hinder them from a clear perception of the notices conveyed upon their minds; ὁ προφήτης μέλα κατατράσσει λοισμῶν, καὶ παρακλυθήσεται ἐλάλει, καὶ ἐφθέγγετο ἐν πνεύματι. ἐγὼ, τὰ πάντα ἐρωτῶντος λέγων, says *Euphraninus*, the Prophet had his Oracles dictated by the Holy Spirit, which he delivered strenuously, and with the most firm and unshaken consistency of his rational powers; and afterwards, γεγόνασσι δὲ ὃν ἐκράσσει οἱ προφῆται, ἢ ὃν ἐκράσσει λογισμῶν, that the Prophets were often in a bodily ecstasie, but never in an ecstasie of mind, their understandings never being rendred uselels and unserviceable to them. Indeed it was absolutely necessary that the Prophet should have a full satisfaction of mind concerning the truth and Divinity of his message; for how else should they persuade others, that the thing was from God, if they were not first sufficiently assured themselves; and therefore even in those methods that were most liable to doubts and questions, such as communications by dreams, we cannot think but that the same Spirit that moved and impressed the thing upon them, did also by some secret and inward operations settle their minds in the firmest belief and persuasion of what was revealed and suggested to them. All these ways of immediate revelation ceased some hundreds of years before the final period of the Jewish Church. A thing confessed not only by *Christians* but by *Jews* themselves, שׁנִי לֹא הָיָה נְבִיא בְּבֵית שֵׁנִי *There was no Prophet in the second Temple*; indeed they universally acknowledge, that there were five things wanting in the second Temple, built after their return from the *Babylonish* Captivity, which had been in that of *Solomon*, viz. the Ark of the Covenant, the fire from Heaven that lay upon the Altar, the *Shekinah* or presence of the Divine Majesty, the *Urim* and *Thummim*, and the spirit of Prophecy, which ceased (as they tell us) about the second year of *Darius*, to be sure at the death of *Malachy*, the last of that order, after whom there arose no Prophet in *Israel*, whom therefore the *Jews* call, חֶתֶם הַנְּבִיאִים *the seal of the Prophets*. Indeed it is no wonder that Prophecy should cease at that time, if we consider that one of the prime ends of it did then cease, which was to be a seal and an assurance of the Divine inspiration of the holy Volumes, now the *Canon* of the Old Testament being consigned and completed by *Ezra* with the assistance of *Malachy*, and some of the last Prophets, God did not think good any longer to continue this Divine and Miraculous gift among them: But especially if we consider the great degeneracy into which that Church was falling; their horrid and crying sins having made God resolve to reject them, the departure of the Prophetick spirit shewed that God had written them a bill of divorce, and would utterly cast them off; that by this means they might be awakened to a more lively expectation of that new state of things, which the *Messiah* was coming to establish in the World, wherein the Prophetick spirit should revive, and be again restored to the Church, which accordingly came to pass, as we shall elsewhere observe.

16. THE third thing propounded, was to consider the state of Religion, and the Church under the successive periods of this *Oeconomy*. And here we shall only make some general remarks, a particular survey of those matters not consilting with the design of this discourse. Ecclesiastical Constitutions being made in the Wilderness, and the place for publick worship

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fram'd and erected, no sooner did they come into the promised Land, but the Tabernacle was set down at *Gilgal*, where, if the *Jewish* Chronology say true, it continued fourteen years, till they had subdued and divided the Land: Then fixed at *Shiloh*, and the Priests and Levites had Cities and Territories assigned to them, where it is not to be doubted but there were Synagogues, or places equivalent for prayer and the ordinary solemnities of Religion, and Courts for the decision of Ecclesiastical causes, Prosperity and a plentiful Country had greatly contributed to the depravation of mens manners, and the corruption of Religion till the times of *Samuel*, the great Reformer of that Church, who erected *Colledges*, and instituted *Schools* of the *Prophets*, reduced the Societies of the Levites to their Primitive order and purity, forced the Priests to do their duty, diligently to minister in the affairs of God's worship, and carefully to teach and instruct the people: A piece of reformation no more than necessary, *For the word of the Lord was precious in those days, there was no open vision*. CCCLXIX. years (say the *Jews*) the Tabernacle abode at *Shiloh*, from whence it was translated to *Nob* a City in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, probably about the time that the Ark was taken, thence after thirteen years to *Gibeon*, where it remained fifty years; and lastly, by *Solomon* to *Jerusalem*. The Ark being taken out to carry along with them for their more prosperous success in their War against the *Philistines*, was ever after exposed to an ambulatory and unsettled course: For being taken captive by the *Philistines*, it was by them kept prisoner seven months, thence removed to *Bethshemesb*, and thence to *Kiriath-jearim*, where it remained in the house of *Abinadab* twenty years, thence solemnly fetched by *David*, and after three months rest by the way in the house of *Obed-Edom*, brought triumphantly to *Jerusalem*, and placed under the covert of a Tent which he had purposely erected for it. *David* being settled in the Throne, like a pious Prince took especial care of the affairs of Religion, he fixed the High-Priest and his second, augmented the courses of the Priests from eight to four and twenty, appointed the Levites, and Singers, and their several turns and times of waiting, assigned them their proper duties and ministeries, settled the *Nethinim* or Porters, the posterity of the *Gibeonites*, made Treasurers of the revenues belonging to holy uses, and of the vast summs contributed towards the building of a Temple, as a more solemn and stately place for Divine worship, which he was fully resolved to have erected, but that God commanded it to be reserved for the peaceable and prosperous Reign of *Solomon*, who succeeding in his Father's Throne, accomplished it, building so stately and magnificent a Temple, that it became one of the greatest wonders of the World. Under his son *Rehoboam* hapned the fatal division of the Kingdom, when ten parts of twelve were rent off at once, and brought under the Empire of *Jeroboam*, who knew no better way to secure his new-gotten Sovereignty, than to take off the people from hankering after the Temple and the worship at *Jerusalem*, and therefore out of a cursed policy erected two Golden Calves at *Dan* and *Bethel*, persuading the people there to pay their publick adorations, appointing Chaplains like himself, Priests of the lowest of the people; and from this time Religion began visibly to ebbe and decline in that Kingdom, and Idolatry to get ground amongst them.

17. THE two Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* were loyal both to God and their Prince, continuing obedient to their lawful Sovereign, and firmly adhering to the worship of the Temple, though even here too impiety in some places maintained its ground, having taken root in the Reign of *Solomon*, who through his over-great partiality and fondness to his Wives

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Adv. Monim.  
Hare.  
XLVIII.  
p. 176.  
Eid p. 177.

Nitzch. 159.  
cit. in c. 1. ot-  
ting 73. Phil.  
L. 2. c. 3. p. 564.

had been betrayed to give too much countenance to Idolatry. The extirpation hereof was the design and attempt of all the pious and good Princes of *Judah*: *Jehosaphat* set himself in good earnest to recover Religion and the state of the Church to its ancient purity and lustre, he abolished the Groves and high places, and appointed itinerant Priests and Levites to go from City to City to expound the Law, and instruct the people in the knowledge of their duty; nay, he himself held a royal Visitation, *Going quite through the Land, and bringing back the people to the Lord God of their Fathers.* But under the succeeding Kings Religion again lost its ground, and had been quite extinct during the tyranny and usurpation of *Athaliah*, but that good *Jehoiada* the High-Priest kept it alive by his admirable zeal and industry. While he lived, his Pupil *Joas* (who owed both his Crown and his life to him) promoted the design, and purged the Temple, though after his Tutors death he apostatized to prophaneness and idolatry. Nor indeed was the reformation effectually advanced till the time of *Hzechiah*, who no sooner ascended the Throne, but he summoned the Priests and Levites, exhorted them to begin at home, and first to reform themselves, then to cleanse and repair the Temple; he resettled the Priests and Levites in their proper places and offices, and caused them to offer all sorts of Sacrifices, and the Passover to be universally celebrated with great strictness and solemnity; he destroyed the Monuments of Idolatry, *took away the Altars in Jerusalem*, and having given commission, the people did the like in all parts of the Kingdom, breaking the Images, cutting down the Groves, throwing down the Altars and high places, *until they had utterly destroyed them all.* But neither greatness nor piety can exempt any from the common Laws of mortality, *Hzechiah* dies, and his son *Manasseh* succeeds, a wicked Prince, under whose influence impiety like a land-flood broke in upon Religion, and laid all waste before it. But his Grandchild *Josiah* made some amends; he gave signal instances of an early piety; for in the eighth year of his Reign, *while he was yet young*, he began to seek after the God of *David* his Father, and in the twelfth year he began to purge *Judah* and *Jerusalem*; he defaced whatever had been abused and prostituted to Idolatry and Superstition throughout the whole Kingdom, repaired God's house, and ordered its worship according to the precept of the *Mosaick Law*, a copy whereof they had found in the ruins of the Temple, solemnly engaged himself and his people to be true to Religion and the worship of God, and caused so great and solemn a Passover to be held, *that there was no Passover like to it kept in Israel from the days of Samuel.* And more he had done, had not an immature death cut him off in the midst both of his days, and his pious designs and projects. Not many years after God being highly provoked by the prodigious impieties of that Nation, delivered it up to the Army of the King of *Babylon*, who demolished the City, harassed the Land, and carried the people captive unto *Babylon*. And no wonder the Divine patience could hold no longer, when *all the chief of the Priests and the people transgressed very much, after all the abominations of the Heathen, and polluted the house of the Lord, which he had hallowed in Jerusalem.* Seventy years they remained under this captivity, during which time the Prophet *Daniel* gave lively and particular accounts of the *Messiah*, that he should come into the World to introduce a Law of *everlasting righteousness*, to die as a sacrifice and expiation for the sins of the people, and to put a period to the *Levitical* sacrifices and oblations. And whereas other prophecies had only in general defined the time of the *Messiah's* coming, he particularly determines the period, that all this should be at the end of *LXX. weeks*, that is, at the expiration of

2 Chron. 19.4.

2 Chron. 34.3.

2 Chron. 36. 14.

CCCCXC. years; which exactly fell in with the time of our Saviour's appearing in the World. The seventy years captivity being run out, by the favour of the King of *Babylon* they were set free, and by him permitted and assisted to repair *Jerusalem*, and rebuild the Temple, which was accordingly done under the government of *Nehemiah*, and the succeeding Rulers, and the Temple finished by *Zorobabel*, and things brought into some tolerable state of order and decency, and so continued till the Reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes* King of *Syria*, by whom the Temple was prophaned and violated, and the Jewish Church miserably afflicted and distressed; he thrust out *Onias* the High-Priest, and put in his brother *Jason*, a man lost both to Religion and good manners, and who by a vast sum of money had purchased the Priest-hood of *Antiochus*: At this time *Matthias* a Priest, and the head of the *Asmonæan* Family, stood up for his Country; after whom came *Judas Macchabæus*, ἀνὴρ γενναῖος καὶ μεγαλόπρεμος, καὶ πάντῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ δυνάσας καὶ παθεῖν ὑποστάς, as *Josephus* truly characterizes him, a man of a generous temper, and a valiant mind, ready to do or suffer any thing to assert the Liberties and Religion of his Country, followed both in his zeal and prosperous success by his two Brothers *Jonathan* and *Simon*, successively High-Priests and Commanders after him. Next him came *John* surnamed *Hyrcaus*, then *Aristobulus*, *Alexander*, *Hyrcaus*, *Aristobulus junior*, *Alexander*, *Antigonus*; in whose time *Herod* the Great having by the favour of *Antony* obtained of the *Roman Senate* the Sovereignty over the Jewish Nation, and being willing that the Priesthood should intirely depend upon his arbitrary disposal, abrogated the succession of the *Asmonæan* Family, and put in one *Ananias*, ἱερεὺς τῶν ἀσημοτέρων, as *Josephus* calls him, an obscure Priest, of the line of those who had been Priests in *Babylon*. To him succeeded *Aristobulus*, to him *Jesus* the son of *Phabes*, to him *Simon*, who being deposed, next came *Matthias*, deposed also by *Herod*, next him *Joazar*, who underwent the same fate from *Archelaus*, then *Jesus* the son of *Sie*, after whom *Joazar* was again restored to the Chair, and under his Pontificate (though before his first deposition) *Christ* was born, things every day growing worse among them, till about seventy years after the wrath of God came upon them to the uttermost, and brought the *Romans*, who finally took away their place and Nation.

Antiquit. Jud. lib. 12. c. 19. p. 425.

Lib. 15. cap. 2. p. 512.

18. BEFORE we go off from this part of our discourse, it may not be amiss to take a more particular view of the state of the Jewish Church, as it stood at the time of our Saviour's appearing in the World, as what may reflect some considerable light upon the History of *CHRIST* and his Apostles. And if we cast our eyes upon it at this time, *How was the Gold become dim, and the most fine Gold changed!* How miserably deformed was the face of the Church, how strangely degenerated from its Primitive Institution! whereof we shall observe some particular instances. Their Temple though lately repaired and rebuilt by *Herod*, and that with so much pomp and grandeur, that *Josephus*, who yet may justly be presumed partial to the honour of his own Nation, says of it, that it was the most admirable structure that was ever seen or heard of both for the preparation made for it, the greatness and magnificence of the thing it self, and the infinite expence and cost bestowed upon it, as well as for the glory of that Divine worship that was performed in it, yet was it infinitely short of that of *Solomon*; besides that it had been often exposed to rudeness and violence. Not to mention the horrible prophanations of *Antiochus*, it had been of late invaded by *Pompey*, who boldly ventured into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and without any scruple curiously contemplated the mysteries of that place, but suffered no injury to be offered

De Bell. Jud. lib. 7. cap. 8. p. 958.

offered to it. After him came *Crassus*, who to the others boldness added Sacrilege, seizing what the others piety and modesty had spared, plundering the Temple of its vast wealth and treasure. *Herod* having procured the Kingdom, besieged and took the City and the Temple, and though to ingratiate himself with the People he endeavoured what in him lay to secure it from rapine and impiety, and afterwards expended incredible Summs in its reparation, yet did he not stick to make it truckle under his wicked policies and designs. The more to endear himself to his Patrons at *Rome*, he set up a *Golden Eagle* of a vast dimension (the Arms of the *Roman Empire*) over the great Gate of the Temple: a thing so expressly contrary to the Law of *Moses*, which forbids all Images, and accounted so monstrous a prophanation of that holy place, that while *Herod* lay a dying the People in a great tumult and uproar gathered together and pull'd it down. A great part of it was become an Exchange and a Market; the place where Men were to meet with God, and to trade with Heaven, was now turned into a Ware-house for Merchants, and a Shop for Usurers, and the House of Prayer into a Den of Thieves. The worship formerly wont to be performed there with pious and devout affections, was now shrunk into a meer shell and out-side, they drew near to God with their mouths, and honoured him with their lips, but their hearts were far from him; Rites of humane invention had justled out those of Divine Institution, and their very Prayers were made traps to catch the unwary People, and to devour the Widow and the Fatherless. Their Priesthood was so changed and altered, that it retain'd little but its ancient Name; the High-Priests who by their Original Charter were lineally to succeed, and to hold their place for life, were become almost annual, scarce a Year passing over, wherein one was not thrust out, and another put in, ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄλλοι ἄλλοι ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐπιτρεπομένη, ὃ πλεῖον ἔτις ἐνὸς ὅπῃ ταύτης διέβλευν, as *Eusebius* notes out of their own Historian. Nay, which was far worse, it was become not only annual, but venal, *Herod* exposing it to sale, and scarce admitting any to the Sacerdotal Office, who had not first sufficiently paid for his Patent; and which was the natural consequence of that, the place was filled with the refuse of the People, Men of mean abilities, and debauched manners, who had neither parts nor piety to recommend them, he being the best and the fittest man, that offered most. Nay into so strange a degeneracy were they fallen in this matter, that *Josephus* reports, that one *Phannias* was elected High-Priest, not only a rustick and illiterate fellow, not only not of the Sacerdotal Line, but so intolerably stupid and ignorant, that when they came to acquaint him, he knew not what the High-Priesthood meant. And not content to be imposed upon, and tyrannized over by a Foreign Power, they fell a quarrelling among themselves, and mutually prey'd upon one another; the High-Priests falling out with the inferiour Orders, and both Parties going with an armed retinue after them, ready to clash and fight where-ever they met, the High-Priest sending his Servants to fetch away the Tithes due to the inferiour Priests, insomuch that many of the poorest of them were famished for want of necessary food.

19. THEIR Law, which had been delivered with so much majesty and magnificence, and for which they themselves pretended so great a reverence, they had miserably corrupted and depraved (the moral part of it especially) and that two ways. First, by gross and absurd interpretations, which the Teachers of those times had put upon it. The scribes and Pharisees, who ruled the Chair in the Jewish Church, had by false and corrupt glosses debased the majesty and purity of the Law, and made it to serve the purposes of

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an evil life: they had taught the People, that the Law required no more than external righteousness, that if there was but a visible conformity of the life, they needed not be solicitous about the government of their minds, or the regular conduct of their thoughts or passions; that so Men did but carry themselves fair to the eye of the World, it was no great matter how things went in the secret and unseen retirements of the Soul, nay, that a punctual observance of some external Precepts of the Law would compensate and quit scores with God for the neglect or violation of the rest. They told Men that when the Law forbade murder, so they did not actually kill another, and sheath their Sword in their Brother's bowels, it was well enough, Men were not restrained from furious and intemperate passions, they might be angry, yea, though by peevish and uncomely speeches they betray'd the rancor and malice of their minds. They confessed the Law made it adultery actually to embrace the bosom of a stranger, but would not have it extend to wanton thoughts and unchast desires, or that it was adultery for a man to lust after a Woman, and to commit folly with her in his heart: they told them that in all oaths and vows, if they did but perform what they had sworn to God, the Law took no further notice of it, when as every vain and unnecessary oath, all customary and trifling use of the name of God was forbidden by it. They made them believe that it was lawful for them to proceed by the rigorous Law of retaliation, to exact their own to the utmost, and to right and revenge themselves; when as the Law requires a tender, compassionate, and benevolent temper of mind, and is so far from owning the rigorous punctilio's of revenge, that it obliges to meekness and patience, to forgiveness and charity, and which is the very height of charity, not only to pardon, but to love and befriend our greatest enemies, quite contrary to the doctrine which these men taught, that though they were to love their neighbours, that is, Jews, yet might they hate their enemies. In these and such like instances they had notoriously abused and evacuated the Law, and in a manner rendered it of no effect. And therefore when our Lord, as the great Prophet sent from God, came into the World, the first thing he did after the entrance upon his publick Ministry, was to cleanse and purifie the Law, and to remove that rubbish which the Jewish Doctors had cast upon it. He rescued it out of the hands of their poisonous and pernicious expositions, restored it to its just authority, and to its own primitive sense and meaning, he taught them that the Law did not only bind the external act, but prescribe to the most inward motions of the mind, and that whoever transgresses here, is no less obnoxious to the Divine Justice, and the penalties of the Law, than he that is guilty of the most gross and palpable violations of it: he shewed them how infinitely more pure and strict the command was, than these Impostors had represented it, and plainly told them that if ever they expected to be happy, they must look upon the Law with an other-guise eye, and follow it after another rate, than their blind and deceitful Guides did, For I say unto you, Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, you can in no case enter into the Kingdom of God.

20. THE other way by which they corrupted and dishonoured the Law, and weakened the power and reputation of it, was by preferring before it their Oral and unwritten Law. For besides the Law consigned to Writing, they had their *תורה שבעל פה* their Law delivered by word of mouth, whose pedigree they thus deduce. They tell us that when *Moses* waited upon God Forty Days in the Mount, he gave him a double Law, one in Writing, the other *Traditionary*, containing the sense and explication of the former: being come down into his Tent, he repeated it first to *Aaron*, then

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*Joseph. Antiqu.*  
*Jud. l. 17. c. 8.*  
*p. 596. & de*  
*Bell. Jud. l. 1.*  
*c. 21. p. 772.*

*H. Eccl. l. 1.*  
*c. 10. p. 28.*

*De Bell. Jud.*  
*l. 4. c. 10. p. 872.*

*Joseph. Antiqu.*  
*l. 20. c. 8.*  
*p. 698.*

then to *Ithamar* and *Eleazar* his Sons, then to the *Seventy Elders*, and lastly to all the People, the same Persons being all this while present. *Aaron* who had now heard it four times recited, *Moses* being gone out, again repeated it before them: after his departure out of the Tent, his two Sons who by this had heard it as oft as their Father, made another repetition of it, by which means the *Seventy Elders* came to hear it four times, and then they also repeated it to the Congregation, who had now also heard it repeated four times together, once from *Moses*, then from *Aaron*, then from his Sons, and lastly, from the *Seventy Elders*, after which the Congregation broke up, and every one went home, and taught it his Neighbour. This Oral Law *Moses* upon his Death-bed repeated to *Joshua*, he delivered it to the *Elders*, they to the *Prophets*, the *Prophets* to the men of the great Synagogue, the last of whom was *Symeon the Just*, who delivered it to *Antigonus Sochem*, and he to his Successors, the wise Men, whose business it was to recite it, and so it was handed through several Generations, the names of the Persons who delivered it in the several Ages from its first rise under *Moses* till above an Hundred Years after Christ, being particularly enumerated by *Maimonides*. At last it came to *R. Jehuda*, commonly stiled by the Jews *רבינו הקדוש* our holy Master, the Son of *Rabban Symeon* (who flourished a little before the time of the Emperor *Antoninus*) who considering the unsettled and tottering condition of his own Nation, and how apt these traditional Precepts would be to be forgotten or mistaken, by the weakness of Mens memories, or the perverseness of their wits, or the dispersion of the Jews in other Countries, collected all these Laws and Expositions, and committed them to Writing, stiling his Book *Mishnaioth*, or the Repetition. This was afterwards illustrated and explained by the *Rabbines* dwelling about *Babylon*, with infinite cases and controversies concerning their Law, whose resolutions were at last compiled into another Volume, which they called *Gemara*, or *Doctrine*, and both together constitute the intire Body of the *Babylonish Talmud*, the one being the Text, the other the Comment. The folly and vanity of this account, though it be sufficiently evident to need no confutation with any wise and discerning Man, yet have the Jews in all Ages made great advantage of it, magnifying and extolling it above the written Law with Titles and Elogies that hyperbolize into blasphemy. They tell us, that this is *עיקר התורה* the foundation of the Law, for whose sake it was that God entered into Covenant with the *Israelites*, that without this the whole Law would lye in the dark, yea be mere obscurity and darkness it self, as being contrary and repugnant to it self, and defective in things necessary to be known: that it is joy to the heart, and health to the bones, that the words of it are more lovely and desirable than the words of the Law, and a greater sin to violate the one than the other; that it's little or no commendation for a Man to read the Bible, but to study the *Mishna* is that for which a Man shall receive the reward of the other World, and that no Man can have a peaceable and quiet conscience, who leaves the study of the *Talmud* to go to that of the Bible; that the Bible is like *Water*, the *Mishna* like *Wine*; the *Talmud* like *spiced Wine*; that all the words of the *Rabbins* are the very words of the living God, from which a Man might not depart, though they should tell him his right hand were his left, and his left his right; nay they blush not, nor tremble to assert, *שנים העסק במקרא היא* *אכור הומן* that to study in the holy Bible is nothing else but to lose our time; I will mention but one bold and blasphemous sentence more, that we may see how far these desperate wretches are given over to a spirit of impiety and infatuation, they tell us, that he that dissents from his *Rabbin* or Teach-

Mark. Aboth.  
cap. 1. Sect. 1, 2,  
3. p. 1.

Fid. Chazak. ex  
quo loc. satis  
prolixum citat  
Fos. Poy. de  
leg. div. c. 9. §  
seqq. ubi varias  
Fudaeorum de  
Legis hujus ori-  
gine & successi-  
one sententias  
videre est.

Vid. Buxtorf.  
de Abbr. p.  
222. § de Sy-  
nag. Fud. cap.  
3. Hotting. Thes.  
Phil. lib. 2. c. 3.

er,

er, *השכינה על השכינה והמאמין כרבני חכמים כמאמין בשכינה* *dissents from the Divine Majesty, but he that believes the words of the wise men, believes God himself.*

21. STRANGE! that Men should so far offer violence to their reason, so far conquer and subdue their conscience, as to be able to talk at this wild and prodigious rate: and stranger it would seem, but that we know a Generation of Men, great Patrons of Tradition too, in another Church, who mainly endeavour to debase and suppress the Scriptures, and value their unwritten Traditions at little less rate than this. But I let them pass. This is no novel and up-start humour of the Jews, they were notoriously guilty of it in our Saviour's days, whom we find frequently charging them with their superstitious observances of many little rites and usages derived from the Traditions of the Elders, wherein they placed the main of Religion, and for which they had a far more sacred regard, than for the plain and positive commands of God. Such were their frequent washings of their Pots and Cups, their brazen Vessels and Tables, the purifying themselves after they came from Market (as if the touching of others had defiled them) the washing their hands before every Meal, and many other things which they had reserved to hold. In all which they were infinitely nice and scrupulous, making the neglect of them of equal guilt with the greatest immorality, not sticking to affirm, that he who eats Bread with unwashen hands, *כאילו בא על אשה זונה*, is as if he lay with an Harlot. This it's plain they thought a sufficient charge against our Lord's Disciples, that they were not zealous observers of these things. When they saw some of his Disciples eat Bread with defiled (that is to say, with unwashen) hands, they found fault; and asked him, Why walk not thy Disciples according to the Tradition of the Elders, but eat Bread with unwashen hands? To whom our Saviour smartly answered, that they were the Persons of whom the Prophet had spoken, who honoured God with their lips, but their hearts were far from him, that in vain did they worship him, while for Doctrines they taught the commandments of men, laying aside and rejecting the commandments of God, that they might hold the Tradition of men. For they were not content to make them of equal value and authority with the Word of God, but made them a means wholly to evacuate and supersede it. Whereof our Lord gives a notorious instance in the case of Parents. They could not say but that the Law obliged Children to honour and revere their Parents, and to administer to their necessities in all straits and exigencies, but then had found out a fine way to evade the force of the command, and that under a pious and plausible pretence. *Moses said, Honour thy Father and thy Mother: and who so curseth Father or Mother let him die the death. But ye say, If a man shall say to his Father or Mother, It is Corban, that is to say, a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me, he shall be free: And ye suffer him no more to do ought for his Father, or Mother.* By which is commonly understood, that when their Parents required relief and assistance from their Children, they put them off with this excuse, that they had consecrated their Estate to God, and might not divert it to any other use. Though this seems a specious and plausible pretence, yet it is not reasonable to suppose, that either they had, or would pretend that they had intirely devoted whatever they had to God, and must therefore refer to some other custom. Now among the many kinds of oaths and vows that were among the Jews they had one, which they called *נדר איסר* the vow of interdict; whereby a man might restrain himself as to this or that particular person, and this or that particular thing; as, he might vow not to accept of such a courtesie from this friend or that neighbour,

Mark 7. 2, 3. &  
seqq.

Math. 15. 1.  
Talm. Tr. Sot. 4  
cap. 1. vid. Enx-  
torf. Syn. Fud.  
c. 11. p. 236.  
Mark 7. 2-5

Vid. Lud. Cap-  
pell. diatrib. de  
Corban. Grot.  
Annot. in Mt. 15.  
15. 5. Coccei. in  
Excerpt. Ge-  
mar. Sanhed.  
p. 273. Hotting.  
Th. Phil. 1. 1. c. 1.  
Sect. 5. p. 31.

bour, or that he would not part with this or that thing of his own to such a man, to lend him his Horse, or give him any thing towards his maintenance, &c. and then the thing became utterly unlawful, and might not be done upon any consideration whatsoever, lest the Man became guilty of the violation of his Vow. The form of this Vow frequently occurs in the Jewish Writings, and even in the very same words wherein our Lord expresses it, *קרבן שאני נהנה לך* *Be it Corban or a gift* (that is, a thing sacred) *wherby I may be any ways profitable to thee*, that is, be that thing unlawful or prohibited to me, wherein I may be helpful and assistant to thee. And nothing more common than this way of vowing in the particular case of Parents, whereof there are abundant instances in the writings of the Jewish Masters, who thus explain the forementioned Vow, *הקורש יחא כל מה שאני עושה מלכו על פי אבא* *Whatever I shall gain hereafter, shall be sacred, as to the maintenance of my Father*; or as Maimonides expresses it, *That what I provide, my Father shall eat nothing of it*, that is, says he, *he shall receive no profit by it*; and then as they tell us, *יקונם אינו יכול להפד* *He that had thus vowed, might not transgress or make void his Vow*. So that when indigent Parents craved relief and assistance from their Children, and probably wearied them with importunity, it was but vowing in a passionate relentment, that they should not be better for what they had, and then they were safe, and might no more dispose any part of their Estate to that use, than they might touch the *Corban*, that which was most solemnly consecrated to God. By which means they were taught to be unnatural under a pretence of Religion, and to suffer their Parents to starve, lest themselves should violate a fenceless and unlawful Vow. So that though they were under the precedent obligations of a natural duty, a duty as clearly commanded by God as words could express it, yet a blind Tradition, a rash and impious Vow, made for the most part out of passion or covetousness, should cancel and supersede all these obligations, it being unlawful henceforth to give them one penny to relieve them: *Ye suffer him no more* (says our Lord) *to do ought for his Father or his Mother, making the word of God of none effect through your tradition, which ye have delivered*.

22. THE last instance that I shall note of the corruption and degeneracy of this Church, is the many *Seets* and divisions that were in it, a thing which the Jews themselves in their writings confess would happen in the days of the *Messiah*, whose Kingdom should be over-run with heretical opinions. That Church which heretofore like *Jerusalem* had been *at unity within itself*, was now miserably broken into *Seets* and *Factions*, whereof three most considerable, *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, and the *Essenes*. The *Pharisees* derive their name from *פרש*, which may admit of a double signification, and either not unsuitable to them: It may refer to them as *פורשים*, *Explainers* or *Interpreters* of the Law, which was a peculiar part of their work, and for which they were famous and venerable among the Jews; or more probably to their *separation* (the most proper and natural importance of the word) so called, *διὰ τὸ ἀφωρισμένους εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁλλων*, as *Epiphanius* observed of old, because separated from all others in their extraordinary pretences of piety, the very Jews themselves thus describing a *Pharisee*, he is one *שפירש עצמו מכל טמארה*, *that separates himself from all uncleanness, and from all unclean meats, and from the people of the Earth*, (the common rout) *who accurately observe not the difference of Meats*. It is not certain when this Sect first thrust up its head into the World, probably not long after the times of the *Macchabees*, 'tis certain they were of considerable standing, and great account in the time of our Saviour:

Heret. xvi.  
p. 21.

Baal Aruch in  
voc. פרוש.

Saviour: To be sure strangely wide of the mark are those Jewish Chronologists who say, that the Sect of the *Pharisees* arose in the times of *Tiberius Caesar*, and *Ptolomy the Egyptian*, under whom the *Septuagint* translation was accomplished; as if *Ptolomy Philadelphus* and *Tiberius Caesar* had been Contemporaries, between whom there is the distance of no less than CCLX. years. But when ever it began, a bold and daring Sect it was, not fearing to affront Princes, and persons of the greatest quality, crafty and insinuating, and who by a shew of great zeal, and infinite strictness in Religion, beyond the rate of other men, had procured themselves a mighty reverence from the people; so strict, that (as a Learned man observes) *Pharisee* is used in the *Talmudick* writings to denote a pious and holy man; and *Benjamin* the Jew speaking of *R. Ascher*, says, he was *הפרוש שנופרש* *a truly devout man, separate from the affairs of this world*. And yet under all this seeming severity they were but Religious villains, spiteful and malicious, gripping and covetous, great oppressors, merciless dealers, heady and seditious, proud and scornful, indeed guilty of most kinds of immorality, of whose temper and manners I say the less in this place, having elsewhere given an account of them. They held that the *Oral Law* was of infinitely greater moment and value than the written Word; that the Traditions of their fore-Fathers were above all things to be embraced and followed, the strict observance whereof would entitle a man to *Eternal Life*; that the Souls of men are Immortal, and had their dooms awarded in the *Subterraneous Regions*; that there is a *Metempsychosis* or Transmigration of pious Souls out of one Body into another; that things come to pass by fate, and an inevitable necessity, and yet that Man's will is free, that by this means men might be rewarded and punished according to their works. I add no more concerning them, than that some great men of the Church of *Rome* say with some kind of boasting, that such as were the *Pharisees* among the Jews, such are the *Religious* (they mean the *Monastical Orders* of their Church) among Christians. Much good may it do them with the comparison, I confess my self so far of their mind, that there is too great a conformity between them.

23. NEXT the *Pharisees* come the *Sadducees*, as opposite to them in their temper, as their principles; so called (as *Epiphanius* and some others will have it) from *צדק* *justice*, as pretending themselves to be very just and righteous men, but this agrees not with the account given of their lives. They are generally thought to have been denominated from *Sadock* the Scholar of *Antigonus Sochaus*, who flourished about the year of the World MMMDCCXX. CCLXXXIV. years before the Nativity of our Saviour. They pass under a very ill character even among the writers of their own Nation, *ובעלי מרות רעות* *impious men, and of very loose and debauched manners*: which is no more than what might be expected as the natural consequence of their principles, this being one of their main *dogmata* or opinions, that the Soul is not Immortal, and that there is no future state after this life. The occasion of which desperate principle is said to have been a mistake of the doctrine of their Master *Antigonus*, who was wont to press his Scholars not to be like mercenary Servants, who serve their Masters merely for what they can get by them; but to serve God for himself, without expectation of rewards. This, *Sadock* and *Baithos*, two of his disciples misunderstanding, thought their Master had peremptorily denied any state of future rewards; and having laid this dangerous foundation, these unhappy superstructures were built upon it; that there is no Resurrection, for if there be no reward, what need that the Body should rise again; that the

R. Ged. Schat.  
Kabb. p. 104.  
citant et citant.  
Th. Phil. l. 1. c.  
1. p. 27.

L'Emper. not.  
in Benjam.  
Itiner. p. 147.  
Itiner. p. 6.

Vid. Joseph.  
Antiq. Jud. l.  
18. c. 2. p. 617.  
Et de Ant. Jud.  
l. 1. c. 1. p. 18.  
p. 788.

Pirk. Aboth.  
cap. 1. Sect. 3.  
p. m. 1.

Joseph. de Bell.  
Jud. l. 2. c. 8.  
p. 788.

Antiquit. Jud.  
l. 18. c. 2. p. 617.

J. J. Nat. lib. 5.  
c. 17. p. 80.

Vid. Phil. lib.  
quod omnis  
probus liber.  
p. 876. 877.  
Joseph. Antiq.  
Jud. l. 18. c. 2.  
p. 617. p. 618.  
de Bell. Jud.  
lib. 2. c. 8. p. 785.  
p. 785. c. 8. p. 785.

the Soul is not Immortal, nor exists in the separate state, for if it did, it must be either rewarded or punished; and if not the Soul, then by the same proportion of reason no spiritual substance, neither Angel, nor Spirit; that there is no Divine Providence, but that God is perfectly placed as beyond the commission, so beyond the inspection and regard of what sins or evils are done or happen in the World, as indeed what great reason to believe a wise and righteous Providence, if there be no reward or punishment for virtue and vice in another life? These pernicious and Atheistical opinions justly exposed them to the reproach and hatred of the people, who were wont eminently to stile them *מיני* the Hereticks, Infidels, Epicureans, no words being thought bad enough to bestow upon them. They rejected the Traditions so vehemently asserted by the Pharisees, and taught that men were to keep to the Letter of the Law, and that nothing was to be imposed either upon their belief or practice, but what was expressly owned and contained in it. Josephus observes, that they were the fewest of all the Sects, *πῶ-τοι ὅ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι*, but usually men of the better rank and quality; as what wonder, if rich and great men, who tumble in the pleasures and advantages of a prosperous fortune, be willing to take sanctuary at those opinions, that afford the greatest patronage to looseness and debauchery, and care not to hear of being called to account in another World, for what they have done in this? For this reason the Sadducees ever appeared the greatest sticklers to preserve the peace, and were the most severe and implacable Justicers against the Authors or fomenters of tumults and seditions, lest they should disturb and interrupt their soft and easy course of life, the only happiness their principles allowed them to expect.

24. THE *Essenes* succeed, a Sect probably distinct from either of the former. Passing by the various conjectures concerning the derivation of their name, which when dressed up with all advantages are still but bare conjectures, they began about the times of the *Macchabees*, when the violent persecutions of *Antiochus* forced the Jews for their own safety to retire to the Woods and Mountains. And though in time the storm blew over, yet many of them were too well pleased with these undisturbed solitudes to return, and therefore combined themselves into Religious societies, leading a solitary and contemplative course of life, and that in very great numbers, there being usually above four thousand of them, as both *Philo* and *Josephus* tell us. *Pliny* takes notice of them, and describes them to be a solitary generation, remarkable above all others in this, that they live without Women, without any embraces, without money, conversing with nothing but Woods and Palm-trees; that their number encreased every day as fast as any died, persons flocking to them from all quarters, to seek repose here, after they had been wearied with the inquietudes of an improsperous fortune. They paid a due reverence to the Temple, by sending gifts and presents thither, but yet worshipped God at home, and used their own Rites and Ceremonies. Every seventh day they publicly met in their Synagogues, where the younger seating themselves at the feet of the elder, one reads some portions out of a Book, which another, eminently skilled in the principles of their Sect, expounds to the rest (their *dogmata*, like the Philosophy of the Ancients, being obscurely and enigmatically delivered to them) instructing them in the rules of piety and righteousness, and all the duties that concerned God, others, or themselves. They industriously tilled and cultivated the ground, and lived upon the fruits of their own labours; had all their revenues in common; there being neither rich, nor poor among them: Their manners were very harmless and innocent, exact

exact observers of the rules of Justice, somewhat beyond the practice of other men. As for that branch of them that lived in *Egypt*, whose excellent Manners and Institutions are so particularly described and commended by *Philo*, and whom *Eusebius* and others will needs have to have been Christians converted by *S. Mark*, we have taken notice of elsewhere in *S. Mark's* Life. We find no mention of them in the History of the Gospel, probably because living remote from Cities and all places of publick concourse, they never concerned themselves in the actions of *Christ* or his *Apostles*. What their principles were in matters of speculation is not much material to enquire, their Institutions mainly referring to practice. Out of a great regard to wisdom and virtue they neglected all care of the body, renounced all conjugal embraces, abstained very much from Meats and Drinks, some of them not eating or drinking for three, others for five or six days together, accounting it unbecoming men of such a Philosophical temper and genius, to spend any part of the day upon the necessities of the body: Their way they called *θεωπείαν*, worship, and their rules *σοφίας δόγματα*, doctrines of wisdom; their contemplations were sublime and speculative, and of things beyond the ordinary notions of other Sects; they traded in the names and mysteries of *Angels*, and in all their carriages bore a great shew of modesty and humility. And therefore these in all likelihood were the very persons, whom *S. Paul* primarily designed (though not excluding others who espoused the same principles) when he charges the *Colossians* to let no man beguile them of their reward in a voluntary humility, and worshipping of *Angels*, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind, that being dead to the rudiments of the World, they should no longer *δογματίζεσθαι*, be subject to these dogmata or ordinances, such as Touch not, taste not, handle not, (the main principles of the *Essenian* Institution) being the commandments and doctrines of men; which things have indeed a shew of wisdom in will-worship and humility, and neglecting of the body, not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh. Besides these three greater, there were several other lesser Sects in the Jewish Church, such as the *Herodians*, supposed to have been either part of *Herod's* guard, or a combination of men, who to ingratiate themselves with the Prince, maintained *Herod* to be the *Messiah*, and at their own charge celebrated his Coronation-days, as also the Sabbath, when they used to set lighted Candles crowned with Violets in their windows; an opinion which *S. Hierom* justly laughs at as trifling and ridiculous. Probably they were a party that had espoused *Herod's* interest, and endeavoured to support his new-gotten Sovereignty. For *Herod* being a stranger, and having by the *Roman* power usurped the Kingdom, was generally hateful and burdensome to the people, and therefore beside the assistance of a foreign power, needed some to stand by him at home. They were peculiarly active in pressing people to pay Tribute to *Cæsar*, *Herod* being obliged (as *S. Hierom* observes) by the Charter of his Sovereignty to look after the Tribute due to *Cæsar*, and they could not do him a more acceptable service, by this means endearing him to his great Patrons at *Rome*. In matters of opinion they seem to have sided with the *Sadducees*; what *S. Matthew* calls the leaven of the *Sadducees*, *S. Mark* stiles the leaven of *Herod*. Probable it is, that they had drawn *Herod* to be of their principles, that as they asserted his right to the Kingdom, he might favour and maintain their impious opinions. And 'tis likely enough that a man of so debauched manners might be easily tempted to take shelter under principles that so directly served the purposes of a bad life. Another Sect in that Church were the *Samaritans*, the posterity of those who succeeded in the

Col. 2. 18-20,  
21, 22, 23.

Comm. in  
Matth. 22.  
p. 66. Tom. 9.

Loc. citat.

Matth. 16. 6.  
Mark 8. 15.

the room of the ten captivated Tribes, a mixture of *Jews* and *Gentiles*; they held, that nothing but the *Pentateuch* was the Word of God, that Mount *Gerizim* was the true place of publick and solemn worship, that they were the descendents of *Joseph*, and heirs of the *Aaronical* Priesthood, and that no dealing or correspondence was to be maintained with strangers, nor any unclean thing to be touched. The *Karraans* were a branch of the *Sadducees*, but rejected afterwards their abominable and unsound opinions, they are the true *Textualists*, adhering only to the writings of *Moses* and the Prophets, and expounding the Scripture by it self, peremptorily disowning the absurd glosses of the *Talmud*, and the idle Traditions of the Rabbins, insomuch that they admit not so much as the *Hebrew* points into their Bibles, accounting them part of the *Oral* and *Traditionary* Law; for which reason they are greatly hated by the rest of the *Jews*. They are in great numbers about *Constantinople*, and in other places at this day. There was also the Sect of the *Zealots*, frequently mentioned by *Josephus*, a Generation of men insolent and ungovernable, fierce and savage, who under a pretence of extraordinary zeal for God and the honour of his Law, committed the most enormous outrages against God and Man; but of them we have given an account in the Life of *S. Simon the Zealot*. And yet as if all this had not been enough to render their Church miserable within it self, their sins and intestine divisions had brought in the *Roman* power upon them, who set Magistrates and Taskmasters over them, depressed their great *sanhedrim*, put in and out Senators at pleasure, made the Temple pay tribute, and placed a Garrison at hand to command it, abrogated a great part of their Laws, and stript them so naked both of Civil and Ecclesiastical Order and Authority, that they had not power left so much as to put a man to death. All evident demonstrations that *Shiloh* was come, and the *Scepter* departed, that the *Sacrifice* and *Oblation* was to cease, the *Messiah* being cut off, who came to finish transgression, to make an end of sins, to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness.

## SECT.

## SECT. III.

## Of the EVANGELICAL Dispensation.

*The gradual revelations concerning the Messiah. John the Baptist Christ's forerunner. His extraordinary Birth. His austere Education, and way of Life. His Preaching, what. His initiating proselytes by Baptism. Baptism in use in the Jewish Church. Its Original, whence. His resolution and impartiality. His Martyrdom. The character given him by Josephus, and the Jews. The Evangelical Dispensation wherein it exceeds that of Moses. Its perspicuity and perfection. Its agreeableness to humane nature. The Evangelical promises better than those of the Law, and in what respects. The aids of the Spirit plentifully afforded under the Gospel. The admirable confirmation of this Oeconomy. The great extent and latitude of it. Judaism not capable of being communicated to all mankind. The comprehensiveness of the Gospel. The Duration of the Evangelical Covenant. The Mosaical Statutes in what sense said to be for ever. The Typical and transient nature of that State. The great happiness of Christians under the Oeconomy of the Gospel.*

1. **G**OD having from the very infancy of the World promised the *Messiah*, as the great Redeemer of Mankind, was accordingly pleased in all Ages to make gradual discoveries and manifestations of him, the revelations concerning him in every Dispensation of the Church still shining with a bigger and more particular light, the nearer this *Sun of Righteousness* was to his rising. The first Gospel and glad tidings of him commenced with the fall of *Adam*, God out of infinite tenderness and commiseration promising to send a person who should triumphantly vindicate and rescue mankind from the power and tyranny of their Enemies, and that he should do this by taking the humane nature upon him, and being born of the seed of the Woman. No further account is given of him till the times of *Abraham*, to whom it was revealed, that he should proceed out of his loins, and arise out of the *Jewish* Nation, though both *Jew* and *Gentile* should be made happy by him. To his Grandchild *Jacob* God made known out of what Tribe of that Nation he should rise, the Tribe of *Judah*; and what would be the time of his appearing, viz. the departure of the Scepter from *Judah*, the abrogation of the Civil and Legislative power of that Tribe and People (accomplished in *Herod the Idumean*, set over them by the *Roman* power.) And this is all we find concerning him under that Oeconomy. Under the Legal Dispensation we find *Moses* foretelling one main errand of his coming, which was to be the great Prophet of the Church, to whom all were to hearken as an extraordinary person sent from God to acquaint the World with the Counsels and the Laws of Heaven. The next news we hear of him is from *David*, who was told that he should spring out of his house and family, and who frequently speaks of his sufferings, and the particular manner of his death, by piercing his hands and his feet, of his powerful Resurrection, that God would not leave his Soul in Hell, nor suffer his holy one to see corruption, of his triumphant Ascension into Heaven, and glorious session at God's right hand. From the Prophet *Isaiah* we have an account of the extraordinary and miraculous manner of his Birth, that he should

Deut. 18. 15.-  
18. 19.Psal. 22. 15.  
Psal. 16. 10.  
Psal. 68. 18.  
Psal. 110. 1.  
Isai. 7. 14.

should be born of a Virgin, and his name be Immanuel, of his incomparable furniture of gifts and graces for the execution of his office, of the entertainment he was to meet with in the World, and of the nature and design of those sufferings which he was to undergo. The place of his Birth was foretold by Micah, which was to be Bethlehem-Ephratah, the least of the Cities of Judah, but honoured above all the rest with the nativity of a Prince, who was to be Ruler in Israel, whose goings forth had been from everlasting. Lastly, the Prophet Daniel fixes the particular period of his coming, expressly affirming, That the Messiah should appear in the World, and be cut off as a Victim and Expiation for the sins of the people at the expiration of LXX. prophetic weeks, or CCCCXC. years, which accordingly punctually came to pass.

2. FOR the date of the prophetick Scriptures concerning the time of the Messiah's coming being now run out, In the fulness of time God sent his Son made of a Woman, made under the Law, to redeem them that were under the Law: This being the truth of which God spake by the mouth of all his holy Prophets, which have been since the World began. But because it was not fit that so great a Person should come into the World, without an eminent Harbinger to introduce and usher in his Arrival, God had promised that he would send his Messenger, who should prepare his way before him, even Elijah the Prophet, whom he would send before the coming of that great day of the Lord, who should turn the hearts of the Fathers to the Children, &c. This was particularly accomplished in John the Baptist, who came in the power and spirit of Elias. He was the Morning star to the Son of Righteousness, μέγας ὁ ἐκ ἀγνῶτος ὁ προδρόμος, as S. Cyril says of him, the great and eminent Fore-runner, a Person remarkable upon several accounts. First for the extraordinary circumstances of his Nativity, his Birth foretold by an Angel, sent on purpose to deliver this joyful Message, a sign God intended him for great undertakings, this being never done but where God designed the Person for some uncommon services; his Parents aged, and though both righteous before God, yet hitherto Childless; Heaven does not dispence all its bounty to the same Person, Children, though great and desirable blessings, are yet often denied to those, for whom God has otherwise very dear regards. Elizabeth was barren, and they were both well stricken in years. But is anything too hard for the Lord? said God to Abraham in the same case; God has the Key of the Womb in his own keeping, it is one of the Divine Prerogatives, that he makes the barren Woman to keep house, and to be a joyful Mother of Children. A Son is promised, and mighty things said of him: a promise which old Zachary had scarce faith enough to digest, and therefore had the assurance of it sealed to him by a miraculous dumbness imposed upon him till it was made good, the same Miracle at once confirming his faith, and punishing his infidelity. Accordingly his Mother conceived with Child, and as if he would do part of his errand before he was born, he leaped in her Womb at her salutation of the Virgin Mary, then newly conceived with Child of our Blessed Saviour; a piece of homage paid by one, to one, yet unborn.

3. THESE prefaces were not vain and fallible, but produced a Person no less memorable for the admirable strictness and austerity of his life. For having escaped Herod's butcherly and merciless Executioners (the Divine providence being a shelter and a cover to him) and been educated among the rudenesses and solitudes of the Wilderness, his manners and way of life were very agreeable to his Education. His Garments borrowed from no other Wardrobe than the backs of his Neighbour-creatures, the skins of Beasts, Camels

Camels hair, and a Leathern girdle, and herein he literally made good the character of Elias, who is described as an hairy man, girt with a Leathern girdle about his Loins. His Diet suitable to his Garb, his Meat was Locusts, and wild Honey: Locusts, accounted by all Nations among the meanest and vilest sorts of food; wild honey, such as the natural artifice and labour of the Bees had stored up in caverns and hollow Trees, without any elaborate curiosity to prepare and dress it up. Indeed his abstinence was so great, and his food so unlike other Mens, that the Evangelist says of him, that he came neither eating nor drinking, as if he had eaten nothing, or at least what was worth nothing. But Meat commends us not to God; it is the devout mind, and the honest life that makes us valuable in the eye of Heaven. The place of his abode was not in Kings houses, in stately and delicate Palaces, but where he was born and bred, the Wilderness of Judaea, he was in the Desarts until the time of his shewing unto Israel. Divine grace is not confined to particular places, it is not the holy City, or the Temple at Mount Sion makes us nearer unto Heaven; God can, when he please, consecrate a Desert into a Church, make us gather Grapes among Thorns, and Religion become fruitful in a barren Wilderness.

4. PREPARED by so singular an Education, and furnished with an immediate Commission from God, he entred upon the actual administration of his Office: In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the Wilderness of Judaea, and saying, Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. He was Χεῖρ ἡ πρώτη φανερώσεως χρίστου, as Justin Martyr calls him, the Herald to Proclaim the first approach of the Holy Jesus, his whole Ministry tending to prepare the way to his entertainment, accomplishing herein what was of old foretold concerning him, For this is he that was spoken of by the Prophet Esaias, saying, The Voice of one crying in the Wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight. He told the Jews, that the Messiah whom they had so long expected was now at hand, and his Kingdom ready to appear, that the Son of God was come down from Heaven, a Person as far beyond him in dignity, as in time and existence, to whom he was not worthy to minister in the meanest Offices; that he came to introduce a new and better state of things, to enlighten the World with the clearest Revelations of the Divine will, and to acquaint them with counsels brought from the bosom of the Father, to put a period to all the types and umbrages of the Mosaic Dispensation, and bring in the truth and substance of all those shadows, and to open a Fountain of grace and fulness to Mankind; to remove that state of guilt into which humane nature was so deeply sunk, and as the Lamb of God by the expiatory Sacrifice of himself to take away the sin of the World, not like the continual Burnt-offering, the Lamb offered Morning and Evening only for the sins of the House of Israel, but for Jew and Gentile, Barbarian and Scythian, bond and free: he told them, that God had a long time born with the sins of Men, and would now bring things to a quicker issue, and that therefore they should do well to break off their sins by repentance, and by a serious amendment and reformation of life dispose themselves for the glad tidings of the Gospel; that they should no longer bear up themselves upon their external privileges, the Fatherhood of Abraham, and their being God's select and peculiar People, that God would raise up to himself another Generation, a Posterity of Abraham from among the Gentiles, who should walk in his steps, in the way of his unshaken faith, and sincere obedience; and that if all this did not move them to bring forth fruits meet for repentance, the Axe was laid to the root of the Tree, to extirpate their Church, and to hew them down as fuel for the unquenchable Fire.

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His free and resolute preaching together with the great severity of his life procured him a vast Auditory, and numerous Profelytes, for *there went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judæa, and the Region round about Jordan*, Persons of all ranks and orders, of all Sects and Opinions, *Pharisees and Sadducees, Soldiers and Publicans*, whose Vices he impartially censured and condemned, and pressed upon them the duties of their particular places and relations. Those whom he gained over to be Profelytes to his Doctrine, he entred into this new Institution of life by *Baptism* (and hence he derived his Title of the *Baptist*) a solemn and usual way of initiating Profelytes, no less than Circumcision, and of great antiquity in the Jewish Church. In all times (says Maimonides) if any Gentile would enter into Covenant, remain under the wings of the *Schechina*, or Divine Majesty, and take upon him the yoke of the Law, he is bound to have *מילה וטהרה קרבן* Circumcision, Baptism, and a Peace-offering: and if a Woman, Baptism, and an Oblation, because it is said, *As ye are, so shall the stranger be; as ye your selves entred into Covenant by Circumcision, Baptism, and a Peace-offering, so ought the Profelyte also in all Ages to enter in*. Though this last he confesses is to be omitted during their present state of desolation, and to be made when their Temple shall be rebuilt. This Rite they generally make contemporary with the giving of the Law. So Maimonides, *By three things* (says he) *the Israelites entred into Covenant* (he means the National Covenant at Mount Sinai) *by Circumcision, Baptism, and an Oblation; Baptism being used some little time before the Law; which he proves from that place, sanctifie the People to day and to morrow, and let them wash their Clothes*. This the Rabbins unanimously expound concerning Baptism, and expressly affirm, that *where-ever we read of the Washing of Clothes, there an obligation to Baptism is intended*. Thus they entred into the first Covenant, upon the frequent violations whereof God having promised to make a new and solemn Covenant with them in the times of the *Messiah*, they expected a second Baptism as that which should be the Rite of their Initiation into it. And this probably is the reason, why the Apostle writing to the *Hebrews*, speaks of the *Doctrine of Baptisms* (in the plural number) as one of the primary and elementary Principles of the faith, wherein the *Catechumens* were to be instructed; meaning that besides the Baptism whereby they had been initiated into the *Mosaic* Covenant, there was another by which they were to enter into this new Oeconomy, that was come upon the World. Hence the *Sanhedrim* (to whom the cognizance of such cases did peculiarly appertain) when told of *John's* Baptism, never expressed any wonder at it, as a new upstart Ceremony, it being a thing daily practised in their Church, nor found fault with the thing it self, which they supposed would be a federal Rite under the dispensation of the *Messiah*, but only quarrelled with him for taking upon him to administer it, when yet he denied himself to be one of the prime Ministers of this new state. *They said unto him, Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not that Christ, nor Elias, neither that Prophet?* Either of which had he owned himself, they had not questioned his right to enter Profelytes by this way of Baptism. It is called the *Baptism of Repentance*, this being the main qualification that he required of those, who took it upon them, as the fittest means to dispose them to receive the Doctrine and Discipline of the *Messiah*; and to intitle them to that pardon of sin which the Gospel brought along with it; whence he is said to baptize in the *Wilderness*, and to preach the *Baptism of repentance, for the remission of sins*. And the success was answerable, infinite Multitudes flocking to it, and were baptized of him in *Jordan*, confessing their sins. Nor is it the least part of his happiness, that he had the honour to baptize his Sa-

Maim. Issur.  
Bib. cap. 13.  
vid. Jac. Al-  
ting. Dissert.  
Philol. VII. de  
Profelyt. Sect.  
25. p. 249.  
Numb. 15. 16.

Ibid. Sect. 24.  
p. 248.

Exod. 19. 10.  
Ibid. R. Bechai,  
fol. 87. col. 2.  
ibid.

Hebr. 6. 2.

John 1. 25.

Mark 1. 4.

viour, which though modestly declined, our Lord put upon him, and was accompanied with the most signal and miraculous attestations which Heaven could bestow upon it.

5. A F T E R his Preparatory Preachings in the Wilderness he was called to Court by *Herod*, at least he was his frequent Auditor, was much delighted with his plain and impartial Sermons, and had a mighty reverence for him, the gravity of his Person, the strictness of his Manners, the freedom of his Preaching commanding an awe and veneration from his Conscience, and making him willing in many things to reform; But the bluntness of the holy Man came nearer, and touched the King in the tenderest part, smartly reproving his adultery and incestuous embraces, for that Prince kept *Herodias* his Brother *Philip's* Wife. And now all corrupt interests were awakened to conspire his ruine. Extravagant Lusts love not to be controll'd and check'd, *Herodias* relents the affront, cannot brook disturbance in the pleasures of her Bed, or the open challenging of her honour, and therefore by all the arts of Feminine subtilty meditates revenge. The issue was, the *Baptist* is cast into Prison, as the *prælude* to a sadder fate. For among other pleasures and scenes of mirth performed upon the King's Birth-day, *Herod* being infinitely pleased with the Dancing of a young Lady, Daughter of this *Herodias*, promised to give her Her request, and solemnly ratified his promise with an Oath. She prompted by her Mother, asks the Head of *John the Baptist*, which the King partly out of a pretended reverence to his Oath, partly out of a desire not to be interrupted in his unlawful pleasures, presently granted, and it was as quickly accomplished. Thus died the Holy man, a man strict in his conversation beyond the ordinary measures of an Anchorite, bold and resolute, faithful and impartial in his Office, indued with the power and spirit of *Elias*, a burning and a shining light, under whose light the *Jews* rejoiced to sit, exceedingly taken with his temper and principles. He was the happy Messenger of the Evangelical tidings, and in that respect more than a Prophet, a greater not arising among them that were born of Women. In short, he was a Man loved of his Friends, revered and honoured by his Enemies; *Josephus* gives this character of him, that he was a good man, and pressed the *Jews* to the study of vertue, to the practice of piety towards God, and justice and righteousness towards men, and to joyn themselves to his Baptism, which he told them would then become effectual, and acceptable to God, when they did not only cleanse the body, but purifie the mind by goodness and vertue. And though he gives somewhat a different account of *Herod's* condemning him to die, from what is assigned in the Sacred History, yet he confesses, that the *Jews* universally looked upon the putting him to death as the cause of the miscarriage of *Herod's* Army, and an evident effect of the Divine vengeance and displeasure. The *Jews* in their Writings make honourable mention of his being put to death by *Herod*, because reproving him for the company of his Brother *Philip's* Wife, stiling him *Rabbi Johanan the High-Priest*, and reckoning him one of the wise men of *Israel*. Where he is called *High-Priest*, probably with respect to his being the Son of *Zachariah*, Head or Chief of one of the XXIV. Families or courses of the Priests, who are many times called Chief or *High-Priests* in Scripture.

6. T H E Evangelical state being thus proclaimed and ushered in by the Preaching and Ministry of the *Baptist*, our Lord himself appeared next more fully to publish and confirm it, concerning whose Birth, Life, Death, and Resurrection, the Doctrine he delivered, the Persons he deputed to Preach and convey it to the World, and its success by the Ministry of the Apostles, large and particular accounts are given in the following work. That which may be

Antiquit. Jud.  
lib. 18. c. 7.  
p. 626.

Zemach David  
Part. 1. ad  
Ann. 770. Mil-  
len. 4. S. Chron.  
Templi secund.  
fol. 54. col. 4.

proper and material to observe in this place is, what the Scripture so frequently takes notice of, the excellency of this above the preceding dispensations, especially that brought in by *Moses*, so much magnified in the Old Testament, and so passionately admired and adhered to by the *Jews* at this day. *Jesus is the Mediator* *μεσίτης διαβάνης*, as the Apostle calls it, of a better Covenant. And better it is in several regards; besides the infinite difference between the Persons, who were employed to introduce and settle them, *Moses* and our Lord. The preheminance eminently appears in many instances, whereof we shall remark the most considerable. And first, the *Mosaick* dispensation was almost wholly made up of types and shadows, the *Evangelical* has brought in the truth and substance. *The Law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.* Their Ordinances were but shadows of good things to come, sensible representations of what was to follow after, *the Body is Christ*, the perfection and accomplishment of their whole ritual Ministration. Their Ceremonies were *Figures of those things that are true*, the Land of *Canaan* typified Heaven, *Moses* and *Joshua* were types of the Blessed *Jesus*, and the *Israelites after the flesh* of the true *Israel which is after the Spirit*, and all their Expiatory Sacrifices did but represent that Great Sacrifice whereby Christ offered up himself, and by his own blood purged away the sins of mankind, indeed the most minute and inconsiderable circumstances of the Legal Economy were intended as little lights, that might gradually usher in the state of the Gospel. A curious Artist that designs a famous and excellent piece is not wont to complete and finish it all at once, but first with his Pencil draws some rude lines and rough draughts before he puts his last hand to it. By such a method the wise God seems to have delivered the first draughts and Images of those things by *Moses* to the Church, the substance and perfection whereof he designed should be brought in by *Christ*. And how admirably did God herein condescend to the temper and humour of that people; for being of a more rough and childish disposition, apt to be taken with gaudy and sensible objects, by the external and pompous institutions of the Ceremonial Dispensation he prepared them for better things, as children are brought on by things accommodate to their weak capacities. The Church was then an *heir under age*, and was to be trained up in such a way, as agreed best with its Infant-temper, till it came to be of a more ripe manly age, able to digest Evangelical mysteries, and then the cover and the veil was taken off, and things made to appear in their own form and shape.

7. HENCE in the next place appears our happiness above them, that we are redeemed from those many severe and burdensome impositions wherewith they were clogg'd, and are now obliged only to a more easie and reasonable service. That the Law was a very grievous and servile Dispensation, is evident to any that considers, how much it consisted of carnal ordinances, costly duties, chargeable sacrifices, and innumerable little Rites and Ceremonies. Under that state they were bound to undergo (yea even new-born Infants) the bloody and painful Ceremony of Circumcision, to abstain from many sorts of food, useful and pleasant to man's life, to keep multitudes of solemn and stated times, new Moons, and Ceremonial Sabbaths, to take long and tedious journeys to *Jerusalem* to offer their sacrifices at the Temple, to observe daily washings and purifications, to use infinite care and caution in every place; for if by chance they did but touch an unclean thing, besides their present confinement, it put them to the expences of a sacrifice, with hundreds more troublesome and costly observances required of them. A cruel bondage, *heavy burdens, and grievous to be born*; under the weight whereof good men did then groan, and earnestly breath after

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the time of reformation; the very Apostles complained that it was a yoke upon their necks, which neither their Fathers nor they were able to bear. But this yoke is taken off from our shoulders, and the way open into the liberties of the children of God. The Law bore a heavy hand over them, as children in their minority, we are got from under the rod and lash of its tutorage and *Pedagogie*, and are no more subject to the severity of its commands, to the exact punctilio's and numerousness of its impositions. Our Lord has removed that low and troublesome Religion, and has brought in a more manly and rational way of worship, more suitable to the perfections of God, and more accommodate to the reason and understandings of men. A Religion incomparably the wisest and the best that ever took place in the World. God did not settle the Religion of the *Jews*, and their way of worship, because good and excellent in it self, but for its suitableness to the temper of that people. Happy we, whom the Gospel has freed from those intolerable observances to which they were obliged, and has taught us to serve God in a better way, more easie and acceptable, more humane and natural, and in which we are helped forwards by greater aids of Divine assistance, than were afforded under that Dispensation. All which conspire to render our way smooth and plain, *Take my yoke upon you, for my yoke is easie, and my burden is light.*

8. THIRDLY, the Dispensation of the Gospel is founded upon more noble and excellent promises: *A better Covenant established upon better promises.* And better promises they are both for the nature and clearness of their revelation. They are of a more sublime and excellent nature, as being promises of spiritual and eternal things, such as immediately concern the perfection and happiness of mankind, grace, peace, pardon, and eternal life. The Law strictly considered as a particular Covenant with the *Jews* at Mount *Sinai* had no other promises but of temporal blessings, plenty and prosperity, and the happiness of this life. This was all that appeared above-ground, and that was expressly held forth in that transaction, whatever might otherwise by due inferences, and proportions of reason be deduced from it. Now this was a great defect in that Dispensation, it being by this means, considering the nature and disposition of that people, and the use they would make of it, apt to intangle and debase the minds of men, and to arrest their thoughts and desires in the pursuit of more sublime and better things. I do not say but that under the Old Testament there were promises of spiritual things, and of eternal happiness, as appears from *David's Psalms*, and some passages in the Books of the Prophets: But then these though they were under the Law, yet they were not of the Law, that is, did not properly belong to it as a legal Covenant; God in every age of the *Jewish* Church raising up some extraordinary persons, who preached notions to the people above the common standard of that Dispensation, and who spoke things more plainly, by how much nearer they approached the times of the *Messiah*. But under the Christian Economy the promises are evidently more pure and spiritual; not a temporal *Canaan*, external prosperity, or pardon of ceremonial uncleanness, but remission of sins, reconciliation with God, and everlasting life are proposed and offered to us. Not but that in some measure temporal blessings are promised to us as well as them, only with this difference, to them earthly blessings were pledges of spiritual, to us spiritual blessings are assurances of temporal, so far as the Divine wisdom sees fit for us. Nor are they better in themselves, than they are clearly discovered and revealed to us. Whatever spiritual blessings were proposed under the former state were obscure and dark, and very few of the people understood them: But to us *the veil is taken off, and we behold the glory of the Lord with open face*, especially the things

1 John 2.25.  
2 Tim. 1.10.

that relate to another World; for *this is the promise that he hath promised us, even Eternal Life*. Hence our Lord is said to *have brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel*. Which he may be justly said to have done, inasmuch as he has given the greatest certainty, and the clearest account of that state. He hath given us the greatest assurance and certainty of the thing, that there is such a state. The happiness of the other World was a notion not so firmly agreed upon either amongst *Jews* or *Gentiles*. Among the *Jews* it was peremptorily denied by the *Sadducees*, a considerable Sect in that Church, which we can hardly suppose they would have done, had it been clearly propounded in the Law of *Moses*. And among the *Heathens* the most sober and considering persons did at some times at least doubt of it, witness that confession of *Socrates* himself, the wisest and best man that ever was in the Heathen World, who when he came to plead his cause before his Judges, and had bravely discoursed of the happy state of good men in the other Life, plainly confessed, that he could be content *πολλὰκις τεθνάναι*, to die a thousand times over, were he but assured that those things were true; and being condemned, concludes his *Apologie* with this farewell, *And now, Gentlemen, I am going off the stage, it's your lot to live, and mine to die, but whether of us two shall fare better, is ἀδελον παντι πλὴν ἢ τῷ Θεῷ, unknown to any but to God alone*. But our blessed Saviour has put the case past all peradventure, having plainly published this doctrine to the World, and sealed the truth of it, and that by raising others from the dead, and especially by his own Resurrection and Ascension, which were the highest pledge and assurance of a future Immortality. But besides the security, he hath given the clearest account of the nature of it. 'Tis very probable that the *Jews* generally had of old, as 'tis certain they have at this day, the most gross and carnal apprehensions concerning the state of another Life. But to us the Gospel has perspicuously revealed the invisible things of the other World; told us what that Heaven is, which is promised to good men, a state of spiritual joys, of chaste and rational delights, a conformity of ours to the Divine Nature, a being made like to God, and an endless and uninterrupted communion with him.

Apolog. Socrat.  
ap. Platon. Sect.  
22. p. m. 45.  
16. Sect. 23. ad  
fin. Apol.

Rom. 8. 3.  
Heb. 7. 18.

1 Pet. 4. 14.

9. BUT because in our lapsed and degenerate state we are very unable without some foreign assistance to attain the promised rewards, hence arises in the next place another great privilege of the Evangelical Oeconomy, that it is blessed with larger and more abundant communications of the Divine Spirit, than was afforded under the *Jewish* state. Under the one it was given by *drops*, under the other it is *poured forth*. The Law laid heavy and hard commands, but gave little strength to do them, it did not assist humane nature with those powerful aids that are necessary for us in our present state, it could do nothing in that it was weak through the flesh, and by reason of the weakness and unprofitableness thereof, it could make nothing perfect: 'Twas this made it an *heavy yoke*, when the commands of it were uncouth and troublesome, and the assistances so small and inconsiderable. Whereas now the Gospel does not only prescribe such Laws as are happily accommodate to the true temper of humane nature, and adapted to the reason of mankind, such as every wise and prudent man must have pitched upon, but it affords the influences of the Spirit of God, by whose assistance our vitiated faculties are repaired, and we enabled under so much weakness, and in the midst of so many temptations to hold on in the paths of piety and virtue. Hence it is that the plentiful effusions of the Spirit were reserved as the great blessing of the Evangelical state, that God would then *pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground, that he would pour out his Spirit upon their seed, and his blessing upon their off-spring*, whereby they should spring up as among the

grass,

grass, as willows by the water-courses: That he would give them a new heart, and put his Spirit within them, and cause them to walk in his statutes, and keep his judgments to do them: And this is the meaning of those branches of the Covenant, so oft repeated, *I will put my Law into their minds, and write it in their hearts*, that is, by the help of my Grace and Spirit I'll enable them to live according to my Laws, as readily and willingly, as if they were written in their hearts. For this reason the Law is compared to a *dead letter*, the Gospel to the *Spirit that giveth life*, thence stiled the *ministration of the Spirit*, and as such said to *exceed in glory*, and that to such a degree, that what glory the Legal Dispensation had in this case is eclipsed into nothing. For even that which was made glorious had no glory in this respect, by reason of the glory that excelleth, for if that which was done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious. Hence the Spirit is said to be *Christ's* peculiar mission, *I will pray the Father, and he will send you another comforter, even the Spirit of truth*, which was done immediately after his Ascension, when he ascended up on high, and gave gifts to men, even the Holy Ghost, which he shed on them abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour: For the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified. Not but that he was given before, even under the old Oeconomy, but not in those large and diffusive measures, wherein it was afterwards communicated to the World.

10. FIFTHLY, The Dispensation of the Gospel had a better establishment and confirmation than that of the Law; for though the Law was introduced with great scenes of pomp and Majesty, yet was the Gospel ushered in by more kindly and rational methods, ratified by more and greater miracles, whereby our Lord unquestionably evinced his Divine Commission, and shewed that he came from God, doing more miracles in three years than were done through all the periods of the *Jewish* Church, and many of them such as were peculiar to him alone. He often raised the dead, which *Moses* never did, commanded the winds and waves of the Sea, expelled Devils out of *Lunatics* and possessed persons, who fled as soon as ever he commanded them to be gone, cured many inveterate and chronical distempers with the speaking of a word, and some without a word spoken, virtue silently going out from him. He searched men's hearts, and revealed the most secret transactions of their minds; had this miraculous power always residing in him, and could exert it when, and upon what occasions he pleased, and impart it to others, communicating it to his Apostles and followers, and to the Primitive Christians for the three first Ages of the Church; he never exerted it in methods of dread and terror, but in doing such miracles as were highly useful and beneficial to the World. And as if all this had not been enough, he laid down his own life after all to give testimony to it. Covenants were ever wont to be ratified with blood, and the death of sacrifices. But when our Lord came to introduce the Covenant of the Gospel, he did not consecrate it with the blood of Bulls and Goats, but with his own most precious blood, as of a Lamb without spot and blemish. And could he give a greater testimony to the truth of his doctrine, and those great things he had promised to the World, than to seal it with his blood? Had not these things been so, 'twere infinitely unreasonable to suppose, that a person of so much wisdom and goodness as our Saviour was, should have made the World believe so, and much less would he have chosen to die for it, and that the most acute and ignominious death. But he died, and rose again for us, and appeared after his Resurrection: His enemies had taken him away by a most bitter and cruel death, had guarded and secured his Sepulchre with all the care, power and diligence which they could invent. And yet he rose

Ezek. 36. 26,  
27.

2 Cor. 3. 6, 7.

Verse 10. 11.

Joh. 14. 16, 17.

Ephes. 4. 8.

Tit. 3. 6.

John 7. 39.

rose again the third day in triumph, visibly conversed with his Disciples for forty days together, and then went to Heaven. By which he gave the most solemn and undeniable assurance to the World, that he was the Son of God (for he was declared to be the Son of God with power by the Resurrection from the dead) and the Saviour of mankind, and that those doctrines which he had taught were most true, and did really contain the terms of that solemn transaction, which God by him had offered to men in order to their eternal happiness in another World.

11. THE last instance I shall note of the excellency of this above the *Mosaic* Dispensation, is the universal extent and latitude of it, and that both in respect of place and time. First, it's more universally extensive as to place, not confined as the former was to a small part of mankind, but common unto all. Heretofore in *Judah* only was God known, and his name was great in *Israel*, he shewed his Word unto *Jacob*, his Statutes and his Judgments unto *Israel*; but he did not deal so with any other Nation, neither had the Heathen knowledge of his Laws. In those times salvation was only of the *Jews*, a few Acres of Land like *Gideon's Fleece* was watered with the dew of Heaven, while all the rest of the World for many Ages lay dry and barren round about it, God suffering all Nations in times past to walk in their own ways, the ways of their own superstition and Idolatry, being aliens from the Commonwealth of *Israel*, Strangers from the Covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the World, that is, they were without those promises, discoveries, and declarations which God made to *Abraham* and his Seed, and are therefore peculiarly described under this character, the Gentiles which knew not God. Indeed the Religion of the *Jews* was in it self incapable to be extended over the World, many considerable parts of it, as Sacrifices, First-fruits, Oblations, &c. (called by the *Jews* themselves מצור חליוות כארצ statutes belonging to that land) being to be performed at *Jerusalem* and the Temple, which could not be done by those Nations that lay a considerable distance from the Land of promise. They had, it's true, now and then some few Profelytes of the Gentiles, who came over and imbodyed themselves into their way of worship; but then they either resided among the *Jews*, or by reason of their vicinity to *Judaea* were capable to make their personal appearance, and to comply with the publick Institutions of the Divine Law. Other Profelytes they had, called Profelytes of the Gate, who lived dispersed in all Countries, whom the *Jews* call חסירי אומות the pious of the Nations, Men of devout minds, and Religious lives, but these were obliged to no more than the observation of the Seven Precepts of the Sons of *Noah*, that is, in effect to the Precepts of the Natural Law. But now the Gospel has a much wider sphere to move in, as vast and large as the whole World it self, it is communicable to all Countries, and may be exercised in any part or corner of the Earth. Our Lord gave Commission to his Apostles to go into all Nations, and to Preach the Gospel to every Creature; and so they did, their sound went into all the Earth, and their words unto the ends of the World, by which means, the grace of God that brings salvation appeared unto all men, and the Gospel was Preached to every Creature under Heaven. So that now there is neither *Jew*, nor *Greek*, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, but we are all one in *Christ Jesus*, and in every Nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness is accepted with him. The Prophet had long since foretold it of the times of *Christ*, that the House of God, that is, his Church should be called an House of Prayer for all People; the Doors should be open, and none excluded that would enter in. And the Divine providence was singularly remarkable in this affair, that after our Lord's Ascension, when the Apostles were

Rom. 1. 4.

Psal. 76. 1, 2.  
Psal. 147. 19, 20.

Acts 1. 16.

Ephes. 2. 13.

1 Thess. 4. 5.

Mark 16. 15.  
Rom. 10. 18.  
Tit. 2. 11.  
Coloss. 1. 13.  
Galat. 3. 28.

Acts 10. 35.

Isa. 56. 7.

going upon their Commission, and were first solemnly to proclaim it at *Jerusalem*, there were dwelling there at that time *Parthians*, *Medes*, *Elamites*, &c. persons out of every Nation under Heaven, that they might be as the First-fruits of those several Countries, which were to be gathered in by the preaching of the Gospel, which was accordingly done with great success, the Christian Religion in a few years spreading its triumphant Banners over the greatest part of the then known World.

12. AND as the true Religion was in those Days pent up within one particular Country, so the more publick and ordinary worship of God was confined only to one particular place of it, viz. *Jerusalem*, hence called the Holy City. Here was the Temple, here the Priests that ministred at the Altar, here all the more publick Solemnities of Divine adoration, Thither the Tribes go up, the Tribes of the Lord unto the Testimony of *Israel*, to give thanks unto the Name of the Lord. Now this was not the least part of the bondage of that dispensation to be obliged thrice every Year to take such long and tedious Journeys, many of the *Jews* living some Hundreds of Miles distance from *Jerusalem*, and so strictly were they limited to this place, that to build an Altar, and offer Sacrifices in any other place (unless in a case or two wherein God did extraordinarily dispense) although it were to the true God, was, though not false, yet unwarrantable worship; for which reason the *Jews* at this day abstain from Sacrifices, because banished from *Jerusalem* and the Temple, the only legal place of offering. But behold the liberty of the Gospel in this case, we are not tied to present our devotions at *Jerusalem*, a pious and sincere mind is the best Sacrifice that we can offer up to God, and this may be done in any part of the World no less acceptably, than they of old sacrificed in the Temple. The hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this Mountain, (Mount *Gerizim*) nor yet at *Jerusalem* worship the Father, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth, as our Lord told the Woman of *Samaria*; in spirit and in truth in spirit, in opposition to that carnal and Idolatrous worship that was in use among the *Samaritans*, who worshipped God under the representation of a Dove: in truth, in opposition to the typical and figurative worship of the *Jews*, which was but a shadow of the true worship of the Gospel. The great Sacrifice required in the Christian Religion is not the fat of Beasts, or the first-fruits of the Ground, but an honest heart, and a pious life, and a grateful acknowledgment of our dependence upon God in the publick Solemnities of his praise and worship. For the Law and the Gospel did not differ in this, that the one commanded publick worship, the other not, but that under the one publick worship was fixed to one only place, under the other it is free to any where the providence of God has placed us, it being part of the duty bound upon us by natural and unalterable obligations, that we should publickly meet together for the solemn Celebration of the Divine honour and service.

13. NOR is the Oeconomy of the Gospel less extensive in time than place; the Old Testament was only a temporary dispensation, that of the Gospel is to last to the end of the World; the Law was to continue only for a little time, the Gospel is an Everlasting Covenant; the one to be quickly antiquated and abolished, the other never to be done away by any other to succeed it. The *Jews* indeed stickle hard for the perpetual and immutable obligation of the Law of *Moses*, and frequently urge us with those places, where the Covenant of Circumcision is called an Everlasting Covenant, and God said to chuse the Temple at *Jerusalem* to place his name there for ever, to give the Land of *Canaan* to *Abraham* and his seed for an everlasting possession, thus the Law of the Passover is called an Ordinance for ever, the command

Psal. 122. 4.

Joh. 4. 21-23.

ἡ πολυθυμία,  
καὶ πῶμα ζώων  
καίτοι ὁ θεός,  
ἀλλ' αὐτοπα-  
τήρ τῶ ἐν ἑαυτέ-  
ρῃ διατέσει.  
Philo de Spec.  
Legg. p. 755.Gen. 17. 7.  
1 Kings 9. 3.  
Gen. 17. 8.  
Exod. 12. 14.  
Levit. 23. 24.

of

of the First-fruits a *statute for ever*, and the like in other places, which seem to intimate a perpetual and unalterable Dispensation. But the answer is short and plain, that this phrase לעולם *for ever* (though when 'tis applied to God it always denotes Eternity) yet when 'tis attributed to other things, it implies no more than a periodical duration, limited according to the will of the Lawgiver, or the nature of the thing; thus the *Hebrew* Servant was to serve his Master *for ever*, that is, but for seven years, till the next year of *Jubilee*: *He shall walk before mine anointed for ever*, says God concerning *Samuel*, that is, be a Priest all his days. Thus when the Ritual services of the *Mosaick* Law are called Statutes for ever, the meaning is, that they should continue a long time obligatory, until the time of the *Messiah*, in whose days *the Sacrifice and Oblation was to cease*, and those carnal Ceremonies to give way to the more spiritual services of the Gospel. Indeed the very typical nature of that Dispensation evidently argued it to be but for a time, the shadow being to cease, that the substance might take place; and though many of them continued some considerable time after *Christ's* death, yet they lost their positive and obligatory power, and were used only as things indifferent in compliance with the inveterate prejudices of new Converts, lately brought over from *Judaism*, and who could not quickly lay aside that great veneration which they had for the Rites of the *Mosaick* Institution. Though even in this respect it was not long before all *Jewish* Ceremonies were thrown off, and *Moses* quite turn'd out of doors. Whereas the Evangelical state is to run parallel with the age and duration of the World, 'tis the *Everlasting Covenant*, the *Everlasting Gospel*, the last Dispensation that God will make to the World, *God who at sundry times, and in divers manners spake in time past by the Prophets, hath in these last days spoken to us by his Son*; in which respect the Gospel in opposition to the Law is stiled a *Kingdom that cannot be moved*. The Apostle in the foregoing Verses speaking concerning the *Mosaical* state, *Whose voice* (says he) *then shook the Earth, but now he hath promised, saying, Yet once more I shake not the Earth only, but also the Heaven* (a phrase peculiar to the Scripture to note the introducing a new scene and state of things) and this word, *Yet once more*, signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain, that is, that the state of the Gospel may endure for ever. Hence *Christ* is said to have an *unchangeable Priesthood*, to be a *Priest for ever*, to be consecrated for evermore. From all which it appears, how incomparably happy we Christians are under the Gospel, above what the *Jews* were in the time of the Law; God having placed us under the best of Dispensations, freed us from those many nice and troublesome observances to which they were tied, put us under the clearest discoveries and revelations, and given us the most noble, rational, and masculine Religion, a Religion the most perfective of our natures, and the most conducive to our happiness; while their Covenant at best was faulty, and after all could not make him that did the service perfect in things pertaining to the Conscience. Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see, for I tell you that many Prophets and Kings have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them, and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them.

Exod. 21. 6.  
1 Sam. 2. 36.

Heb. 13. 20.  
Rev. 14. 6.  
Heb. 1. 1, 2.

Heb. 12. 28.

Luke 10. 23,  
24.

The End of the APPARATUS.

# Antiquitates Apostolicæ:

## OR, THE LIVES, ACTS and MARTYRDOMS OF THE HOLY APOSTLES OF OUR SAVIOUR.

To which are added  
The Lives of the two EVANGELISTS,  
SS. MARK and LUKE.

AS ALSO

A brief Enumeration and Account of the Apostles and their Successors for the first Three Hundred Years in the Five great Apostolical Churches.

By WILLIAM CAVE, D. D. Chaplain in Ordinary to His MAJESTY.

Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 1. cap. 10. pag. 28.

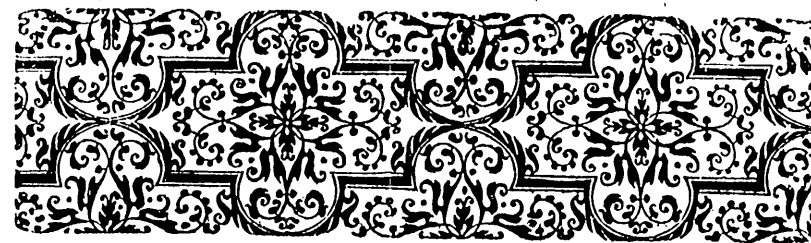
Ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, ὃς καὶ πλείονος ἢ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ διδάσκαλος ἀναγκαῖος ἔστι καὶ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπὸ μαθητῶν κατὰ τὴν χάριν ἐξελθόντες ἈΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΙΣ ἀνόμαστον.

Chrysost. Prefat. in Epist. ad Philem. pag. 1733.

Ὁ ὧν μόνον τὰς ἑπτὰ μικρὰς ἐπιστολάς, καὶ ἑπὶ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἀναγκαῖαν ἐπιστολὴν ἔδει ἐγγεγραφεῖν· ἀλλ' εἴθε καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ εὐπερίησαι τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ ἡμῶν ἀποστολικόν· ἥτις Ἀποστολὴν, ἢ λέγω καὶ τὸν ὄντως ἐγγράφον καὶ διελιχθῆσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο αὐτῶν ἀναγεφυμένον, καὶ τὴν ἑσάρων, καὶ πῶτε ἑσάρων, πῶτε ἐκδόσαν, καὶ πῶς ἐκδόσαν, καὶ τὴν καὶ ἐκείνῃ ἡμῶν διευσεχασίῳ, ποίοις συνὶ ἀνδράσι γινόμεσι, καὶ οἷς ποίαν οἰκίαν εἰσέλθον, καὶ πῶς κατηχθῆσαν, καὶ ἥτις ἀκρίβειας ἀπαντα διηγῆσθαι· ἔγω πάν-  
τα τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν γινόμενα πολλὰς ἀφελείας γέμει.

L O N D O N,

Printed by R. Norton, for R. Royston, Bookseller to his most Sacred Majesty, at the Angel in Amen-Corner, MDC LXXVI.



TO THE  
READER.



*I* will not, I suppose, seem improbable to the Reader, when I tell him, with how much reluctancy and unwillingness I set upon this undertaking. Besides the disadvantage of having this piece annexed to the Elaborate Book of that excellent Prelate, so great a Master both of Learning and Language, I was intimately conscious to my own unfitness for such a Work at any time, much more when clogg'd with many habitual Infirmities and Distempers. I considered the difficulty of the thing it self, perhaps not capable of being well managed by a much better Pen than mine; few of the Ancient Monuments of the Church being extant, and little of this nature in those few that are. Indeed I could not but think it reasonable, that all possible honour should be done to those, that first Preached the Gospel of peace, and brought glad tidings of good things, that it was fit men should be taught how much they were obliged to those excellent Persons, who were willing at so dear a rate to plant Christianity in the World, who they were, and what was that Piety and that Patience, that Charity and that Zeal,

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which

## To the READER.

*which made them to be reverenc'd while they liv'd, and their Memories ever since to be honourably celebrated through the World, infinitely beyond the glories of Alexander, and the triumphs of a Pompey or a Cæsar. But then how this should be done out of those few imperfect Memoires, that have escaped the general shipwrack of Church-Antiquities, and much more by so rude and unskilful a hand as mine, appear'd, I confess, a very difficult task, and next door to impossible. These, with some other considerations, made me a long time obstinately resolve against it, till being overcome by importunity, I yielded to do it, as I was able, and as the nature of the thing would bear.*

*THAT* which I primarily designed to my self, was to draw down the History of the New Testament especially from our Lord's death, to enquire into the first Originals and Plantations of the Christian Church by the Ministry of the Apostles, the success of their Doctrine, the power and conviction of their Miracles, their infinite Labours and hardships, and the dreadful Sufferings which they underwent; to consider in what instances of Piety and Virtue they ministred to our imitation, and served the purposes of Religion and an Holy Life. Indeed the accounts that are left us of these things are very short and inconsiderable, sufficient possibly to excite the appetite, not to allay the hunger of an importunate Enquirer into these matters. A consideration that might give us just occasion to lament the irreparable loss of those Primitive Records, which the injury of time hath deprived us of, the substance being gone, and little left us but the shell and carcase. Had we the Writings of Papias Bishop of Hierapolis, and Scholar, says Irenæus, to S. John, (wherein, as himself tells us, he set down what he had learnt from those who had familiarly conversed with the Apostles, the sayings and discourses of Andrew and Peter, of Philip and Thomas, &c.) Had we the Ancient

## To the READER.

*ent Commentaries of Hegesippus, Clemens Alexandrinus his Institutions, Africanus his Chronography, and some others, the Reader might expect more intire and particular relations, But alas! these are long since perish'd, and little besides the names of them transmitted to us. Nor should we have had most of that little that is left us, had not the commendable care and industry of Eusebius preserv'd it to us. And if he complain'd in his time (when those Writings were extant) that towards the composing of his History he had only some few particular accounts here and there left by the Ancients of their times; what cause have we to complain, when even those little portions have been ravish'd from us? So that he that would build a work of this nature, must look upon himself as condemn'd to a kind of Egyptian Task, to make Brick without Straw, at least to pick it up where he can find it, though after all it amounts to a very slender parcel. Which as it greatly hinders the beauty and completeness of the structure, so does it exceedingly multiply the labour and difficulty. For by this means I have been forc'd to gather up those little fragments of Antiquity, that lie dispers'd in the Writings of the Ancients, thrown some into this corner, and others into that: which I have at length put together, like the pieces of a broken Statue, that it might have at least some kind of resemblance of the person, whom it designs to represent.*

*HAD* I thought good to have traded in idle and frivolous Authors, Abdias Babylonius, the Passions of Peter and Paul, Joachim Perionius, Peter de Natalibus, and such like, I might have presented the Reader with a larger, not a better account. But besides the averseness of my nature to falsehoods and trifles, especially in matters wherein the honour of the Christian Religion is concern'd, I knew the World to be wiser at this time of day, than to be imposed upon by Pious frauds, and cheated with Ecclesiastical

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## To the READER.

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*stical Romances, and Legendary Reports. For this reason I have more fully and particularly insisted upon the Lives of the two first Apostles, so great a part of them being secur'd by an unquestionable Authority, and have presented the larger portions of the Sacred History, many times to very minute circumstances of action. And I presume the wise and judicious Reader will not blame me, for chusing rather to enlarge upon a story, which I knew to be infallibly true, than to treat him with those, which there was cause enough to conclude to be certainly false.*

*THE Reader will easily discern, that the Authors I make use of are not all of the same rank and size. Some of them are Divinely inspir'd, whose Authority is Sacred, and their reports rendred not only credible, but unquestionable, by that infallible and unerring Spirit that presid'd over them. Others such, of whose faith and testimony, especially in matters of fact, there is no just cause to doubt, I mean the genuine Writings of the Ancient Fathers, or those, which though unduly assign'd to this or that particular Father, are yet generally allowed to be Ancient, and their credit not to be despis'd, because their proper Parent is not certainly known. Next these come the Writers of the middle and later Ages of the Church, who though below the former in point of credit, have yet some particular advantages that recommend them to us. Such I account Symeon Metaphrastes, Nicephorus Callistus, the Menæa and Menologies of the Greek Church, &c. wherein though we meet with many vain and improbable stories, yet may we also rationally expect some real and substantial accounts of things, especially seeing they had the advantage of many Ancient and Ecclesiastick Writings, extant in their times, which to us are utterly lost. Though even these too I have never called in, but in the want of more Ancient and Authentick Writers. As for others, if any passages occur either in themselves*  
of

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## To the READER.

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*of doubtful and suspected credit, or borrowed from spurious and uncertain Authors, they are always introduced or dismissed with some kind of censure or remark, that the most easie and credulous Reader may know what to trust to, and not fear being secretly surpriz'd into a belief of doubtful and fabulous reports. And now after all I am sufficiently sensible, how lank and thin this Account is, nor can the Reader be less satisfied with it, than I am my self; and I have only this piece of justice and charity to beg of him, that he would suspend his censure, till he has taken a little pains to enquire into the state of the Times and Things I Write of: And then however he may challenge my prudence in undertaking it, he will not, I hope, see reason to charge me with want of care and faithfulness in the pursuance of it.*

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# THE INTRODUCTION.

Christ's faithfulness in appointing Officers in his Church. The dignity of the Apostles above the rest. The importance of the word 'Απόστολοι. The nature of the Apostolick Office considered. Respect had in founding it to the custom among the Jews. Their Apostoli, who. The number of the Apostles limited. Why twelve, the several conjectures of the Ancients. Their immediate election. Their work wherein it consisted. The Universality of their Commission. Apostolical Churches, what. How soon the Apostles propagated Christianity through the World. An argument for the Divinity of the Christian Religion infer'd thence. The power conveyed to the Apostles, equally given to all. Peter's superiority over the rest disprov'd both from Scripture and Antiquity. The Apostles how qualified for their Mission. Immediately taught the Doctrine they delivered. Infallibly secur'd from Error in delivering it. Their constant and familiar converse with their Master. Furnished with a power of working Miracles. The great evidence of it to prove a Divine Doctrine. Miraculous powers conferr'd upon the Apostles particularly considered. Prophecy, what, and when it ceas'd. The gift of discerning Spirits. The gift of Tongues. The gift of Interpretation. The unreasonable practice of the Church of Rome in keeping the Scripture and Divine Worship in an Unknown Tongue. The gift of Healing: Greatly advantageous to Christianity. How long it lasted. Power of Immediately inflicting corporal punishments; and the great benefit of it in those times. The Apostles enabled to confer miraculous powers upon others. The Duration of the Apostolical Office. What in it extraordinary, what ordinary. Bishops in what sense styled Apostles.

I. **J**ESUS CHRIST, the great Apostle and High-Priest of our Profession, being appointed by God to be the Supreme Ruler and Governor of his Church, was, like Moses, faithful in all his house: but with this honourable advantage, that Moses was faithful as a servant, Christ as a Son over his own house, which he erected, established and governed with all possible care and diligence. Nor could he give a greater instance either of his fidelity towards God, or his love and kindness to the Souls of men, than that after he had purchas'd a Family to himself, and could now no longer upon earth manage its interests in his own person, he would not return back

back to Heaven, till he had constituted several Orders of Officers in his Church, who might superintend and conduct its affairs; and according to the various circumstances of its state, administer to the needs and exigencies of his Family. Accordingly therefore he gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come into the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. The first and prime Class of Officers is that of Apostles: God hath set some in the Church, first Apostles, secondarily Prophets, &c. First Apostles, as far in office as honour before the rest, their election more immediate, their commission more large and comprehensive, the powers and privileges wherewith they were furnished greater and more honourable: Prophecy, the gift of Miracles, and expelling Demons, the order of Pastors and Teachers were all spiritual powers, and ensigns of great authority, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀπάντων μείζων ἔστιν ἄρχη ἢ ἀποστολική, says \* Chrysostom, but the Apostolick eminency is far greater than all these, which therefore he calls a spiritual Consulsip, an Apostle having as great preeminence above all other officers in the Church, as the Consul had above all other Magistrates in Rome. These Apostles were a few select persons whom our Lord chose out of the rest, to devolve part of the Government upon their shoulders, and to depute for the first planting and setting Christianity in the World: He chose twelve, whom he named Apostles: of whose Lives and Acts being to give an Historical account in the following work, it may not possibly be unuseful to premise some general remarks concerning them, not respecting this or that particular person, but of a general relation to the whole, wherein we shall especially take notice of the importance of the word, the nature of the employment, the fitness and qualification of the persons, and the duration and continuance of the Office.

II. The word Ἀποστολῆς, or sent, is among ancient Writers applied either to things, actions, or persons. To things; thus those Dimissory letters that were granted to such who appeal'd from an Inferiour to a Superiour Judicature, were in the language of the \* Roman Laws usually called Apostoli: thus a Packet-boat was styled, ἀποστολὸν πλοῖον, because sent up and down for advice and dispatch of business: thus though in somewhat a different sense, the lesson taken out of the Epistles is in the Ancient Greek || Liturgies called ἀποστολῆς, because usually taken out of the Apostles Writings. Sometimes it is applied to actions, and so imports no more than mission, or the very act of sending; thus the setting out a Fleet, or a Naval expedition was wont to be called ἀποστολῆς, so \* Suidas tells us, that as the persons designed for the care and management of the Fleet were called ἀποστολεῖς, so the very sending forth of the Ships themselves, αἱ τῶν νεῶν ἐκπομπαί, were styled ἀποστολαί. Lastly, what principally falls under our present consideration, it is applied to persons, and so imports no more than a messenger, a person sent upon some special errand, for the discharge of some peculiar affair in his name that sent him. Thus Epaphroditus is called the Apostle or Messenger of the Philippians, when sent by them to S. Paul at Rome: thus Titus and his Companions are styled ἀποστολοὶ, the Messengers of the Churches. So our Lord; he that is sent, ἀποστολῆς, an Apostle or Messenger is not greater than him that sent him. This then being the common notion of the word, our Lord fixes it to a particular use, applying it to those select persons, whom he had made choice of to act by that peculiar authority and commission, which he had deriv'd upon them. Twelve, whom he also named Apostles; that is, Commissioners, those who were to be Embassadors for Christ, to be sent up

Eph. 4. 11, 12, 13.

\* Serm. de mil. Ictition. 5. Script. Tom. 8. Edit. Savil. p. 114.

Luke 6. 13.

\* L. Unic. ff. lib. 49. Tit. 6. vid. l. 106. Tit. 16. lib. 50. & Paul 1 C. Sentent. lib. 9. Tit. 39. \* P. id. Chrys. Liturg. in Rit. mal. Grac. p. 68. \* Suid. in voc. ἀποστολῆς. ex Demosth. vid. Harpoc. lex. in Dec. Rhct.

Phil. 2. 25. 2 Cor. 8. 23. John 13. 16.

and down the World in his name, to plant the Faith, to govern and superintend the Church at present, and by their wise and prudent settlement of affairs, to provide for the future exigencies of the Church.

III. The next thing then to be considered is the nature of their Office, and under this enquiry we shall make these following remarks. First, it is not to be doubted but that our Lord in founding this Office had some respect to the state of things in the Jewish Church, I mean not only in general, that there should be superiour and subordinate Officers, as there were superiour and inferiour Orders under the Mosaic dispensation; but that herein he had an eye to some usage and custom common among them. Now among the Jews as all Messengers were called **שְׁלֵחוֹת**, or Apostles, so were they wont to dispatch some with peculiar letters of authority & Commission, whereby they acted as Proxies and Deputies of those that sent them, thence their Proverb, **שְׁלֵחוֹ שֶׁר אֲדָם** every man's Apostle is as himself, that is, whatever he does is look'd upon to be as firm and valid, as if the person himself had done it. Thus when Saul was sent by the sanhedrim to Damascus to apprehend the Jewish converts, he was furnished with letters from the High-Priest, enabling him to act as his Commissary in that matter. Indeed \* Epiphanius tells us of a sort of persons called Apostles, who were Assessors and Counsellors to the Jewish Patriarch, constantly attending upon him to advise him in matters pertaining to the Law, and sent by him (as || he intimates) sometimes to inspect and reform the manners of the Priests and Jewish Clergy, and the irregularities of Country-Synagogues, with commission to gather the Tenth and First-fruits due in all the Provinces under his jurisdiction. Such Apostles we find mention'd both by \* Julian the Emperor in an Epistle to the Jews, and in a Law of the Emperor || Honorius, imploy'd by the Patriarch to gather once a year the Aurum Coronarium or Crown-Gold, a Tribute annually paid by them to the Roman Emperors. But these Apostles could not under that notion be extant in our Saviour's time; though sure we are there was then something like it, \* Philo the Jew more than once mentioning the πομποὶ καθ' ἑκάστον ἐνιαυτὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρὸν πλείστον κομιζόμενοι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ ἀθροισθέντα ἐκ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν, the sacred messengers annually sent to collect the holy treasure paid by way of First-fruits, and to carry it to the Temple at Jerusalem. However our Lord in conformity to the general custom of those times, of appointing Apostles or Messengers, as their Proxies and Deputies to act in their names, call'd and denominated those Apostles, whom he peculiarly chose to represent his person, to communicate his mind and will to the World, and to act as Embassadors or Commissioners in his room and stead.

IV. Secondly, We observe that the persons thus deputed by our Saviour were not left uncertain, but reduced to a fixed definite number, confin'd to the just number of Twelve: he ordained twelve that they should be with him, Mark 3. 15. A number that seems to carry something of mystery and peculiar design in it; as appears in that the Apostles were so careful upon the fall of Judas immediately to supply it. The Fathers are very wide and different in their conjectures about the reason of it. \* S. Augustine thinks our Lord herein had respect to the four quarters of the World, which were to be called by the preaching of the Gospel, which being multiplied by three (to denote the Trinity, in whose name they were to be called) make Twelve. || Tertullian will have them typified by the twelve fountains in Elim, the Apostles being sent out to water and refresh the dry thirsty World with the knowledge of

\* Ἀποστολὴς ὃ εἰσέρχεται καὶ νυνὶ ἔσθ' ἱεροδότης ὀνομαζόμενος, καὶ ἐκκλησιαρχήματα πολλὰ ἔχει ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν ἀνακομιζόμενος. Euseb. in Calen. MS. apud Heins. cxcviii. in Luc. 6.

\* Hieron. 30. p. 60.

|| Ibid. p. 63.

\* Epist. 25. 3.

|| L. 14. C. Th. de

Judeis lib. 16.

Tit. 8.

\* Lib. de legat.

ad Caium, p.

1023. vid. p.

1035. E.

\* Serm. 3. in

Psalm. 103.

Col. 1. 192. Tom.

8. vid. in Psalm.

59. Col. 603.

|| Adv. Marci.

on lib. 4. c. 13.



dom should be preached in all the World for a witness unto all Nations, before the end came, that is, the end of the Jewish State, which the Apostles a little before had called the end of the World, *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος*, the shutting up or consummation of the Age, the putting a final period to that present State and dispensation that the Jews were under. And indeed strange it is to consider, that in so few years these Evangelical Messengers should over-run all Countries; with what an incredible swiftness did the Christian Faith like lightning pierce from East to West, and diffuse it self over all quarters of the World, and that not only unassisted by any secular advantages, but in defiance of the most fierce and potent opposition, which every where set it self against it? 'Tis true the impostures of *Muhammed* in a very little time gained a great part of the East. But besides that this was not comparable to the universal spreading of Christianity, his doctrine was calculated on purpose to gratify mens lusts, and especially to comply with the loose and wanton manners of the East, and, which is above all, had the sword to hew out its way before it: and we know how ready even without force in all changes and revolutions of the World, the conquered have been to follow the Religion of the Conquerors. Whereas the Apostles had no visible advantages, nay, had all the enraged powers of the World to contend against them. And yet in despite of all went on in triumph, and quickly made their way into those places, where for so many Ages no other conquest ever came; those parts of Britain (as \* *Tertullian* observes) which were unconquerable and unapproachable by the power of the Roman Armies, submitting their necks to the yoke of Christ. A mighty evidence (as he there argues) of Christ's Divinity, and that he was the true *Messiah*. And indeed no reasonable account can be given of the strange and successful progress of the Christian Religion in those first Ages of it, but that it was the birth of Heaven, and had a Divine and Invisible power going along with it to succeed and prosper it. \* *S. Chrysostom* discourses this argument at large, some of whose elegant reasonings I shall here transcribe. He tells the *Gentile* (with whom he was disputing) that he would not prove Christ's Deity by a demonstration from Heaven, by his Creation of the World, his great and stupendous miracles, his raising the dead, curing the blind, expelling Devils; nor from the mighty promises of a future state, and the resurrection of the dead (which an Infidel might easily not only question, but deny) but from what was sufficiently evident and obvious to the meanest Idiot, his planting and propagating Christianity in the World. For it is not (says he) in the power of a meer man, in so short a time to encircle the World, to compass Sea and Land, and in matters of so great importance to rescue mankind from the slavery of absurd and unreasonable customs, and the powerful tyranny of evil habits: and these not *Romans* only, but *Persians*, and the most barbarous Nations of the World. A reformation which he wrought not by force and the power of the sword; nor by pouring into the world numerous Legions and Armies: but by a few inconsiderable men (no more at first than Eleven) a company of obscure and mean, simple and illiterate, poor and helpless, naked and unarmed persons, who had scarce a shoe to tread on, or a coat to cover them. And yet by these he persuaded so great a part of mankind to be able freely to reason, not only of things of the present, but of a future state; to renounce the Laws of their Country, and throw off those ancient and inveterate customs, which had taken root for so many Ages, and planted others in their room; and reduced men from those easie ways, whereinto they were hurried, into the more rugged and difficult paths of vertue. All which he did, while he had to contend with opposite powers, and when he himself had undergone the

most

most ignominious death, even the death of the Cross. Afterwards he addresses himself to the *Jew*, and discourses with him much after the same rate. Consider (says \* he) and bethink thy self, what it is in so short a time to fill the whole World with so many famous Churches, to convert so many Nations to the Faith, to prevail with Men to forsake the Religion of their Country, to root up their rites and customs, to shake off the Empire of lust and pleasure, and the Laws of vice like dust; to abolish and abominate their Temples and their Altars, their Idols and their Sacrifices, their profane and impious Festivals as dirt and dung; and instead hereof to set up Christian Altars in all places, among the *Romans*, *Persians*, *Scythians*, *Moors* and *Indians*; and not there only, but in the Countries beyond this World of ours. For even the *British Islands* that lie beyond the Ocean, and those that are in it, have felt the power of the Christian Faith; Churches and Altars being erected there to the service of Christ. A matter truly great and admirable, and which would clearly have demonstrated a Divine and Supereminent Power, although there had been no opposition in the case, but that all things had run on calmly and smoothly, to think that in so few years the Christian Faith should be able to reclaim the whole World from its vicious customs, and to win them over to other manners, more laborious and difficult, repugnant both to their native inclinations, and to the Laws and Principles of their education, and such as oblig'd them to a more strict and accurate course of life; and these persons not one or two, not twenty or an hundred, but in a manner all Mankind: and this brought about by no better instruments than a few rude and unlearned, private and unknown tradesmen, who had neither estate nor reputation, learning nor eloquence, kindred nor Country to recommend them to the World; a few Fishermen and Tent-makers, and whom distinguished by their Language as well as their Religion, the rest of the World scorn'd as barbarous. And yet these were the men, by whom our Lord built up his Church, and extended it from one end of the World unto the other. Other considerations there are with which the Father does urge and illustrate this argument, which I forbear to insist on in this place.

VII. Sixthly, The power and authority convey'd by this Commission to the Apostles, was equally conferr'd upon all of them. They were all chosen at the same time, all equally impowred to Preach and Baptize, all equally intrusted with the power of binding and loosing, all invested with the same mission, and all equally furnished with the same gifts and powers of the Holy Ghost. Indeed the Advocates of the Church of *Rome* do with a mighty zeal and fierceness contend for *S. Peter's* being Head and Prince of the Apostles, advanced by Christ to a supremacy and prerogative not only above, but over the rest of the Apostles; and not without reason, the fortunes of that Church being concerned in the supremacy of *S. Peter*. No wonder therefore they ransack all corners, press and force in whatever may but seem to give countenance to it. Witness those thin and miserable shifts, which *Bellarmino* calls arguments, to prove and make it good; so utterly devoid of all rational conviction, so unable to justify themselves to sober and considering men, that a Man would think they had been contrived for no other purpose, than to cheat fools, and make wise men laugh. And the truth is, nothing with me more shakes the reputation of the wisdom of that learned man, than his making use of such weak and trifling arguments in so important and concerning an Article, so vital and essential to the constitution of that Church. As when he argues *Peter's* \* superiority from the meer changing of his name, (for what's this to supremacy? besides that it was not done to him alone,

\* *De Rom. Pontif. lib. 1. c. 17, 18. & seq.*  
the

Verf. 3.

\* *Adv. Jud. c. 7. p. 189.*

\* *Lib. quod Chr. sit Deus, c. 1. Tom. 5. p. 726.*

the same being done to *James* and *John*) from his being first reckoned up in the Catalogue of Apostles, his walking with Christ upon the water, his paying tribute for his Master and himself, his being commanded to let down the Net, and Christ's teaching in *Peter's* ship, (and this ship must denote the Church, and *Peter's* being owner of it, entitle him to be supreme Ruler and Governour of the Church, so *Bellarmino* in terms as plain as he could well express it) from Christ's first washing *Peter's* feet (though the story recorded by the Evangelist says no such thing) and his foretelling only his death: all which, and many more prerogatives of *S. Peter*, to the number of no less than XXVII. are summoned in to give in evidence in this cause; and many of these two drawn out of Apocryphal and supposititious Authors, and not only uncertain, but absurd and fabulous: and yet upon such arguments as these do they found his paramount authority. A plain evidence of a desperate and sinking cause, when such twigs must be laid hold on to support and keep it above water. Had they suffered *Peter* to be content with a primacy of Order (which his age and gravity seemed to challenge for him) no wise and peaceable man would have denied it, as being a thing ordinarily practised among equals, and necessary to the well governing a society: but when nothing but a primacy of Power will serve the turn, as if the rest of the Apostles had been inferior to him, this may by no means be granted, as being expressly contrary to the positive determination of our Saviour, when the Apostles were contending about this very thing, *which of them should be accounted the greatest*, he thus quickly decides the case, *The Kings of the Gentiles exercise Lordship over them, and they that are great, exercise authority upon them. But ye shall not be so: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister, and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your Servant.* Than which nothing could have been more peremptorily spoken, to rebuke this naughty spirit of preheminance. Nor do we ever find *S. Peter* himself laying claim to any such power, or the Apostles giving him the least shadow of it. In the whole course of his affairs there are no intimations of this matter; in his Epistle he styles himself but their fellow-Presbyter, and expressly forbids the Governours of the Church to *Lord it over God's heritage*. When dispatched by the rest of the Apostles upon a message to *Samaria*, he never disputes their authority to do it; when accused by them for going in unto the *Gentiles*, does he stand upon his prerogative? no, but submissively apologizes for himself; nay, when smartly reprov'd by *S. Paul* at *Antioch* (when, if ever, his credit lay at stake) do we find him excepting against it as an affront to his supremacy, and a sawcy controlling his superiority? surely the quite contrary; he quietly submitted to the reproof, as one that was sensible how justly he had deserved it. Nor can it be supposed but that *S. Paul* would have carried it towards him with a greater reverence; had any such peculiar sovereignty been then known to the World. How confidently does *S. Paul* assert himself to be no whit inferior to the chiefest Apostles, not to *Peter* himself? *the Gospel of the uncircumcision being committed to him, as that of the circumcision was to Peter.* Is *Peter* oft named first among the Apostles? elsewhere others, sometimes *James*, sometimes *Paul* and *Apollos*, are placed before him. Did Christ honour him with some singular commendations? an honourable *elogium* conveys no super-eminent power and sovereignty. Was he dear to Christ? we know another, that was the beloved Disciple. So little warrant is there to exalt one above the rest, where Christ made all alike.

(u) If from Scripture we descend to the ancient Writers of the Church; we shall find that though the Fathers bestow very great and honourable Titles upon *Peter*; yet they give the same, or what are equivalent to others

Matth. 20. 25,  
26, 27.  
Luke 22. 24,  
25, 26.

(u) Hoc erant  
utiq; & ceteri  
Apostoli, quod  
fuit Petrus,  
pari consortio  
præditi, & ho-  
noris & potes-  
tatis. Cyprian  
de unitat Ec-  
cles. p. 180.

of the Apostles. \* *Hesychius* styles *S. James* the Great, the Brother of our Lord, \* *Orat. in S. Jac. ap. Pbor. Cod. cclxxv. Col. 1525.* the Commander of the new Jerusalem, the Prince of Priests, the Exarch or chief of the Apostles, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ κορυφῇ, the top or crown amongst the heads, the great light amongst the Lamps, the most illustrious and resplendent amongst the stars: 'twas *Peter* that preach'd, but 'twas *James* that made the determination, &c. Of *S. Andrew* he gives this encomium, (y) that he was the sacerdotal Trumpet, the first born of the Apostolick Quire, πρωτοπατρις τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῦλος, the prime and firm Pillar of the Church, *Peter* before *Peter*, the foundation of the foundation, the first fruits of the beginning. *Peter* and *John* are said to be ἰσοτίμοι ἀλλήλοις, equally honourable, by *S. Cyril* (z) with his whole Synod of *Alexandria*. *S. John* (says (a) *Chrysostom*) was Christ's beloved, the Pillar of all the Churches in the World, who had the Keys of Heaven; drank of his Lord's cup, was wash'd with his Baptism, and with confidence lay in his bosom. And of (b) *S. Paul* he tells us, that he was the most excellent of all men, the Teacher of the World, the Bridegroom of Christ, the Planter of the Church, the wise Master-builder, greater than the Apostles, and much more to the same purpose. Elsewhere he says, (c) that the care of the whole World was committed to him, that nothing could be more noble or illustrious: yea that (his Miracles considered) he was more excellent than Kings themselves. And a little after (d) he calls him the tongue of the Earth, the light of the Churches, τὸν θεμελίον τῆς πίστεως, τὸν εὐλὸν καὶ ἐδεξιωμα τῆς ἀληθείας, the foundation of the faith, the pillar and ground of truth. And in a discourse on purpose, wherein he compares *Peter* and *Paul* together, he makes them of equal esteem and virtue; τί Πέτρος μέζον; τί ὁ Παῦλος ἴσον; What greater than *Peter*? What equal to *Paul*? a Blessed pair! ἡ πεπιτευθεῖσα ὅλη τῷ κόσμῳ τὰς ψυχὰς, who had the Souls of the whole World committed to their charge. But instances of this nature were endless and infinite. If the Fathers at any time style *Peter*, Prince of the Apostles, they mean no more by it, than the best and purest Latine writers mean by *princeps*, the first or chief person of the number, more considerable than the rest, either for his age or zeal. Thus (f) *Eusebius* tells us, *Peter* was τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπὸ τῶν προσηγοριῶν, the prolocutor of all the rest, ἀρστὴς ἡγεμὴν, for the greatness and generosity of his mind, that is, in (g) *Chrysostom's* language, he was the mouth and chief of the Apostles, ὁ πᾶντα καὶ θαρμῶς, because eager and forward at every turn, and ready to answer those questions which were put to others. In short, as he had no Prerogative above the rest, besides his being the Chair-man and President of the Assembly, so was it granted to him upon no other considerations, than those of his age, zeal, and gravity, for which he was more eminent than the rest.

(y) Encom. S. Thom. ibid. Cod. cclxxv. col. 1488.

(z) In Conc. Ephef. Concil. Tom. 2. p. 209. (a) Prolog. in Joan. p. 2. (b) De Pet. fil. Zeb. p. 378. Tom. 1.

(c) In illud, sal. Aquil. & Trise. p. 218. Tom. 5.

(d) Ibid. p. 221.

(e) Serm. in Petr. & Paul. p. 261. Tom. 6.

(f) H. Eccl. 1.2. c. 14. p. 2.

(g) In Matth. c. 16. p. 483.

VIII. We proceed next to enquire into the fitness and qualification of the Persons commissioned for this employment; and we shall find them admirably qualified to discharge it, if we consider this following account. First, They immediately received the Doctrine of the Gospel from the mouth of Christ himself; he intended them for Legati à latere, his peculiar Embassadors to the World, and therefore furnished them with instructions from his own mouth; and in order hereunto he train'd them up for some years under his own Discipline and institution: he made them to understand the mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, when to others it was not given; treated them with the affection of a Father, and the freedom and familiarity of a friend. Henceforth I call you not servants, for the servant knoweth not what his Lord doth, but I have called you friends: for all things that I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you. They heard all his Sermons, were privy both to his publick and private discourses; what he preach'd abroad, he expounded to them at home; he gradually instructed them in the know-

Job. 15. 153

ledge

ledge of Divine things, and imparted to them the notions and mysteries of the Gospel, not all at once, but *as they were able to bear them*. By which means they were sufficiently capable of giving a satisfactory account of that doctrine to others, which had been so immediately, so frequently communicated to themselves. Secondly, They were infallibly secured from error in delivering the Doctrines and Principles of Christianity: for though they were not absolutely priviledg'd from failures and miscarriages in their lives, (these being of more personal and private consideration) yet were they infallible in their Doctrine, this being a matter whereupon the salvation and eternal interests of men did depend. And for this end they had the *spirit of truth* promised to them, who should *guide them into all truth*. Under the conduct of this unerring Guide they all steer'd the same course, taught and spake the same things, though at different times, and in distant places: and for what was consign'd to writing, *all Scripture was given by inspiration of God, and the holy men spake not, but as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*. Hence that exact and admirable harmony that is in all their writings and relations, as being all equally dictated by the same spirit of truth. Thirdly, They had been eye-witnesses of all the material passages of our Saviour's life, continually conversant with him from the commencing of his publick ministry, till his ascension into Heaven; they had survey'd all his actions, seen all his miracles, observ'd the whole method of his conversation, and some of them attended him in his most private solitudes and retirements. And this could not but be a very rational satisfaction to the minds of men, when the publishers of the Gospel solemnly declared to the World, that they reported nothing concerning our Saviour, but what they had seen with their own eyes, and of the truth whereof they were as competent Judges, as the acutest Philosopher in the World. Nor could there be any just reason to suspect that they impos'd upon men in what they delivered; for besides their naked plainness and simplicity in all other passages of their lives, they chearfully submitted to the most exquisite hardships, tortures, and sufferings, merely to attest the truth of what they published to the World. Next to the evidence of our own senses, no testimony is more valid and forcible, than his who relates what himself has seen. Upon this account our Lord told his Apostles, *that they should be witnesses to him both in Judea and Samaria, and to the uttermost parts of the Earth*. And so necessary a qualification of an Apostle was this thought to be, that it was almost the only condition propounded in the choice of a new Apostle after the fall of Judas: *Wherefore (says Peter) of these men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the Baptism of John, unto the same day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection*. Accordingly we find the Apostles constantly making use of this argument as the most rational evidence to convince those whom they had to deal with. *We are witnesses of all things which Jesus did both in the Land of the Jews, and in Jerusalem, whom they slew and hanged on a tree: Him God raised up the third day, and shewed him openly, not to all the people, but unto witnesses, chosen before of God, even to us, who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead: And he commanded us to preach unto the people, and to testify that it is he that is ordained of God to be Judge of the quick and dead*. Thus S. John after the same way of arguing appeals to sensible demonstration, *That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have look'd upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life: (For the life was manifested, and we have seen it and bear witness, and shew unto you that Eternal Life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us) That* which

§ Joh. 1. 1, 2, 3.

*which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us. This, to name no more, S. Peter thought a sufficient vindication of the Apostolical doctrine from the suspicion of forgery and imposture, We have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his majesty. God had frequently given testimony to the divinity of our blessed Saviour, by visible manifestations and appearances from Heaven, and particularly by an audible voice, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased. Now this Voice which came from Heaven (says he) we heard, when we were with him in the holy Mount.* 2 Pet. i. 16, 17.

IX. Fourthly, The Apostles were invested with a power of working Miracles, as the readiest means to procure their Religion a firm belief and entertainment in the minds of Men. For Miracles are the great confirmation of the truth of any doctrine, and the most rational evidence of a divine commission. For seeing God only can create, and controll the Laws of nature, produce something out of nothing, and call things that are not, as if they were, give eyes to them that were born blind, raise the dead, &c. things plainly beyond all possible powers of nature; no man that believes the wisdom and goodness of an infinite being, can suppose that this God of truth should affix his seal to a lye, or communicate this power to any that would abuse it, to confirm and countenance delusions and impostures. *Nicodemus* his reasoning was very plain and convictive, when he concludes that Christ *must needs be a Teacher come from God, for that no man could do those Miracles that he did, except God were with him.* The force of which argument lies here, that nothing but a Divine power can work Miracles, and that Almighty God cannot be supposed miraculously to assist any but those, whom he himself sends upon his own errand. The stupid and barbarous *Lycaonians*, when they beheld the Man who had been a Cripple from his Mothers womb, cured by *S. Paul* in an instant only with the speaking of a word, saw that there was something in it more than humane, and therefore concluded that *the* A<sup>d</sup> 14. 10. 11.  
\* 2 Cor. 12. 12.  
*Gods were come down to them in the likeness of Men.*  
Upon this account \* *S. Paul* reckons Miracles among the *τὰ σημεῖα τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ*, the *signs and evidences of an Apostle*, whom therefore *(h) Chrysostom* brings in elegantly pleading for himself, that though he could not shew as the signs of his Priesthood and Ministry, long Robes, and gaudy Vestments, with Bells sounding at their borders, as the Aaronical Priests did of old; though he had no golden Crowns or holy Mitres, yet could he produce what was infinitely more venerable and remarkable than all these, unquestionable Signs and Miracles: He came not with Altars and Oblations, with a number of strange and symbolick Rites; but what was greater, raised the dead, cast out Devils, cured the blind, healed the lame, making the *Gentiles obedient by word and deed, thorough many signs and wonders wrought by the power of the spirit of God.* These were the things that clearly shewed that their mission and ministry was not from men, nor taken up of their own heads, but that they acted herein by a Divine warrant and authority. That therefore it might plainly appear to the World, that they did not falsify in what they said, or deliver any more than God had given them in commission, he enabled them to do strange and miraculous operations, bearing them wit- Hebr. 2. 4.  
*ness both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles and gifts of the Ho-*  
*ly*

(b) τῆς ἑρριμίας μὲν πάντας τὰ σύμβολα, καὶ  
 ἢ χειροποιήτας, ἔχον πολλὰ εἰς αὐτὰ περικειμένα  
 ἢ ποδῆν ἢ καλῶντας, καὶ πάντες οἱ παιδαῖοι, ἐνδε-  
 μισται, καὶ χιδοῖναι, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ φεικοφέτερες  
 τῶν σημείων καὶ θαύματα. — εἶδες πὺς ταῦτα  
 οἱ παιδαῖοι θαυμαστότερα καὶ φεικοφέτερα; ἢ  
 θυσία, ἢ σφροσφορα, τὰ σύμβολα; ὅταν γὰρ εἴπω  
 [ ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ, ἐν δυνάμει σημείων καὶ τερα-  
 τῶν ] τίπο λέγειν, ἢ διδασκαλλῶν, ἢ σοφὴ βασι-  
 λείας φιλοσοφίαν, ἢ καὶ ἔργον, καὶ ἢ πελιτίαν  
 ἐπίδειξιν, τὰς νεκρὰς τὰς ἐνεμεγέθυς, τὰς δι-  
 κωνὰς τὰς ἐλευθωμένους, τὰς θραπτοποιοῦσιν τὰς  
 τυφλὰς, τὰς πλύνουσιν χαλκοῖς, τὰ ἀλλὰ τεράσια,  
 ὅσπερ ἀπὸ πύλας ἐισέλθοι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον ἐν  
 ἡμῶν. Chrylost. Homil. 29. in Rom. p. 302,  
 303.

Hebr. 2. 4

ly Ghost. This was a power put into the first draught of their commission, when confined only to the Cities of Israel; *As ye go, preach, saying, The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand; Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out Devils, freely you have received, freely give:* but more fully confirmed upon them, when our Lord went to Heaven, then he told them, that *these signs should follow them that believe, that in his Name they should cast out Devils, and speak with new tongues; that they should take up serpents, and if they drank any deadly thing it should not hurt them, that they should lay hands on the sick and they should recover:* And the event was accordingly, for they went forth, and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following. When Paul and Barnabas came up to the Council at Jerusalem, this was one of the first things they gave an account of, *all the multitude keeping silence, while they declared what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them.* Thus the very shadow of Peter as he passed by cured the sick: thus God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul: so that from his body were brought unto the sick, handkerchiefs, or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them. So that besides the innate characters of Divinity which the Christian religion brought along with it, containing nothing but what was highly reasonable, and very becoming God to reveal; it had the highest external evidence that any Religion was capable of, the attestation of great and unquestionable Miracles, done not once or twice, not privately and in corners, not before a few simple and credulous persons, but frequently and at every turn, publickly and in places of the most solemn concourse, before the wisest and most judicious enquirers, and this power of miracles continued not only during the Apostles time, but for some Ages after.

X. But because besides Miracles in general, the Scripture takes particular notice of many gifts and powers of the Holy Ghost conferred upon the Apostles and first Preachers of the Gospel, it may not be amiss to consider some of the chiefest and most material of them, as we find them enumerated by the Apostle, only premising this observation, that though these gifts were distinctly distributed to persons of an inferiour order, so that one had this, and another that, yet were they (probably) all conferr'd upon the Apostles, and doubtless in larger proportions than upon the rest. First, we take notice of the gift of Prophecy, a clear evidence of divine inspiration, and an extraordinary mission, *the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.* It had been for many Ages the signal and honourable privilege of the Jewish Church, and that the Christian Oeconomy might challenge as sacred regards from men, and that it might appear that God had not withdrawn his Spirit from his Church in this new state of things, it was revived under the dispensation of the Gospel, according to that famous Prophecy of Joel exactly accomplished (as Peter told the Jews) upon the day of Pentecost, when the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost were so plentifully shed upon the Apostles and Primitive Christians; *This is that which was spoken by the Prophet Joel, It shall come to pass in the last days (saith God) I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh, and your Sons and your Daughters shall prophesie, and your young Men shall see Visions, and your old Men shall dream Dreams; and on my servants, and on my Hand-maidens I will pour out in those days of my spirit, and they shall prophesie.* It lay in general in revealing and making known to others the mind of God, but discovered it self in particular instances; partly in foretelling things to come, and what should certainly happen in after-times: a thing set beyond the reach of any finite understanding; for though such effects as depend upon natural agents, or moral and political causes, may be foreseen

foreseen by studious and considering persons, yet the knowledge of futurities, things purely contingent, that meerly depend upon mens choice, and their mutable and uncertain wills, can only fall under his view, who at once beholds things-past, present, and to come. Now this was conferred upon the Apostles and some of the first Christians, as appears from many instances in the History of the Apostolick Acts, and we find the Apostles writings frequently interspersed with propheticall predictions concerning the great apostasie from the faith, the universal corruption and degeneracy of manners, the rise of particular heresies, the coming of Antichrist, and several other things which the spirit said expressly should come to pass in the latter times; besides that S. John's whole Book of Revelation is almost intirely made up of Prophecies concerning the future state and condition of the Church. Sometimes by this spirit of prophecy God declared things that were of present concernment to the exigences of the Church, as when he signified to them that they should set apart Paul and Barnabas for the conversion of the Gentiles, and many times immediately designed particular persons to be Pastors and Governours of the Church. Thus we read of the gift that was given to Timothy by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, that is, his Ordination, to which he was particularly pointed out by some prophetick designation. But the main use of this prophetick gift in those times was to explain some of the more difficult and particular parts of the Christian doctrine, especially to expound and apply the ancient Prophecies concerning the Messiah and his Kingdom in their publick Assemblies; whence the gift of prophecy is explained by understanding all mysteries, and all knowledge, that is, the most dark and difficult places of Scripture, the types and figures, the ceremonies and prophecies of the Old Testament. And thus we are commonly to understand those words, *Prophets, and prophesying,* that so familiarly occur in the New Testament. Having gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesie according to the proportion of faith, that is, expound Scripture according to the generally-received principles of Faith and Life. So the Apostle elsewhere prescribing Rules for the decent and orderly managing of Divine worship in their publick Assemblies, let the Prophets (says he) speak two or three (that is, at the same Assembly) and let the other judge; and if while any is thus expounding, another has a Divine afflatus, whereby he is more particularly enabled to explain some difficult and emergent passage, let the first hold his peace: for ye may all, all that have this gift, prophesie one by one, that so thus orderly proceeding, all may learn, and all may be comforted. Nor can the first pretend that this interruption is an unreasonable check to his revelation, seeing he may command himself; for though among the Gentiles the prophetick and ecstasick impulse did so violently press upon the inspired Person, that he could not govern himself, yet in the Church of God the spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets, may be so ruled and restrained by them, as to make way for others. This order of Christian Prophets considered as a distinct Ministry by it self is constantly placed next to the Apostolical Office, and is frequently by S. Paul preferred before any other spiritual Gifts then bestowed upon the Church. When this spirit of Prophecy ceased in the Christian Church, we cannot certainly finde. It continued some competent time beyond the Apostolick Age. (i) Justin Martyr, (i) Dial. cum Trypho the Jew, Παρά ημῶν καὶ μέχρ' ὑν προφήτων χάρισμά ἐστιν, the gifts of Prophecy are even yet extant among us; an argument, as he there tells him, that those things which had of old been the great Privileges of their Church, were now translated into the Christian Church. And (k) Eusebius speaking of a Revelation made to one Alcibiades, who lived about

1 Cor. 13. 2.

Rom. 12. 8.

1 Cor. 14. 29, 30, 31, 32.

(i) Dial. cum Tryph. p. 308.

(k) H. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 3. p. 168.

about the time of *Irenæus*, adds, that the Divine Grace had not withdrawn its Presence from the Church, but that they still had the Holy Ghost as their Counsellor to direct them.

XI. Secondly, They had *the gift of discerning spirits*, whereby they were enabled to discover the truth or falshood of mens pretences, whether their gifts were real or counterfeit, and their persons truly inspired or not. For many men, acted only by diabolical impulses, might entitle themselves to Divine inspirations, and others might be imposed upon by their delusions, and mistake their dreams and fancies for the Spirits dictates and revelations; or might so subtilly and artificially counterfeit revelations, that they might with most pals for currant, especially in those times when these supernatural gifts were so common and ordinary; and our Lord himself had frequently told them that *false Prophets would arise*, and that many would confidently plead for themselves before him, that they had *prophefied in his name*. That therefore the Church might not be imposed upon, God was pleased to endue the Apostles, and it may be some others, with an immediate faculty of discerning the Caffè from the Wheat, true from false Prophets; nay, to know when the true Prophets delivered the revelations of the Spirit, and when they expressed only their own conceptions. This was a mighty privilege, but yet seems to me to have extended farther, to judge of the sincerity or hypocrisy of mens hearts in the profession of Religion, that so bad men being discovered, suitable censures and punishments might be passed upon them, and others cautioned to avoid them. Thus *Peter* at first sight discovered *Ananias* and *Saphira*, and the rotten hypocrisy of their intentions, before there was any external evidence in the case; and told *Simon Magus*, though baptized before upon his embracing Christianity, *that his heart was not right in the sight of God, for I perceive (says he) that thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity*. Thirdly, the Apostles had the *gift of Tongues*, furnished with variety of utterance, able to speak on a sudden several Languages which they had never learnt, as occasion was administered, and the exigences of persons and Nations with whom they conversed, did require. For the Apostles being principally designed to convert the World, and to plant Christianity in all Countries and Nations; it was absolutely necessary that they should be able readily to express their minds in the Languages of those Countries to which they addressed themselves: seeing otherwise it would have been a work of time and difficulty, and not consistent with the term of the Apostles lives, had they been first to learn the different Languages of those Nations, before they could have preached the Gospel to them. Hence this gift was diffused upon the Apostles in larger measures and proportions than upon other men; *I speak with Tongues more than you all, says S. Paul*; that is, than all the gifted persons in the Church of *Corinth*. Our Lord had told the Apostles before his departure from them, *that they should be endued with power from on high*, which upon the day of *Pentecost* was particularly made good in this instance, when in a moment they were enabled to speak almost all the Languages of the then known World, and this as a specimen and first-fruits of the rest of those miraculous powers that were conferr'd upon them.

XII. A fourth gift was that of *Interpretation*, or unfolding to others what had been delivered in an unknown tongue. For the Christian Assemblies in those days were frequently made up of men of different Nations, and who could not understand what the Apostles or others had spoken to the Congregation; this God supplied by this gift of interpretation, enabling some to interpret what others did not understand, and to speak it to them in their own native

native Language. *S. Paul* largely discourses the necessity of this gift in order to the instructing and edifying of the Church, seeing without it their meetings could be no better than the Assembly at *Babel* after the confusion of Languages, where one man must needs be a *Barbarian* to another, and all the praying and preaching of the Minister of the Assembly be to many altogether fruitless and unprofitable, and no better than a *speaking into the Air*. What's the speaking though with the *tongue of Angels* to them that do not understand it? How can the *Idiot and unlearned say Amen*, who understands not the language of him that giveth thanks? The duty may be done with admirable quaintness and accuracy, but what's he the better, from whom 'tis lock'd up in an unknown tongue? A consideration that made the Apostle solemnly profess, that *he had rather speak five words in the Church with his understanding, than by his voice he may teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue*. Therefore if any man speak in an unknown tongue, let it be but by two, or at most by three, and let one interpret what the rest have spoken: but if there be no interpreter, none present able to do this, let him keep silence in the Church, and speak to himself and to God. A man that impartially reads this discourse of the Apostle, may wonder how the Church of *Rome* in defiance of it can so openly practise, so confidently defend their Bible and Divine Services in an unknown tongue, so flatly repugnant to the dictates of common reason, the usage of the first Christian Church, and these plain Apostolical commands. But this is not the only instance wherein that Church has departed both from Scripture, Reason, and the practice of the first and purest Ages of Christianity. Indeed there is some cause why they are so zealous to keep both Scripture and their Divine Worship in a strange Language, lest by reading the one the People should become wise enough to discover the gross errors and corruptions of the other. Fifthly, The Apostles had the *gift of Healing*, of curing Diseases without the arts of Physick; the most inveterate distempers being equally removable by an Almighty power, and vanishing at their speaking of a word. This begot an extraordinary veneration for them and their Religion among the common sort of men, who, as they are strongliest moved with sensible effects, so are most taken with those miracles that are beneficial to the life of man. Hence the infinite Cures done in every place, God mercifully providing that the Body should partake with the Soul in the advantages of the Gospel, the cure of the one ushering in many times the conversion of the other. This gift was very common in those early days, bestowed not upon the Apostles only, but the ordinary Governours of the Church, who were wont to lay their hands upon the sick, and sometimes to anoint them with Oil (a symbolick rite in use among the Jews, to denote the grace of God) and to pray over, and for them in the name of the Lord Jesus; whereby, upon a hearty confession and forsaking of their sins, both health and pardon were at once bestowed upon them. How long this gift, with its appendant ceremony of *Unction* lasted in the Church, is not easie to determine; that it was in use in *Tertullian's* time, we learn from the instance he gives us of *Proculus* a Christian, who cured the Emperor *Severus*, by anointing him with Oil; for which the Emperor had him in great honour, and kept him with him at Court all his life; it afterwards vanishing by degrees, as all other miraculous powers, as Christianity gain'd firm footing in the World. As for *Extreme Unction*, so generally maintained and practised in the Church of *Rome*, nay, and by them made a *Sacrament*, I doubt it will receive very little countenance from this Primitive usage. Indeed could they as easily restore sick men to health, as they can anoint them with Oil, I think no body would contradict them; but till they can pre-

1 Cor. 14.

Verf. 19.

Verf. 27, 28.

Jam. 5. 14, 15, 16.

\* Ad Scapul. c. 4. p. 71.

Acts 8. 21, 23.

1 Cor. 14. 18.

tend to the one, I think it unreasonable they should use the other. The best is, though founding it upon this Apostolical practice, they have turn'd it to a quite contrary purpose, instead of recovering men to life and health, to dispose and fit them for dying, when all hopes of life are taken from them.

XIII. Sixthly, The Apostles were invested with a power of immediately inflicting corporal punishments upon great and notorious sinners; and this probably is that which he means by his ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων, operations of powers, or working miracles, which surely cannot be meant of miracles in general, being reckoned up amongst the particular gifts of the Holy Ghost, nor is there any other to which it can with equal probability refer. A power to inflict diseases upon the body, as when S. Paul struck Elymas the Sorcerer with blindness, and sometimes extending to the loss of life it self, as in the sad instance of Ananias and Saphira. This was the Virga Apostolica, the Rod (mentioned by S. Paul) which the Apostles held and shak'd over scandalous and insolent offenders, and sometimes laid upon them: What will ye? shall I

come to you with a rod? or in love, and the spirit of meekness? Where, observe (says\* Chrysostom) how the Apostle tempers his discourse; the love and meekness, and his desire to know, argued care and kindness; but the rod spake dread and terror: a Rod of severity and punishment, and which sometimes mortally chastised the offender. Elsewhere he frequently gives intimations of this power, when he has to deal with stubborn and incorrigible persons; *Having in a readiness to revenge all disobedience,*

2 Cor. 10. 6, 8, 9. Chap. 13. 2. Vers. 10.

ing over persons unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, the chastising the body by some present pain or sickness, *that the spirit might be saved by being brought to a seasonable repentance.* Thus he dealt with *Hymeneus and Alexander*, who had *made shipwreck of Faith and a good Conscience*, he delivered them unto Satan, *that they might learn not to blaspheme.* Nothing being more usual in those times than for persons excommunicate, and cut off from the body of the Church, to be presently arrested by Satan, as the common Sergeant and Executioner, and by him either actually possessed, or tormented in their bodies by some diseases which he brought upon them. And indeed this severe discipline was no more than necessary in those times, when Christianity was wholly destitute of any civil or coercive power, to beget and keep up a due reverence and regard to the sentence and determinations of the Church, and to secure the Laws of Religion, and the holy censures from being slighted by every bold and contumacious offender. And this effect we find it had after the dreadful instance of *Ananias and Saphira*, *Great fear came upon all the Church, and upon as many as heard these things.* To what has been said concerning these Apostolical gifts, let me further observe, That they had not only these gifts residing in themselves, but a power to bestow them upon others.

others, so that by imposition of hands, or upon hearing and embracing the Apostle's doctrine, and being baptized into the Christian Faith, they could confer these miraculous powers upon persons thus qualified to receive them whereby they were in a moment enabled to speak divers Languages, to Prophesie, to Interpret, and do other miracles to the admiration and astonishment of all that heard and saw them. A privilege peculiar to the Apostles ; for we do not find that any inferior Order of gifted persons were intrusted with it. And therefore as  
*\* Chrysostom* well observes, though *Philip the Deacon* wrought great miracles at *Samaria*, to the conversion of many, yea to the conviction of *Simon Magus* himself, yet the Holy Ghost fell upon none of them, only they were baptized in the Name of the Lord Jesus : till *Peter* and *John* came down to them, who having prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost, they laid their hands upon them, and they received the Holy Ghost. Which when the Magician beheld, he offered the Apostles money to enable him, that on whom soever he laid his hands, he might derive these miraculous powers upon them.

\* Διὰ τὸ ἵσον εἶπε, λαβόντες βαπτισθέντες ; ἥτις τὸ αὐτὸ εἶπε, χάρισμα τοῦ ἁγίου ὅτι ὁ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ὢν πνεῦμα τοῦ βασιλείου τοῦ ὁδοῦ ἐρχομένου. ὅτε ὁ τὸ ὁδοῦ αὐτῶν ἦν, ἀνίσταμαι ἐκ αὐτῶν περὶ σκευῶν ὅτι ὁ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀρεὴ τὸτο ἦν ὅτι ἀπεκλῆον ἡσυχίας κορυφαίαι, ἐκ αὐτῶν πνέει, περὶ αὐτῶν. Chrysost. Homil. 18. in A

XIV. Having seen how fitly furnished the Apostles were for the execution of their Office, let us in the last place enquire into its duration and continuance. And here it must be considered, that in the Apostolical Office there was something extraordinary, and something ordinary. What was extraordinary was their immediate Commission derived from the mouth of Christ himself, their unlimited charge to preach the Gospel up and down the World, without being tied to any particular places; the supernatural and miraculous powers confer'd upon them as Apostles; their infallible guidance in delivering the doctrines of the Gospel; and these all expired and determined with their persons. The standing and perpetual part of it was to teach and instruct the People in the duties and principles of Religion, to administer the Sacraments, to constitute Guides and Officers, and to exercise the discipline and government of the Church: and in these they are succeeded by the ordinary Rulers and Ecclesiastick Guides, who were to superintend and discharge the affairs and offices of the Church, to the end of the World. Whence it is that Bishops and Governours came to be styled Apostles, as being their successors in ordinary; for so they frequently are in the writings of the Church. Thus *Timothy*, who was Bishop of *Ephesus*, is called an (a) *Apostle*; *Clemens* of *Rome*, *Clemens* the (b) *Apostle*; *S. Mark* Bishop of *Alexandria*, by (c) *Eusebius* styled both an *Apostle* and *Evangelist*; *Ignatius*, a Bishop and (d) *Apostle*. A title that continued in after Ages, especially given to those that were the first planters or restorers of Christianity in any Country. In the *Coptick Kalendar*, published by (e) Mr. *Selden*, the VIIth. day of the month *Baschnes*, answering to our Second of *May*, is dedicated to the memory of *S. Athanasius the Apostle*. *Acacius* and *Paulus* in their (f) Letter to *Epiphanius*, style him *ἰεὺν ἀπόστολον καὶ κήρυκα*, a new *Apostle and Preacher*: and (g) *Sidonius Apollinaris* writing to *Lupus* Bishop of *Troyes* in *France*, speaks of the honour due to his eminent *Apostleship*. An observation which it were easy enough to confirm by abundant instances, were it either doubtful in it self, or necessary to my purpose, but being neither, I forbear.

(a) *Philolog. H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 2. p. 24.*  
 (b) *Clem. Al. Strom. lib. 4. p. 516.*  
 (c) *H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 24. p. 66.*  
 (d) *Chrysost. Encom. S. Ig. nat. p. 499. T. 1. c. 1.*  
 (e) *De Synedr. lib. 3. c. 15.*  
 (f) *Prefix. Oper. de Hæres. p. 1.*  
 (g) *Lib. 6. Ep. 4. p. 47. vid. Ep. 7. p. 150.*

\* Διατί ἐκ ἡσων ἐπελαβόντες πνεῦμα ἄγιον  
βαπτισθέντες ἢ παρ' τοῦ ἔχοντος [ψυχισμοῦ]  
χάρισμα τιθέντες ἡμεῖς ὁ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ. διακ. βαπτί-  
ζων πνεῦμα πῦς [βαπτισμοῦ] οὐκ ἐστίν· ὡς  
ὁ εἶχεν ἔχοντα. τὸτο ὁ δὲ π. ἔδωκεν εἶναι, ἐπὶ  
διδάσκ. ἡν. διδάσκων μὲ ἐλάβον. οὐ διακονοῖ  
πεννὶ σμύλᾳ· ἀλλ' ὁ π. πνεῦμα δίδωμι ἐτέρους·  
ἀλλ' τὸτο ἡν ἡμεῖς ἀπεστέλνουμεν εἰσάγειν. ὅθεν καὶ  
πῶς κορυθαίεις, καὶ ἄλλας πνάς, ὅτιν ἰδόντι τὸτο  
πινύθεις. Chrysost. Homil. 18. In Act. App. p. 80.

(a) *Philostorg.*  
*H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 2.*  
; p. 24  
(b) *Clcm. Al.*  
*Strom. lib. 4.*  
p. 516.  
(c) *H. Eccl. lib.*  
*2. c. 24. p. 66.*  
(d) *Chrysost.*  
*Encom. S. Ig-*  
*f. nat. p. 499. T. 1.*  
(e) *De Synedr.*  
*lib. 3. c. 15.*  
p. 398.  
(f) *Præfix.*  
*Oper. de Hæres.*  
p. 1.  
(g) *Lib. 6. Ep.*  
*4 p. 47. vid.*  
*Ep. 7. p. 150.*

# THE LIFE OF S. P E T E R.

S<sup>t</sup> PETER.

S. Peter's Martyrdom.

Joan. Euchait. Metropolitæ υπόμνημα εἰς τὸν Ἀποστόλου. p. 70.

Σταυροῦ Πέτρον κύμβαλον ἐν Ῥώμῃ Νέρων.  
Ῥώμῃ ξίφος θνήσκοντα ἔ Παῦλον βλέπει.  
Εἰρηνικῶ τέθνηκε Λευκᾶς ἐν τέλει.  
Ζωῆς ὑπὸν πρύτανιν ὑποῖ Ματθαῖο.  
Μάρκον θανατοῖ δὴμῳ Ἀλεξανδρίων.  
Καὶ μὴ θανῶν ζῇ, ὃ θανὼν Ἰωάννης.  
Σταυροῖ τε τρεῖς ἄνδρες ὁμῶς Ἀνδρέαν.  
Νεκρῶσι λόγχαις ἔ Θωμᾶν ἐν Ἰνδία.  
Βαρβολομαῖο φασικῶ θνήσκει πάθει.  
Καὶ ἔ Σίμωνα φασεὶς ἐξάγει βίον.  
Μάχαιρα τέμνει τὸν Ἰακώβου δερμίν.  
Ἰσον Πέτρον δίδωσι Φίλιππον μόρον.



He was crucified at Rome with his head downwards, and Buried in the Vatican there. S. Hieron. after he had planted a Christian Church, first at Antioch and afterwards at Rome.



John 21. 18, 19. Verily verily I say unto thee when thou wast young thou girdedst thyself & walkedst whither thou wouldest but when thou shalt be old thou shalt stretch forth thy hands & another shall gird thee & carry thee whither thou wouldest. This spake he signifying by what death he should glorify God.

## S E C T. I.

Of S. Peter, from his Birth, till his First coming to Christ.

Bethsaida S. Peter's Birth-place: Its dignity of old, and fate at this day. The time of his Birth enquired into. Some Errors noted concerning it. His names; Cephas, the imposing of it notes no Superiority over the rest of the Apostles. The custom of Popes assuming a new Name at their Election to the Papacy, whence. His kindred and relations; whether He or Andrew the elder Brother. His Trade and way of life what, before his coming to Christ. The Sea

of

of Galilee, and the conveniency of it. The meanness and obscurity of his Trade. The remarkable appearances of the Divine Providence in propagating Christianity in the World by mean and unlikely Instruments.



THE Land of Palestine was, at and before the coming of our Blessed Saviour, distinguished into three several Provinces, Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. This last was divided into the Upper, and the Lower. In the Upper, called also Galilee of the Gentiles, within the division anciently belonging to the Tribe of Nephthali, stood Bethsaida, formerly an obscure and inconsiderable Village, till lately reedified and enlarged by \* Philip the Tetrarch, by him advanced to the place and title of a City, replenished with inhabitants, and fortified with power and strength; and in honour of Julia the daughter of Augustus Caesar, by him stiled Julias. Situate it was upon the banks of the Sea of Galilee, and had a Wilderness on the other side, thence called the Desert of Bethsaida, whither our Saviour used often to retire, the privacies and solitudes of the place advantageously ministering to Divine contemplations. But Bethsaida was not so remarkable for this adjoining Wilderness, as it self was memorable for a worse sort of Barrenness, Ingratitude and Unprofitableness under the influences of Christ's Sermons and Miracles, thence severely upbraided by him, and threatened with one of his deepest woes, *Woe unto thee Chorazin, woe unto thee Bethsaida, &c.* A woe that it seems stuck close to it, for whatever it was at this time, \* one who surveyed it in the last Age tells us, that it was shrunk again into a very mean and small Village, consisting only of a few cottages of Moores and wild Arabs; and later travellers have since assured us, that even these are dwindled away into one poor cottage at this day. So fatally does sin undermine the greatest, the goodliest places; so certainly does God's Word take place, and not one Iota either of his promises or threatnings fall to the ground. Next to the honour that was done it by our Saviour's presence, who living most in these parts frequently resorted hither, it had nothing greater to recommend it to the notice of posterity, than that (besides some other of the Apostles) it was the Birth-place of S. Peter; a person how inconsiderable soever in his private fortunes, yet of great note and eminency, as one of the prime Embassadors of the Son of God, to whom both Sacred and Ecclesiastical stories give, though not a superiority, a precedence in the Colledge of Apostles.

2. THE particular time of his Birth cannot be recovered, no probable footsteps or intimations being left of it: in the general we may conclude him at least Ten years elder than his Master; his married condition, and settled course of life at his first coming to Christ, and that authority and respect which the gravity of his person procured him amongst the rest of the Apostles, can speak him no less: but for any thing more particular and positive in this matter, I see no reason to affirm. Indeed might we trust the account, which one (who pretends to calculate his Nativity with ostentation enough) has given of it, we are told that he was born three years before the Blessed Virgin, and just XVII. before the Incarnation of our Saviour. But let us view his account.

Sengel. de S.  
Petro cap. 1.

Ab Orbe cond. 4034 }  
à Diluvio 2378 } Ann. 8 }  
N. C. 734 } à 1<sup>o</sup> ejus consul. 24 } ante B. Virg. 3 }  
à pugna Actiac. 12 } ante Chr. nat. 17 }  
When

When I met with such a pompous train of Epochs, the least I expected was truth and certainty. This computation he grounds upon the date of S. Peter's death, placed (as \* elsewhere he tells us) by Bellarmine in the LXXXVI. year of his Age; so that recounting from the year of Christ LXIX. when Peter is commonly said to have suffered, he runs up his Age to his Birth, and spreads it out into so many several dates. But alas, all is built upon a sandy bottom. For besides his mistake about the year of the World, few of his dates hold due correspondence. But the worst of it is, that after all this, \* Bellarmine (upon whose single testimony all this fine fabrick is erected) says no such thing, but only supposes, merely for arguments-sake, that S. Peter might very well be LXXXVI. ('tis erroneously printed LXXVI.) years old at the time of his Martyrdom. So far will confidence, or ignorance, or both carry men aside, if it could be a mistake, and not rather a bold imposing upon the World. But of this enough, and perhaps more than it deserves.

3. BEING circumcised according to the Rites of the Mosaick Law, the name given him at his circumcision was Symon or Symeon, a name common amongst the Jews, especially in their latter times. This was afterwards by our Saviour not abolished, but additioned with the title of Cephas, which in Syriack (the vulgar Language of the Jews at that time) signifying a stone or rock, was thence derived into the Greek, Πέτρος, and by us, Peter: so far was \* Hesychius out, when rendring Πέτρος by ὁ Ἐπιλέων, an Exponnder or Interpreter, probably deriving it from Πηρ, which signifies to explain and interpret. By this new imposition our Lord seemed to denote the firmness and constancy of his Faith, and his vigorous activity in building up the Church, as a spiritual house upon the true rock, the living and corner-stone, chosen of God and precious, as S. Peter himself expresses it. Nor can our Saviour be understood to have hereby conferred upon him any peculiar Supremacy or Sovereignty above, much less over the rest of the Apostles; for in respect of the great trusts committed to them, and their being sent to plant Christianity in the World, they are all equally stiled Foundations: nor is it accountable either to Scripture, or reason to suppose, that by this Name our Lord should design the person of Peter to be that very rock, upon which his Church was to be built. In a fond imitation \* of this new name given to S. Peter, those who pretend to be his Successors in the See of Rome, usually lay by their own, and assume a new name upon their advancement to the Apostolick Chair, it being one of the first questions which the Cardinals put to the new-elected Pope, by what name he will please to be called. This custom first began about the Year 844, when Peter di Bocca-Porco (or swines-mouth) being chosen Pope, changed his name into Sergius the Second: probably not so much to avoid the uncomeliness of his own name, as if unbefitting the dignity of his place (for this being but his Paternal name would after have been no part of his Pontifical stile and title) as out of a mighty reverence to S. Peter, accounting himself not worthy to bear his name, though it was his own baptismal name. Certain it is that none of the Bishops of that See ever assumed S. Peter's name, and some who have had it as their Christian name before, have laid it aside upon their election to the Papacy. But to return to our Apostle.

4. HIS Father was Jonah, probably a Fisherman of Bethsaida, for the Sacred story takes no further notice of him, than by the bare mention of his Name; and I believe there had been no great danger of mistake, though \* Metaphrastes had not told us, that it was not Jonas the Prophet, who came out of the Belly of the Whale. Brother he was to S. Andrew the Apostle, and

\* Bellarm. de  
Rom. Pontif.  
lib. 2. c. 9. col.  
624.

\* Πέτρος, ἐπι-  
λέων, ἐπιλέων  
σκων, ἑρμῆς  
καὶ Κη-  
ρῆς, καὶ Συμεὼν  
ἐλέων. He-  
sych. in voc.  
Πέτρος.  
1 Pet. 2. 4, 5, 6.

Rev. 21. 14.

\* Pap. Masson.  
de Episc. Urb.  
in Serg. 4. fol.  
172. p. 2. ex  
Annal. Vrb.  
Sac. Cerem.  
Eccles. Rom.  
Sess. 1. fol. 18.

\* Com. de Petr.  
et Paul. apud  
Sur. ad diem  
29. Jun.

H. ref. 51.  
p. 192.  
\* Scrm. de S.  
Andr. quesi  
recitat. Metaphr.  
ap. Sur.  
sen potius, Lip-  
poman. Tom. 6.  
vid. Baron. not.  
ad Martyrol.  
Novemb. xxx.  
p. 737.  
(a) Hieron. lib.  
1. adu. Jovin.  
p. 35. Tom. 2.  
(b) Cassian. de  
Incarn. Dom.  
lib. 3. c. 12.  
p. 996.  
(c) Bed. Com-  
ment. in c. ap. 1.  
Joun. Tom. 5.

\* Atidr. Tillin.  
fol. 41. ap.  
Light. Cent.  
Chorograph.  
in Matth. c. 70.  
p. 131.  
|| Joseph de  
Bell. Jud. l. 3.  
καρ. λ. f. 860.

Matth. 8. 14.  
--- 17. 24.

\* H. Eccl. lib.  
8. c. 30. p. 596.

Orpian. Δλγ.  
εστ. βλ. α.  
non longe ab  
init.

and some question there is amongst the Ancients which was the elder Brother. || *Epiphanius* (probably from some Tradition current in his time) clearly adjudges it to *S. Andrew*, herein universally followed by those of the Church of *Rome*, that the precedency given to *S. Peter* may not seem to be put upon the account of his Seniority. But to him we may oppose the authority of \* *S. Chrysostom*, a Person equal both in time and credit, who expressly says, that though *Andrew* came later into life than *Peter*, yet he first brought him to the knowledge of the Gospel: which *Baronius* against all pretence of reason would understand of his entering into eternal life. Besides (a) *S. Hierom*, (b) *Cassian*, (c) *Beade*, and others, are for *S. Peter* being elder Brother, expressly ascribing it to his Age, that he rather than any other, was President of the Colledge of Apostles. However it was, it sounds not a little to the honour of their Father, (as of *Zebedee* also in the like case) that of but twelve Apostles two of his Sons were taken into the number. In his Youth he was brought up to Fishing, which we may guess to have been the staple-trade of *Bethsaida*, (which hence probably borrowed its name, signifying an house or habitation of Fishing, though others render it by *Hunting*, the word *ῥῆμα* equally bearing either) much advantaged herein by the Neighbourhood of the *Lake of Gennesareth* (on whose banks it stood) called also the *Sea of Galilee*, and the *Sea of Tiberias*, according to the mode of the *Hebrew* Language, wherein all greater confluences of Waters are called *Seas*. Of this Lake the *Jews* have a \* saying, that of all the seven Seas which God created, he made choice of none but the *Sea of Gennesareth*: which however intended by them, is true only in this respect, that our blessed Saviour made choice of it, to honour it with the frequency of his presence, and the power of his miraculous operations. In length it was an hundred furlongs, || and about XL. over; the Water of it pure and clear, sweet and most fit to drink; stored it was with several sorts of Fish, and those different both in kind and taste from those in other places. Here it was that *Peter* closely followed the exercise of his calling; from whence it seems he afterwards removed to *Capernaum*, (probably upon his marriage, at least frequently resided there) for there we meet with his House, and there we find him paying Tribute: an House, over which \* *Nicephorus* tells us, that *Helen* the Mother of *Constantine* erected a beautiful Church to the honour of *S. Peter*. This place was equally advantageous for the managery of his Trade, standing upon the Influx of *Jordan* into the *Sea of Galilee*, and where he might as well reap the fruits of an honest and industrious diligence. A mean, I confess, it was, and a more servile course of life, as which, besides the great pains and labour it required, exposed him to all the injuries of wind and weather, to the storms of the Sea, the darkness and tempestuousness of the Night, and all to make a very small return. An employment, whose restless troubles, constant hardships, frequent dangers, and amazing horrors are (for the satisfaction of the learned Reader) thus elegantly described by one, whose Poems may be justly stiled *Golden Verses*, receiving from the Emperor *Antoninus* a piece of Gold for every Verse.

Τλησιπόνους δ' ἀλιεύσιν ἀτέμερτοι μὲν ἄεθλοι,  
Ἐπὶ δ' ὕψαθερ σαίνει φρένας ἦντ' ὄνειρος.  
Οὐ γὰρ ἀκινήτη γαίης ὑπερ ἀθλεύουσιν.  
Ἀλλ' αἰεὶ κρυερῶ τε καὶ ἀρχετα μαργαίνοντι  
Ἵδ' αὖτις συμφορέονται, ὃ καὶ γαίηθεν ἰδέσθαι  
Δεῖμα φέρει, καὶ μὲν ὅπ' ὀμμάσι περιήσασθαι.  
Δόξασι δ' ὅν βασιόσιν ἀελλάνων ἑρμῶν ἦνται

Πλαζόμενοι,

Πλαζόμενοι, καὶ θυμὸν ἐν οἷσμασιν αἰὲν ἔχοντες,  
Αἰεὶ μὲν ἐφ' ἑλῶν ἰοιδέα παπταίνουσιν.  
Αἰεὶ δ' ἐπερμένον μελαινόμυρον πόρον ἄλμης.  
Οὐδέ τι φοιταλέων ἀνέμων σκέπας, ὅδε τιν' ὁμῶρον  
Ἀλκήν· ὃ πυρὸς ἀλκαρ ὁπωρενὸς φέρονται.

But meanness is no bar in God's way, the poor, if virtuous, are as dear to Heaven, as the wealthy and the honourable, equally alike to him, with whom there is no respect of persons. Nay our Lord seemed to cast a peculiar honour upon this profession, when afterwards calling him and some others of the same Trade from catching of Fish, to be (as he told them) *Fishers of men*.

5. AND here we may justly reflect upon the wise and admirable methods of the Divine Providence, which in planting and propagating the Christian Religion in the World, made choice of such mean and unlikely instruments, that he should hide these things from the wise and prudent, and reveal them unto babes, men that had not been educated in the Academy, and the Schools of Learning, but brought up to a Trade, to catch Fish, and mend Nets; most of the Apostles being taken from the meanest Trades, and all of them (*S. Paul* excepted) unfurnished of all arts of learning, and the advantages of liberal and ingenuous education: and yet these were the men that were designed to run down the World, and to overturn the learning of the prudent. Certainly had humane wisdom been to manage the business, it would have taken quite other measures, and chosen out the profoundest Rabbins, the acutest Philosophers, the smoothest Orators, such as would have been most likely by strength of Reason and arts of Rhetorick to have triumph'd over the minds of men, to grapple with the stubbornness of the *Jews*, and baffle the finer notions and speculations of the *Greeks*. We find that those *Seets* of Philosophy that gain'd most credit in the Heathen-world, did it this way, by their eminency in some Arts and Sciences, whereby they recommended themselves to the acceptance of the wiser and more ingenious part of mankind. \* *Julian* the Apostate thinks it a reasonable exception against the Jewish Prophets, that they were incompetent messengers and interpreters of the Divine will, because they had not their minds cleared and purged, by passing through the Circle of polite arts and learning. Why, now this is the wonder of it, that the first Preachers of the Gospel should be such rude unlearned men, and yet so suddenly, so powerfully prevail over the learned World, and conquer so many, who had the greatest parts and abilities, and the strongest prejudices against it, to the simplicity of the Gospel. When *Celsus* objected that the Apostles were but a company of mean and illiterate persons, sorry Mariners and Fishermen, \* *Origen* quickly returns upon him with this answer, "That hence 'twas plainly evident, that they taught Christianity by a Divine power, when such persons were able with such an uncon- trouled success to subdue men to the obedience of the Word; for that they had no eloquent tongues, no subtil and discursive heads, none of the refined and rhetorical Arts of Greece to conquer the minds of men. For my part (says he || in another place) I verily believe that the Holy Jesus purely made use of such Preachers of his Doctrine, that there might be no suspicion, that they came instructed with Arts of Sophistry, but that it might be clearly manifest to all the World, that there was no crafty design in it, and that they had a Divine power going along with them, which

\* Οὐδὲν γὰρ, ὁμοίως, κωλύει τὸ μὴ δεῖν ἔχειν μέ-  
γαν, ἢ μὴ σπουδαίον προσφιλῶν ἐνδὲ ἐκζητήσαν  
πυλῶν. αἰτιον γὰρ ὅτι τὸ ἑωπὶν πυλῶν, ἢ παρ-  
χόν ἑωπὶν δάσαν τοῖς ἐκκλησίαις μαθήμασιν.  
Erigm. Epist. pag. 541. Tom. 1.

\* Contr. Cels.  
lib. 1. p. 47. 48.

|| Lib. 3. p. 1354

" which was more efficacious, than the greatest volubility of expression, or ornaments of speech, or the artifices which were used in the *Græcian* compositions. Had it not been for this Divine power that upheld it (as he \* elsewhere argues) the *Christian* Religion must needs have sunk under those weighty pressures that lay upon it, having not only to contend with the potent opposition of the *Senate, Emperors, People*, and the whole power of the *Roman* Empire, but to conflict with those home-bred wants and necessities, wherewith its own professors were oppressed and burdened.

6. IT could not but greatly vindicate the Apostles from all suspicion of forgery and imposture in the thoughts of sober and unbiassed persons, to see their Doctrine readily entertained by men of the most discerning and inquisitive minds. Had they dealt only with the rude and the simple, the idiot and the unlearned, there might have been some pretence to suspect, that they lay in wait to deceive, and designed to impose upon the World by craft and insinuating arts and methods. But alas they had other persons to deal with, men of the acutest wits, and most profound abilities, the wisest Philosophers, and most subtil disputants, able to weigh an argument with the greatest accuracy, and to decline the force of the strongest reasonings, and who had their parts edg'd with the keenest prejudices of education, and a mighty veneration for the Religion of their Country, a Religion that for so many Ages had governed the World, and taken firm possession of the minds of men. And yet notwithstanding all these disadvantages these plain men conquered the wise and the learned, and brought them over to that Doctrine that was despised and scorned, opposed and persecuted, and that had nothing but its own native excellency to recommend it. A clear evidence that there was something in it beyond the craft and power of men. Is not this (says an elegant \* Apologist, making his address to the Heathens) enough to make you believe and entertain it, to consider that in so short a time it has diffused itself over the whole World, civilized the most barbarous Nations, softened the roughest and most intractable tempers, that the greatest Wits and Scholars, Orators, Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Lawyers, Physicians, and Philosophers have quitted their formerly dear and beloved sentiments, and heartily embraced the Precepts and Doctrines of the Gospel? Upon this account || Theodoret does with no less truth than elegancy insult and triumph over the Heathens: He tells them that whoever would be at the pains to compare the best Law-makers either amongst the *Greeks* or *Romans*, with our *Fishermen* and *Publicans*, would soon perceive what a Divine virtue and efficacy there was in them above all others, whereby they did not only conquer their neighbours, not only the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but brought over the most barbarous Nations to a compliance with the Laws of the Gospel, and that not by force of Arms, not by numerous bands of Souldiers, not by methods of torture and cruelty, but by meek persuasives, and a convincing the World of the excellency and usefulness of those Laws which they propounded to them. A thing which the wisest and best men of the Heathen-world could never do, to make their dogmata and institutions universally obtain; nay, that *Plato* himself could never by all his plausible and insinuating arts make his Laws to be entertained by his own dear *Athenians*. He farther shews them, that the Laws published by our *Fishermen* and *Tent-makers* could never be abolished (like those made by the best amongst them) by the policies of *Caesar*, the power of *Claudius*, the cruelties of *Nero*, or any of the succeeding Emperors, but still they went on conquering and to conquer, and made Millions both of Men and Women willing to embrace flames, and to encounter Death in its most horrid shapes, rather than disown and forsake them: whereof he calls to witness those

\* Lib. 1. p. 6.

\* Arnob. adv. Gent. lib. 2. p. 21.

|| De Curand. Græc. Affect. Serm. 9. de Leg. p. 123.

Ibid. p. 125.

Ibid. p. 128.

Ibid. p. 126.

Ibid. p. 135.

those many Churches and Monuments every where erected to the memory of *Christian* Martyrs, no less to the honour than advantage of those Cities and Countries, and in some sense to all Mankind.

7. THE summ of the Discourse is, in the Apostles words, that God chose the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, the weak to confound those that are mighty, the base things of the world, things most vilified and despised, yea and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are. These were the things, these the Persons whom God sent upon this errand, to silence the Wise, the Scribe, and the Disputer of this World, and to make foolish the wisdom of this World. For though the Jews required a sign, and the Greeks sought after wisdom, though the preaching a crucified Saviour was a scandal to the Jews, and foolishness to the learned Græcians, yet by this foolishness of preaching God was pleased to save them that believed: and in the event made it appear that the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God stronger than men. That so the honour of all might intirely redound to himself; so the Apostle concludes, that no Flesh should glory in his presence, but that he that glorieth, should glory in the Lord.

1 Cor. 1. 27, 28.

Verf. 22, 23, 24, 25.

Isti primi vocati sunt, ut Dominum sequerentur: piscatores &amp;

illiterati mittuntur ad prædicandum, ne fides credentium non virtute Dei, sed eloquentia atque doctrina fieri putaretur. Hieron. comm. in Matth. c. 4. Tom. 9. p. 17.

## S E C T. II.

Of S. Peter, from his first coming to Christ, till his being call'd to be a Disciple.

Peter, before his coming to Christ, a Disciple (probably) of John the Baptist. His first approaches to Christ. Our Lord's communication with him. His return to his Trade. Christ's entering into Peter's Ship, and preaching to the people at the Sea of Galilee. The miraculous draught of Fishes. Peter's great astonishment at this evidence of our Lord's Divinity. His call to be a Disciple. Christ's return to Capernaum, and healing Peter's Mother-in-Law.

THOUGH we find not whether Peter before his coming to Christ was engag'd in any of the particular Sects at this time in the Jewish Church, yet is it greatly probable, that he was one of the Disciples of John the Baptist. For first, 'tis certain that his brother Andrew was so, and we can hardly think, these two brothers should draw contrary ways, or that he who was so ready to bring his brother the early tidings of the Messiah, that the Sun of righteousness was already risen in those parts, should not be as solicitous to bring him under the discipline and influences of John the Baptist, the Day-star that went before him. Secondly, Peter's forwardness and curiosity at the first news of Christ's appearing, to come to him, and converse with him, shew that his expectations had been awakened, and some light in this matter conveyed to him by the preaching and ministry of John, who was the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight, shewing them who it was that was coming after him.

2. HIS first acquaintance with *Christ* commenced in this manner. The Blessed *Jesus* having for thirty years passed through the solitudes of a private life, had lately been baptized in *Jordan*, and there publicly owned to be the *Son of God* by the most solemn attestations that Heaven could give him; whereupon he was immediately hurried into the wilderness to a personal contest with the Devil for forty days together. So natural is it to the enemy of mankind to malign our happiness, and to seek to blast our joys, when we are under the highest instances of the Divine grace and favour. His enemy being conquered in three set battels, and fled, he returned hence, and came down to *Bethabara* beyond *Jordan*, where *John* was baptizing his *Profelytes*, and endeavouring to satisfy the *Jews*, who had sent to him curiously to enquire concerning this new *Messiah* that appeared among them. Upon the great testimony which the *Baptist* gave him, and his pointing to our Lord then passing by him; two of *John's* disciples who were then with him presently followed after *Christ*, one of which was *Andrew*, *Simon's* brother. It was towards Evening when they came, and therefore probably they stayed with him all night, during which *Andrew* had opportunity to inform himself, and to satisfy his most scrupulous enquiries. Early the next morning (if not that very evening) he hastened to acquaint his brother *Simon* with these glad tidings. 'Tis not enough to be good and happy alone; Religion is a communicative principle, that like the circles in the water, delights to multiply it self, and to diffuse its influences round about it, and especially upon those, whom nature has placed nearest to us. He tells him, they had found the long-look'd for *Messiah*, him whom *Moses* and the Prophets had so signally foretold, and whom all the devout and pious of that Nation had so long expected.

John 1.37.

Ἀνδρέας τοῦ  
πρῶτος τοῦ  
ἀνδρὸς οὗ  
ἦν παρὰ  
τοῦ ἁγίου  
πνεύματος,  
καὶ μετὰ  
αὐτοῦ ἦν  
ὁ ἀδελφὸς  
αὐτοῦ, ὁ  
καλεῖται  
Σίμων.  
ὁ ἀδελφὸς  
αὐτοῦ, ὁ  
καλεῖται  
Σίμων.  
ὁ ἀδελφὸς  
αὐτοῦ, ὁ  
καλεῖται  
Σίμων.  
ὁ ἀδελφὸς  
αὐτοῦ, ὁ  
καλεῖται  
Σίμων.

Comment. de S. Andr. in  
Menais Græcor. huius. l. Nos. 6. sub lit. π.

3. SIMON (one of those who look'd for the Kingdom of God, and waited for redemption in Israel) ravished with this joyful news, and impatient of delay, presently follows his brother to the place: whither he was no sooner come, but our Lord to give him an evidence of his Divinity, salutes him at first sight by name, tells him what, and who he was, both as to his name and kindred, what title should be given him, that he should be call'd *Cephas*, or *Peter*; a name which he afterwards actually conferr'd upon him. What passed further between them, and whether these two brothers henceforward personally attended our Saviour's motions in the number of his Disciples, the Sacred Story leaves us in the dark. It seems probable, that they stay'd with him for some time, till they were instructed in the first rudiments of his doctrine, and by his leave departed home. For it's reasonable to suppose, that our Lord being unwilling, at this time especially, to awaken the jealousies of the State by a numerous retinue, might dismiss his Disciples for some time, and *Peter* and *Andrew* amongst the rest, who hereupon returned home to the exercise of their calling, where he found them afterwards.

John 1.42.

Matth. 4.23.

4. IT was now somewhat more than a year, since our Lord having entered upon the publick stage of action, constantly went about doing good, healing the sick, and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom, residing usually at *Capernaum*, and the parts about it, where by the constancy of his preaching, and the reputation of his miracles, his fame spread about all those Countries; by means whereof multitudes of people from all parts flock'd to him, greedily desirous to become his Auditors. And what wonder if the parch'd and

and barren Earth thirsted for the showers of Heaven? It hapned that our Lord retiring out of the City, to enjoy the privacies of contemplation upon the banks of the Sea of *Galilee*, it was not long before the multitude found him out; to avoid the crowd and press whereof he step'd into a ship or *Fisher-Boat*, that lay near to the shore, which belonged to *Peter*, who together with his companions after a tedious and unsuccessful night, were gone a-shore to wash and dry their Nets. He who might have commanded, was yet pleased to intreat *Peter* (who by this time was returned into his Ship) to put a little from the shore. Here being sat, he taught the people, who stood along upon the shore to hear him. Sermon ended, he resolv'd to seal up his doctrine with a miracle, that the people might be the more effectually convinced, that he was a Teacher come from God. To this purpose, he bad *Simon* lanch out further, and cast his Net into the Sea: *Simon* tells him, they had don't already, that they had been fishing all the last night, but in vain; and if they could not succeed then (the most proper season for that employment) there was less hope to speed now, it being probably about Noon. But because where God commands, it is not for any to argue, but obey; at our Lord's instance he let down the Net, which immediately inclosed so great a multitude of Fishes, that the Net began to break, and they were forced to call to their partners, who were in a Ship hard by them, to come in to their assistance. A draught so great, that it loaded both their Boats, and that so full, that it endangered their sinking before they could get safe to shore: An instance, wherein our Saviour gave an ocular demonstration, that, as *Messiah*, God had put all things under his feet, not only Fowls of the Air, but the Fish of the Sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the Seas.

Luke 5.15.

Psal. 8.6,7,8.

5. AMAZ'D they were all at this miraculous draught of Fishes, whereupon *Simon* in an ecstasie of admiration, and a mixture of humility and fear, threw himself at the feet of *Christ*, and pray'd him to depart from him, as a vile and a sinful person. So evident were the appearances of Divinity in this miracle, that he was overpowred and dazzled with its brightness and lustre, and reflecting upon himself, could not but think himself unworthy the presence of so great a person, so immediately sent from God; and considering his own state (Conscience being hereby more sensibly awakened) was afraid, that the Divine vengeance might pursue and overtake him. But our Lord to abate the edge of his fears, assures him that this miracle was not done to amaze and terrifie him, but to strengthen and confirm his Faith; that now he had nobler work and employment for him; instead of catching Fish, he should, by perswading men to the obedience of the Gospel, catch the souls of men: And accordingly commanded him and his brother to follow him: (the same command which presently after he gave to the two Sons of *Zebedee*.) The word was no sooner spoken, and they landed, but disposing their concerns in the hands of friends (as we may presume prudent and reasonable men would) they immediately left all, and followed him; and from this time *Peter* and the rest became his constant and inseparable Disciples, living under the rules of his Discipline and Institutions.

6. FROM hence they returned to *Capernaum*, where our Lord entering into *Simon's* house (the place in all likelihood where he was wont to lodge during his residence in that City) found his Mother-in-law visited with a violent Fever. No priviledges afford an exemption from the ordinary Laws of humane Nature; *Christ* under her roof did not protect this Woman from the assaults and invasions of a Fever. Lord, behold, he whom thou lovest is sick, as they said concerning *Lazarus*. Here a fresh opportunity offered

Matth. 8.14.  
Mark 1.29.  
Luke 4.38.  
John 11.3.

it self to *Christ* of exerting his Divine Power. No sooner was he told of it, but he came to her bed-side, rebuked the *Paroxysms*, commanded the Fever to be gone, and taking her by the hand to lift her up, in a moment restored her to perfect health, and ability to return to the business of her Family, all cures being equally easie to Omnipotence.

### SECT III.

Of S. Peter, from his Election to the Apostolate, till the Confession which he made of *Christ*.

*The Election of the Apostles; and our Lord's solemn preparation for it. The powers and Commission given to them. Why Twelve chosen. Peter the first in order, not power. The Apostles when and by whom Baptized. The Tradition of Euodius of Peter's being immediately Baptized by Christ, rejected, and its authorities proved insufficient. Three of the Apostles more intimately conversant with our Saviour. Peter's being with Christ at the raising Jairus his Daughter. His walking with Christ upon the Sea. The creatures at God's command act contrary to their natural Inclinations. The weakness of Peter's Faith. Christ's power in commanding down the storm, an evidence of his Divinity. Many Disciples desert our Saviour's preaching. Peter's profession of constancy in the name of the rest of the Apostles.*

Luke 6.12.

1. OUR Lord being now to elect some peculiar persons, as his immediate Vicegerents upon Earth, to whose care and trust he might commit the building up of his Church, and the planting that Religion in the World, for which he himself came down from Heaven; In order to it he privately over-night withdrew himself into a solitary Mountain (commonly called the Mount of *Christ*, from his frequent repairing thither, though some of the Ancients will have it to be Mount *Tabor*) there to make his solemn address to Heaven for a prosperous success on so great a work. Herein leaving an excellent copy and precedent to the Governours of his Church, how to proceed in setting apart persons to so weighty and difficult an employment. Upon this Mountain we may conceive there was an *Oratory* or place of prayer (probably intimated by S. Luke's ἡ προσευχή, for such *Prosencha's* or houses of Prayer, usually uncovered, and standing in the fields, the Jews had in several places) wherein our Lord continued all night, not in one continued and intire act of devotion, but probably by intervals, and repeated returns of duty.

Matth. 10.1.  
Mark 3.14.  
Luke 6.13.

2. EARLY the next morning his Disciples came to him, out of whom he made choice of Twelve to be his *Apostles*, that they might be the constant attendants upon his person, to hear his Discourses, and be Eye-witnesses of his Miracles; to be always conversant with him while he was upon Earth, and afterwards to be sent abroad up and down the World to carry on that work which he himself had begun; whom therefore he invested with the power of working Miracles, which was more completely conferr'd upon them after his Ascension into Heaven. Passing by the several fancies and conjectures of the Ancients, why our Saviour pitch'd upon the

the just number of Twelve (whereof before) it may deserve to be considered, whether our Lord being now to appoint the Supreme Officers and Governours of his Church, which the *Apostle* styles the *Commonwealth of Israel*, Ephes. 2.12. might not herein have a more peculiar allusion to the twelve Patriarchs, as founders of their several Tribes, or to the constant Heads and Rulers of those twelve Tribes of which the body of the Jewish Nation did consist: Especially since he himself seems elsewhere to give countenance to it, when he tells the Apostles that *when the Son of man shall sit on the Throne of his Glory*, that is, be gone back to Heaven, and have taken full possession of his Evangelical Kingdom, which principally commenc'd from his Resurrection that then they also should sit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of Israel, that is, they should have great powers and authorities in the Church, such as the power of the Keys, and other Rights of Spiritual Judicature and Sovereignty, answerable in some proportion to the power and dignity which the Heads and Rulers of the twelve Tribes of Israel did enjoy. Matth. 19.28.

3. IN the enumeration of these twelve Apostles, all the Evangelists constantly place S. Peter in the front; and S. Matthew expressly tells us, that he was the first, that is, he was the first that was called to be an Apostle: his Age also and the gravity of his person more particularly qualifying him for a Primacy of Order amongst the rest of the Apostles, as that without which no society of men can be managed or maintained. Less than this, as none will deny him, so more than this, neither Scripture nor Primitive antiquity do allow him. And now it was, that our Lord actually conferr'd that name upon him, which before he had promised him, *Simon he surnamed Peter*. It may here be enquired, when, and by whom the Apostles were baptized. That they were is unquestionable, being themselves appointed to confer it upon others; but when, or how, the Scripture is altogether silent. \* *Nicephorus* from no worse an Author, as he pretends, than *Euodius*, S. Peter's immediate successor in the See of *Antioch*, tells us, That of all the Apostles *Christ* baptized none but *Peter* with his own hands; that *Peter* baptized *Andrew*, and the two sons of *Zebedee*, and they the rest of the Apostles. This, if so, would greatly make for the honour of S. Peter. But alas! his authority is not only suspicious, but supposititious, in a manner deserted by S. Peter's best friends, and the strongest champions of his cause: *Baronius* himself, however sometimes \* willing to make use of him, elsewhere || confessing that this Epistle of *Euodius* is altogether unknown to any of the Ancients. As for the testimony of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, which to the same purpose he quotes out of \* *sophronius*, (though not *Sophronius*, but *Johannes Moschus*, as is notoriously known, be the Author of that Book) besides, that it is delivered upon an uncertain report, pretended to have been alledged in a discourse between one *Dionysius* Bishop of *Ascalon* and his Clergy, out of a Book of *Clemens*, not now extant; his Authors are much alike, that is, of no great value and authority. \* *Ad An. 311*  
num 40.  
|| *Ad An. 71*.  
num. 13.  
\* *Vid. Jo. Moschi Præf. Spir. cap. 176 Bibl. P. Græc. L. Tom. 2. p. 1133.*

4. AMONGST these Apostles, our Lord chose a Triumvirate, *Peter* and the two sons of *Zebedee* to be his more intimate companions, whom he admitted more familiarly than the rest, unto all the more secret passages and transactions of his Life. The first instance of which was on this occasion. *Jairus*, a Ruler of the Synagogue, had a daughter desperately sick, whose disease having baffled all the arts of Physick, was only curable by the immediate agency of the God of Nature. He therefore in all humility addresses himself to our Saviour; which he had no sooner done, but servants came post to tell him, that it was in vain to trouble our Lord,

for that his daughter was dead. *Christ* bids him not despond, if his Faith held out, there was no danger. And suffering none to follow him, but *Peter, James, and John*, goes along with him to the house; where he was derided by the sorrowful friends, and neighbours, for telling them that she was not perfectly dead. But our Lord entering in, with the commanding efficacy of two words, restor'd her at once both to life and perfect health.

Matth. 14. 17.

5. OUR Lord after this preached many Sermons, and wrought many Miracles: amongst which, none more remarkable, than his feeding a multitude of five thousand men, besides women and children, but with five Loaves, and two Fishes; of which, nevertheless, twelve Baskets of fragments were taken up. Which being done, and the multitude dismissed, he commanded the Apostles to take Ship, it being now near night, and to cross over to *Capernaum*, whilst he himself, as his manner was, retired to a neighbouring mountain, to dispose himself to Prayer and Contemplation. The Apostles were scarce got into the middle of the Sea, when on a sudden a violent Storm and Tempest began to arise, whereby they were brought into present danger of their lives. Our Saviour, who knew how the case stood with them, and how much they laboured under infinite pains and fears, having himself caused this Tempest, for the greater trial of their Faith, a little before morning (for so long they remained in this imminent danger) immediately conveyed himself upon the Sea, where the Waves received him, being proud to carry their Master. He who refused to gratifie the Devil, when tempting him to throw himself down from the Pinnacle of the Temple, did here commit himself to a boisterous and instable Element, and that in a violent Storm, walking upon the water, as if it had been dry ground. But that infinite power that made and supports the World, as it gave rules to all particular beings, so can when it pleaseth countermand the Laws of their Creation, and make them act contrary to their natural inclinations. If God say the word, the Sun will stand still in the middle of the Heavens; if Go back, 'twill retrocede, as upon the Dial of *Ahaz*: if he command it, the Heavens will become as *Brass*, and the Earth as *Iron*, and that for three years and an half together, as in the case of *Elijah's* prayer; if he say to the Sea, Divide, 'twill run upon heaps, and become on both sides as firm as a wall of Marble. Nothing can be more natural, than for the fire to burn, and yet at God's command it will forget its nature, and become a screen and a fence to the three Children in the *Babylonian* Furnace. What heavier than Iron, or more natural than for gravity to tend downwards? and yet when God will have it, Iron shall float like Cork on the top of the water. The proud and raging Sea that naturally refuses to bear the bodies of men while alive, became here as firm as *Brass*, when commanded to wait upon, and do homage to the God of Nature. Our Lord walking towards the Ship, as if he had an intention to pass by it, he was espied by them, who presently thought it to be the Apparition of a Spirit. Hereupon they were seiz'd with great terror and consternation, and their fears in all likelihood heightened by the vulgar opinion, that they are evil Spirits that chuse rather to appear in the night than by day. While they were in this agony, our Lord taking compassion on them, calls to them, and bids them not be afraid, for that it was no other than he himself. *Peter* (the eagerness of whose temper carried him forward to all bold and resolute undertakings) entreated our Lord, that if it was he, he might have leave to come upon the water to him. Having received his orders, he went out of the Ship, and walked upon the Sea to meet his Master. But when he found the wind to bear hard against him, and the waves to rise round about him, whereby probably the sight of *Christ* was intercepted,

intercepted, he began to be afraid; and the higher his fears arose, the lower his Faith began to sink, and together with that, his body to sink under water: whereupon in a passionate fright he cried out to our Lord to help him, who, reaching out his arm, took him by the hand, and set him again upon the top of the water, with this gentle reproof, *O thou of little Faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?* It being the weakness of our Faith that makes the influences of the Divine power and goodness to have no better effect upon us. Being come to the Ship, they took them in, where our Lord no sooner arrived, but the winds and waves observing their duty to their Sovereign Lord, and having done the errand which they came upon, mannerly departed, and vanished away, and the Ship in an instant was at the shore. All that were in the Ship being strangely astonished at this Miracle, and fully convinced of the Divinity of his person, came and did homage to him, with this confession, *Of a truth thou art the Son of God.* After which they went ashore, and landed in the Country of *Genesareth*, and there more fully acknowledged him before all the people.

6. THE next day great multitudes flocking after him, he entred into a Synagogue at *Capernaum*, and taking occasion from the late Miracle of the loaves, which he had wrought amongst them, he began to discourse concerning himself, as the true *Manna*, and the Bread that came down from Heaven; largely opening to them many of the more sublime and Spiritual mysteries, and the necessary and important duties of the Gospel. Hereupon a great part of his Auditory, who had hitherto followed him, finding their understandings gruelled with these difficult and uncommon Notions, and that the duties he required were likely to grate hard upon them, and perceiving now that he was not the *Messiah* they took him for, whose Kingdom should consist in an external Grandeur and plenty, but was to be managed and transacted in a more inward and Spiritual way; hereupon fairly left him in open field, and henceforth quite turned their backs upon him. Whereupon our Lord turning about to his Apostles, asked them whether they also would go away from him? *Peter* (spokes-man generally for all the rest) answered, whither should they go to mend and better their condition? should they return back to *Moses*? Alas! he laid a yoke upon them, which neither they nor their Fathers were able to bear. Should they go to the Scribes and Pharisees? they would feed them with Stones instead of Bread, obtrude humane Traditions upon them for Divine dictates and Commands. Should they betake themselves to the Philosophers amongst the Gentiles? they were miserably blind and short-sighted in their Notions of things, and their sentiments and opinions not only different from, but contrary to one another. No, 'twas he only had the words of *Eternal life*, whose doctrine could instruct them in the plain way to Heaven; that they had fully assented to what both *John* and he had said concerning himself, that they were fully perswaded both from the efficacy of his Sermons, which they heard, and the powerful conviction of his Miracles, which they had seen, that he was the Son of the living God, the true *Messiah* and Saviour of the World. But notwithstanding this fair and plausible testimony, he tells them, that they were not all of this mind, that there was a *Satan* amongst them, one that was moved by the spirit and impulse, and that acted according to the rules and interest of the Devil: intimating *Judas* who should betray him. So hard is it to meet with a body of so just and pure a constitution, wherein some rotten member or distempored part is not to be found.



Head of the Christian Church, much less to those who were to be his Successors in the See of *Rome*; But that as he made this Confession in the name of the rest of the Apostles, so what was here promised unto him, was equally intended unto all. Nor did the more considering and judicious part of the Fathers (however giving a mighty reverence to *S. Peter*) ever understand it in any other sense. Sure I am that \**Origen* tells us, that every true Christian that makes this confession with the same Spirit and Integrity which *S. Peter* did, shall have the same blessing and commendation from *Christ* conferr'd upon him.

\* Comment. in  
loc. Tom. 3. fol.  
1. fac. 2.

Matth. 16. 21.  
Mark 8. 31.  
Luk. 9. 22.

4. THE Holy *Jesus* knowing the time of his Passion to draw on, began to prepare the minds of his Apostles against that fatal Hour; telling them what hard and bitter things he should suffer at *Jerusalem*, what affronts and indignities he must undergo, and be at last put to death with all the arts of torture and disgrace, by the Decree of the *Jewish Sanhedrim*. *Peter*, whom our Lord had infinitely encouraged and endeared to him, by the great things which he had lately said concerning him, so that his spirits were now afloat, and his passions ready to over-run the banks, not able to endure a thought that so much evil should befall his Master, broke out into an over-confident and unseasonable interruption of him: *He took him and began to rebuke him, saying, Be it far from thee, Lord, this shall not be unto thee.* Besides his great kindness and affection to his Master, the minds of the Apostles were not yet thoroughly purged from the hopes and expectations of a glorious reign of the *Messiah*, so that *Peter* could not but look upon these sufferings as unbecoming and inconsistent with the state and dignity of the Son of God. And therefore thought good to advise his Lord, to take care of himself, and while there was time to prevent and avoid them. This, our Lord, who valued the redemption of Mankind infinitely before his own ease and safety, resented at so high a rate, that he returned upon him with this tart and stinging reproof, *Get thee behind me Satan*; The very same treatment which he once gave to the Devil himself, when he made that insolent proposal to him, *To fall down and worship him*: though in *Satan* it was the result of pure malice and hatred; in *Peter* only an error of love, and great regard. However our Lord could not but look upon it as mischievous and diabolical counsel, prompted and promoted by the great Adversary of Mankind. A way therefore, says *Christ*, with thy hellish and pernicious counsel, *Thou art an offence unto me*, in seeking to oppose and undermine that great design, for which I purposely came down from Heaven: In this thou savourest not the things of God, but those that be of men, in suggesting to me those little shifts and arts of safety and self-preservation, which humane prudence, and the love of mens own selves are wont to dictate to them. By which, though we may learn *Peter's* mighty kindness to our Saviour, yet that herein he did not take his measures right. A plain evidence that his infallibility had not yet taken place.

Luk. 4. 8.

Matth. 17. 1.  
Mark 9. 2.  
Luke 9. 28.

Psaln 89. 12.

5. ABOUT a week after this, our Saviour being to receive a Type and Specimen of his future glorification, took with him his three more intimate Apostles, *Peter*, and the two sons of *Zebedee*, and went up into a very high Mountain, which the Ancients generally conceive to have been Mount *Thabor*, a round and very high Mountain, situate in the Plains of *Galilee*. And now was even literally fulfilled what the *Psalmist* had spoken, *Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy Name*: for what greater joy and triumph, than to be peculiarly chosen to be the holy Mount, whereon our Lord in so eminent a manner received from God the Father, honour and glory, and made such magnificent displays of his Divine power and Majesty? For while they were here earnestly

earnestly employed in Prayer, (as seldom did our Lord enter upon any eminent action, but he first made his address to Heaven) he was suddenly transformed into another manner of appearance; such a lustre and radiancy darted from his face, that the Sun it self shines not brighter at Noon-day; such beams of light reflected from his garments, as out-did the light it self that was round about them, so exceeding pure and white, that the Snow might blush to compare with it; nor could the *Fullers* art purify any thing into half that whiteness: an evident and sensible representation of the glory of that state, wherein the just shall walk in white, and shine as the Sun in the Kingdom of the Father. During this Heavenly scene, there appeared *Moses* and *Elias*, (who, as the *Jews* say, shall come together) clothed with all the brightness and majesty of a glorified state, familiarly conversing with him, and discoursing of the death and sufferings which he was shortly to undergo, and his departure into Heaven. Behold here together the three greatest persons that ever were the Ministers of Heaven: *Moses*, under God, the Instituter and promulgator of the Law; *Elias* the great reformer of it, when under its deepest degeneracy and corruption; and the blessed *Jesus* the Son of God, who came to take away what was weak and imperfect, and to introduce a more manly and rational institution, and to communicate the last Revelation which God would make of his mind to the World. *Peter* and the two Apostles that were with him, were in the mean time fallen asleep, heavy through want of natural rest, (it being probably night when this was done) or else over-powred with these extraordinary appearances, which the frailty and weakness of their present state could not bear, were fallen into a Trance. But now awaking, were strangely surpris'd to behold our Lord surrounded with so much glory, and those two great persons conversing with him, knowing who they were, probably by some particular marks and signatures that were upon them, or else by immediate revelation, or from the discourse which passed betwixt *Christ* and them, or possibly from some communication which they themselves might have with them. While these Heavenly guests were about to depart, *Peter* in a great rapture and ecstatic of mind addressed himself to our Saviour, telling him how infinitely they were pleas'd and delighted with their being there; and to that purpose desiring his leave, that they might erect three *Tabernacles*, one for him, one for *Moses*, and one for *Elias*. While he was thus saying, a bright cloud suddenly over-shadowed the two great Ministers, and wrapt them up: out of which came a voice, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleas'd, hear ye him*: which when the Apostles heard, and saw the cloud coming over themselves, they were seiz'd with a great consternation, and fell upon their faces to the ground, whom our Lord gently touch'd, bad them arise and disband their fears: whereupon looking up, they saw none but their Master, the rest having vanish'd and disappeared. In memory of these great transactions, \**Bede* tells us, that in pursuance of *S. Peter's* petition about the three *Tabernacles*, there were afterwards three Churches built upon the top of this Mountain, which in after times were had in great veneration, which might possibly give some foundation to that report which || one makes, that in his time there were shew'd the ruins of those three *Tabernacles*, which were built according to *S. Peter's* desire.

\* De Loc.  
Sanct. c. 17.

|| Bern. 2. Bri-  
denb. Itiner.  
Terra Sanct.  
vid. J. Cotonius  
Itiner. lib. 3. c.  
7. p. 355.

6. After this, our Lord and his Apostles having travelled through *Galilee*, the gatherers of the *Tribute-money* came to *Peter*, and asked him, whether his Master was not obliged to pay the *Tribute*, which God, under the *Mosaick* Law, commanded to be yearly paid by every *Jew* above Twenty Years old, to the use of the Temple, which so continued to the times of *Vespasian*, under

Matth. 17. 24.

under whom the Temple being destroyed, it was by him transferred to the use of the Capitol at Rome, being to the value of half a *Shekel*, or Fifteen pence of our money. To this question of theirs, *Peter* positively answers, yes; knowing his Master would never be backward, either to give unto *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsar's*, or to God the things that are God's. *Peter* going into the house to give an account to his Master, and to know his mind concerning it, *Christ* prevented him with this question, *What thinkest thou, Simon, of whom do Earthly Kings exact Tribute, of their own Children and Family, or from other People?* *Peter* answered, Not from their own *Servants*, and Family, but from *Strangers*. To which our Lord presently replied, That then according to his own argument and opinion, both he himself, as being the Son of God, and they whom he had taken to be his Menial and Domestick *Servants*, were free from this Tax of Head-money, yearly to be paid to God. But rather than give offence, by seeming to despise the Temple, and to undervalue that Authority that had settled this Tribute, he resolves to put himself to the expence and charges of a Miracle, and therefore commanded *Peter* to go to the Sea, and take up the first *Fish* which came to his Hook, in whose mouth he should find a piece of money (a *Stater*, in value a *Shekel* or half a *Crown*) which he took and gave to the *Collectors*, both for his Master and himself.

7. OUR Lord after this, discoursing to them, how to carry themselves towards their offending Brethren, *Peter* being desirous to be more particularly informed in this matter, asked our Saviour, How oft a man was obliged to forgive his Brother, in case of offence and trespass, whether seven times were not enough? He told him, That upon his Neighbours repentance, he was not only bound to do it seven times, but until seventy times seven, that is, he must be indulgent to him, as oft as the offender returns and begs it, and heartily professes his sorrow and repentance. Which he further illustrates by a plain and excellent Parable, and thence draws this Conclusion, That the same measures, either of compassion or cruelty, which men show to their fellow Brethren, they themselves shall meet with at the hands of God, the Supreme Ruler and Justiciary of the World. It was not long after when a brisk young man addressed himself to our Saviour, to know of him, by what methods he might best attain *Eternal life*. Our Lord, to humble his confidence, bad him sell his *Estate*, and give it to the poor; and putting himself under his discipline, he should have a much better treasure in Heaven. The man was rich, and liked not the counsel, nor was he willing to purchase happiness at such a rate; and accordingly went away under great sorrow and discontent. Upon which *Christ* takes occasion to let them know, how hardly those men would get to Heaven, who build their comfort and happiness upon the plenty and abundance of these outward things. *Peter* taking hold of this opportunity, ask'd, What return they themselves should make, who had quitted and renounced whatever they had for his sake and service? Our Saviour answers, that no man should be a loser by his service; that, for their parts, they should be recompenced with far greater privileges; and that whoever should forsake houses or lands, kindred and relations, out of love to him, and his Religion, should enjoy them again with infinite advantages in this World, if consistent with the circumstances of their state, and those troubles and persecutions which would necessarily arise from the profession of the Gospel: however, they should have what would make infinite amends for all; *Eternal life in the other World*.

## 8. OUR

8. OUR Saviour in order to his last fatal journey to Jerusalem, that he might the better comply with the prophecy that went before of him, sent two of his Apostles, who in all probability were *Peter* and *John*, with an Authoritative Commission to fetch him an *Ass* to ride on, (he had none of his own; he who was rich, for our sakes made himself poor; he lived upon charity all his life, had neither an *Ass* to ride on, nor an House where to lay his head, no nor after his death a Tomb to lie in, but what the charity of others provided for him) whereon being mounted, and attended with the festivities of the people, he set forward in his journey; wherein there appears an admirable mixture of humility and Majesty: The *Ass* he rode on became the meanness and meekness of a Prophet; but his arbitrary Commission for the fetching it, and the ready obedience of its owners, spake the prerogative of a King: The *Palms* born before him, the *Garments* strew'd in his way, and the joyful *Hosannahs* and Acclamations of the people, proclaim at once both the Majesty of a Prince, and the Triumph of a Saviour. For such expressions of joy we find were usual in publick and festival solemnities; thus the \* Historian describing the Emperor *Commodus* his triumphant return to Rome, tells us, that the Senate and whole people of Rome, to testify their mighty kindness and veneration for him, came out of the City to meet him, *δραφνρόεσι τε ἡ πάντα ἐπαφροδυνοι ἄνθη τότε ἀκμάζοντα*, carrying *Palms* and *Laurels* along with them, and throwing about all sorts of Flowers that were then in season. In this manner our Lord being entred the City, he soon after retired to *Bethany*, whence he dispatched *Peter* and *John*, to make preparation for the Passover; giving them instructions where he would have it kept. Accordingly they found the person he had described to them, whom they followed home to his house. Whether this was the house of *John* the Evangelist (as *Nicephorus* tells us) situate near Mount Sion, or of *Simon* the Leper, or of *Nicodemus*, or of *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, as others severally conjecture, seeing none of the Evangelists have thought fit to tell us, it may not become us curiously to enquire.

E

SECT.

## S E C T. V.

Of *S. Peter*, from the last Pasſeover, till the death of *Chriſt*.

*The Pasſeover celebrated by our Lord and his Apoſtles. His waſhing their feet. Peter's imprudent modeſty. The myſtery and meaning of the action. The Traitor, who. The Lord's Supper inſtituted. Peter's confident promiſe of ſuffering with and for Chriſt. Our Lord's diſlike of his confidence, and foretelling his denial. Their going to the Mount of Olives. Peter renews his reſolution. His indiſcreet zeal and affection. Our Saviour's Paſſion, why begun in a Garden. The bitterneſs of his Anre-paſſion. The drowzineſs of Peter, and the two ſons of Zebedee. Our Lord's great candor towards them, and what it ought to teach us. Chriſt's apprehenſion, and Peter's bold attempt upon Malchus. Chriſt deſerted by the Apoſtles. Peter's following his Maſter to the High-Prieſts Hall, and thrice denying him, with Oaths and Imprecations. The Galilean dialect, what. The Cock-crowing, and Peter's repentance upon it.*

John 13.4.

**A**LL things being now prepared, our *Saviour* with his Apostles comes down for the celebration of the *Passover*. And being entred into the house, they all orderly took their places. Our Lord, who had always taught them by his practice, no less than by his doctrine, did now particularly design to teach them humility and charity by his own example. And that the instance might be the greater, he underwent the meanest offices of the Ministry : towards the end therefore of the *Paschal Supper*, he arose from the Table, and laying aside his upper garment ( which, according to the fashion of those Eastern Countries, being long, was unfit for action ) and himself taking a Towel, and pouring water into a Bason, he began to wash all the Apostles feet ; not disdaining those of *Judas* himself. Coming to *Peter*, he would by no means admit an instance of so much condescension. What ? the Master do this to the *servant* ? the *Son of God* to so vile a *sinner* ? This made him a second time refuse it, *Thou shalt never wash my feet*. But our Lord soon corrects his imprudent modesty, by telling him, *That if he wash'd him not, he could have no part with him* : Insinuating the mystery of this action, which was to denote Remission of sin, and the purifying vertue of the Spirit of *Christ* to be poured upon all true Christians. *Peter* satisfied with this answer, soon altered his resolution, *Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands, and my head*. If the case be so, let me be wash'd all over, rather

φιλοσθένος ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος  
 ἡ πόλις ὑμείων καὶ θαρρὺν φαίμενα λοςθόν  
 ἡ γῆνη καὶ ἀνάστα πειθεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ἀντήλπιον ἡμῶν ἐμὸν μνημονεύοντος  
 ἡμῶν, ἀλλήλων φίλους πόδες ὑδάτι νίπην.  
 Δείξμα καὶ ἐπέλο τῆτο διδύσχαλον ὄρεα καὶ ὑμῶν  
 ἔργον ὅτερ ποίησον σοφόν, πέλπει καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ  
 ἡ γῆνη ἐν ἀλλήλοισιν ἀμοιβαίῳ πνὶ θεσμοῖ,  
 ἰσοῦντες μνημονεύοντες ἡμῶν.  
 Nonn. Patr. ap. in loc.

If the case be so, let me be wash'd all over, rather than come short of my portion in thee. This being done, he returned again to the Table, and acquainted them with the meaning and tendency of this mystical action, and what force it ought to have upon them towards one another. The washing it self denoted their inward and Spiritual cleansing by the Blood and Spirit of *Christ*, symbolically typified and represented by all the washings and Baptisms of the *Mosaick* Institution: The washing

of the feet respected our intire sanctification in our whole Spirit, Soul and Body,

Body, no part being to be left impure. And then, that all this should be done by so great a person, their Lord and Master, preached to their very senses a Sermon of the greatest humility and condescension, and taught them how little reason they had to boggle at the meanest offices of kindness and charity towards others, when he himself had stoop'd to so low an abasement towards them. And now he began more immediately to reflect upon his sufferings, and upon him, who was to be the occasion of them; telling them that one of them would be the *Traitor* to betray him. Whereat they were strangely troubled, and every one began to suspect himself, till *Peter* ( whose love and care for his Master commonly made him start sooner than the rest ) made signs to *S. John*, who lay in our Saviour's bosom, to ask him particularly who it was? which our Saviour presently did, by making them understand, that it was *Judas Iscariot*, who not long after left the company.

2. AND now our Lord began the Institution of his *Supper*, that great solemn Institution which he was resolved to leave behind him, to be constantly celebrated in all Ages of the Church, as the standing monument of his love in dying for mankind. For now he told them, that he himself must leave them, and that *whither he went, they could not come*. *Peter*, not well understanding what he meant, asked him whither it was that he was going? Our Lord replied, It was to that place, whither he could not now follow him: but that he should do it afterwards: intimating the Martyrdom he was to undergo for the sake of *Christ*. To which *Peter* answered, that he knew no reason why he might not follow him, seeing that if it was even to the laying down of his life for his sake, he was most ready and resolved to do it. Our Lord liked not this over-confident presumption, and therefore told him, they were great things which he promised, but that he took not the true measures of his own strength, nor espied the snares and designs of *Satan*, who desired no better an occasion than this, to *sift* and *winnow* them. But that he had prayed to Heaven for him, *That his faith might not fail*: by which means being strengthened himself, he should be obliged to strengthen and confirm his brethren. And whereas he so confidently assured him, that he was ready to go along with him, not only into *prison*, but even to *death* it self; our Lord plainly told him, That notwithstanding all his confident and generous resolutions, before *the Cock crowed twice*, that is, before three of the Clock in the morning, he would that very night three several times deny his Master. With which answer our Lord wisely rebuked his confidence, and taught him ( had he understood the lesson ) not to trust to his own strength, but intirely to depend upon him, who is able to keep us from falling. Withall insinuating, that though by his sin he would justly forfeit the Divine grace and favour, yet upon his repentance he should be restored to the honour of the Apostolate, as a certain evidence of the Divine goodness and indulgence to him.

John 13.36.  
Luke 22.31.

Διὰ τὴν ὅλην  
 τας ἀφ' ἧς μόνον  
 τῷ Πέτρῳ λέ-  
 γει. Σίμων,  
 Σίμων, ἰδὺς ὁ  
 Σατανᾶς ἡγή-  
 σαι τὴν ἐκκλησί-  
 ας σου· ἵνα  
 περικαταστή-  
 ται ὡς  
 τὸν ἑνὶ ἐκ τῶν  
 ἀγγέλων· μόνον  
 ἀλλ' ὡς τοὺς πα-  
 ῖδας σου·

[illegible]

3. HAVING sung an *Hymn*, and concluded the whole affair, he left the house where all these things had been transacted, and went with his *Apostles* unto the *Mount of Olives* : where he again put them in mind how much they would be *offended* at those things which he was now to suffer ; and *Peter* again renewed his resolute and undaunted promise of suffering, and dying with him ; yea, out of an excessive confidence told him, That *though all*

Matth. 26. 30.  
Mark 14. 26.

*the rest should forsake and deny him, yet would not he deny him.* How far will zeal and an indiscreet affection transport even a good man into vanity and presumption! *Peter* questions others, but never doubts himself. So natural is self-love, so apt are we to take the fairest measures of our selves. Nay, though our Lord had but a little before, once and again reproved this vain humour, yet does he still, not only persist, but grow up in it. So hardly are we brought to espy our own faults, or to be so thoroughly convinced of them, as to correct and reform them. This confidence of his inspired all the rest with a mighty courage, all the Apostles likewise assuring him of their constant and unshaken adhering to him. Our Lord returning the same answer to *Peter* which he had done before. From hence they went down into the Village of *Gethsemane*, where, leaving the rest of the Apostles, he, accompanied with none but *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, retired into a neighbouring Garden, (whither, \* *Eusebius* tells us, Christians even in his time were wont to come solemnly to offer up their Prayers to Heaven, and where, as the || *Arabian Geographer* informs us, a fair and stately Church was built to the honour of the *Virgin Mary*) to enter upon the Ante-scene of the fatal Tragedy that was now approaching; it bearing a very fit proportion (as some of the \* *Fathers* have observed) that as the *first Adam* fell and ruin'd mankind in a Garden, so a Garden should be the place where the *second Adam* should begin his Passion, in order to the Redemption of the World. Gardens, which to us are places of repose and pleasure, and scenes of divertisement and delight, were to our Lord a school of Temptation, a Theatre of great horrors and sufferings, and the first approaches of the hour of darkness.

4. HERE it was that the Blessed *Jesus* laboured under the bitterest Agony that could fall upon humane Nature, which the holy Story describes by words sufficiently expressive of the highest grief and sorrow, he was afraid, sorrowful, and very heavy, yea, his Soul was *περίλυτος*, exceeding sorrowful, and that even unto death, he was sore amazed, and very heavy, he was troubled, *ταράχθη*, his Soul was shaken with a vehement commotion; yea, he was in an Agony, a word by which the *Greeks* are wont to represent the greatest conflicts and anxieties. The effect of all which was, that he prayed more earnestly, offering up prayers and supplications with strong cries and tears, as the Apostle expounds it, and sweat, as it were, great drops of blood falling to the ground. What this bloody sweat was, and how far natural or extraordinary, I am not now concerned to enquire. Certain it is, it was a plain evidence of the most intense grief and sadness: for if an extreme fear or trouble will many times cast us into a cold sweat, how great must be the commotion and conflict of our Saviour's mind, which could force open the pores of his body, lock'd up by the coldness of the night, and make not drops of sweat, but great drops, or (as the word *δρόμοι* signifies) clods of blood to issue from them. While our Lord was thus contending with these Ante-Passions, the three Apostles, whom he had left at some distance from him, being tired out with watching, and disposed by the silence of the Night, were fallen fast asleep. Our Lord, who had made three several addresses unto Heaven, that if it might consist with his Father's will, this bitter Cup might pass from him, (expressing herein the harmless and innocent desires of humane Nature, which always studies its own preservation) between each of them came to visit the Apostles, and calling to *Peter*, asked him, *Whether they could not watch with him one hour?* advising them to watch and pray, that they enter'd not into temptation, adding this Argument, That the spirit indeed was willing, but that the flesh was weak, and

\* De loc. Hebr. in voc. Τέθου-  
μαρην. p. 134.  
|| Geogr. Nub.  
Clim. 3. part. 5.  
p. 114.

\* Cyril. comment. in Joan.  
18. Tom. 4.  
Theophylact. in  
Joan. 18.

and that therefore there was the more need that they should stand upon their guard. Observe here the incomparable sweetness, the generous candor of our blessed Saviour, to pass so charitable a censure upon an action, from whence malice and ill-nature might have drawn monsters and prodigies, and have represented it black as the shades of darkness. The request which our Lord made to these Apostles, was infinitely reasonable, to watch with him in this bitter Agony, their company at least being some refreshment to one, under such sad fatal circumstances; and this but for a little time, one hour, it would soon be over, and then they might freely consult their own ease and safety: 'Twas their dear Lord and Master, whom they now were to attend upon, ready to lay down his life for them, sweating already under the first skirmishes of his sufferings, and expecting every moment when all the powers of darkness would fall upon him. But all these considerations were drown'd in a profound security, the men were fast asleep, and though often awakened and told of it, regarded it not, as if nothing but ease and softness had been then to be dream'd of. An action that look'd like the most prodigious ingratitude, and the highest unconcernedness for their Lord and Master, and which one would have thought had argued a very great coldness and indifferency of affection towards him. But he would not set it upon the Tenters, nor stretch it to what it might easily have been drawn to: he imputes it not to their unthankfulness, or want of affection, nor to their carelessness of what became of him, but merely to their infirmity and the weakness of their bodily temper, himself making the excuse, when they could make none for themselves, *the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.* Hereby teaching us, to put the most candid and favourable construction upon those actions of others, which are capable of various interpretations, and rather with the Bee to suck honey, than with the Spider to draw poison from them. His last Prayer being ended, he came to them, and told them with a gentle rebuke, That now they might sleep on if they pleased, that the hour was at hand, that he should be betrayed, and delivered into the hands of men.

5. WHILE he was thus discoursing to them, a Band of Souldiers sent from the High-Priests, with the Traitor *Judas* to conduct and direct them, rush'd into the Garden, and seized upon him: which when the Apostles saw, they asked him whether they should attempt his rescue. *Peter* (whose ungovernable zeal put him upon all dangerous undertakings) without staying for an answer, drew his Sword, and espying one more busie than the rest in laying hold upon our Saviour, which was *Malchus* (who, though carrying Kingship in his name, was but Servant to the High-Priest) struck at him, with an intention to dispatch him: but God over-ruling the stroke, it only cut off his right Ear. Our Lord liked not this wild and unwarrantable zeal, and therefore intreated their patience, whilest he miraculously healed the Wound. And turning to *Peter*, bad him put up his Sword again; told him, that they who unwarrantably use the Sword, should themselves perish by it; that there was no need of these violent and extravagant courses; that if he had a mind to be rid of his Keepers, he could ask his Father, who would presently send more than twelve Legions of Angels to his rescue and deliverance: But he must drink the Cup which his Father had put into his hand: for how else should the Scriptures be fulfilled, which had expressly foretold, That these things must be? Whereupon, all the Apostles forsook him, and fled from him; and they who before in their promises were as bold as Lions, now it came to it, like fearful and timorous Hares, ran away from him: *Peter* and *John*, though staying last with him, yet fol-

lowed the same way with the rest, preferring their own safety, before the concernments of their Master.

Matth. 26. 57.  
Mark 14. 53.  
Luke 22. 54.  
John 18. 12.

6. NO sooner was he apprehended by the Souldiers, and brought out of the Garden, but he was immediately posted from one Tribunal to another, brought first to *Annas*, then carried to *Caiaphas*, where the *Jewish Sanhedrim* met together in order to his Trial and Condemnation. *Peter* having a little recovered himself, and gotten loose from his fears, probably encouraged by his Companion *S. John*, returns back to seek his Master: And finding them leading him to the High-Priests *Hall*, followed afar off, to see what would be the event and issue. But coming to the Door, could get no admittance, till one of the Disciples who was acquainted there, went out and perswaded the Servant, who kept the Door, to let him in. Being let into the *Hall*, where the Servants and Officers stood round the Fire, *Peter* also came thither to warm himself, where being espied by the *Servant-maid* that let him in, she earnestly looking upon him, charged him with being one of *Christ's* Disciples; which *Peter* publicly denied before all the Company, positively affirming, that *he knew him not*; And presently withdrew himself into the Porch, where he heard the *Cock crow*: An intimation, which one would have thought should have awakened his Conscience into a quick sense of his duty, and the promise he had made unto his Master. In the Porch, another of the Maids set upon him, charging him that *he also was one of them that had been with Jesus of Nazareth*: which *Peter* stoutly denied, saying, that *he knew not Christ*; and the better to gain their belief to what he said, ratified it with an *Oath*. So natural is it for one sin to draw on another.

7. ABOUT an Hour after, he was a third time set upon, by a Servant of the High-Priest, *Malchus* his Kinsman, whose Ear *Peter* had lately cut off: By him he was charged to be one of *Christ's* Disciples; Yea, that *his very speech betrayed him to be a Galilean*. For the *Galileans*, though they did not speak a different language, had yet a different *Dialect*, using a more confused and barbarous, a broader and more unpolished way of pronunciation than the rest of the *Jews*; whereby they were easily distinguishable in their speaking from other men: abundant instances whereof there are extant in the *Talmud* at this day. Nay, not only gave this evidence, but added, that he himself had seen him with *Jesus* in the Garden. *Peter* still resolutely denied the matter, and to add the highest accomplishment to his sin, ratified it not only with an *Oath*, but a solemn *Curse* and execration, that *he was not the person, that he knew not the man*. 'Tis but a very weak excuse, which

\* Bene negavit hominem, quem sciebat deum. Ambr. in Luc. 22. Tom. 5. p. 157. vid. Hilar. comment. in Matth. p. 328. || Hieron. in Matth. 26. p. 81. Tom. 9. vid. August. in Joan. Tract. lxxv. col. 417. Tom. 9

\* *S. Ambrose*, and some others make for this Act of *Peter's*, in saying, *I knew not the Man*. He did well (says he) to deny him to be Man, whom he knew to be God. || *S. Hieron* takes notice of this pious and well-meant excuse made for *Peter*, though out of modesty he conceals the name of its Authors, but yet justly censures it as trifling and frivolous, and which to excuse *Man* from folly, would charge *God* with falshood: for if he did not deny him, then our Lord was out, when he said, that *that Night he should thrice deny him*, that is, his Person, and not only his humanity. Certainly the best Apology that can be made for *Peter* is, that he quickly repented of this great sin; for no sooner had he done it, but the *Cock crew again*; at which intimation our Saviour turn'd about, and earnestly looked upon him: a glance that quickly pierced him to the Heart, and brought to his remembrance, what our Lord had once and again foretold him of, how foully and shamefully he should deny him: whereupon not being able to contain his sorrow, he ran out of Doors to give it vent, and wept bitterly, passionately bewailing

bewailing his folly, and the aggravations of his sin; thereby endeavouring to make some reparation for his fault, and recover himself into the favour of Heaven, and to prevent the execution of Divine Justice, by taking a severe revenge upon himself: by these penitential tears he endeavoured to wash off his guilt; as indeed Repentance is the next step to Innocence.

## SECT. VI.

Of *S. Peter*, from *Christ's* Resurrection, till his Ascension.

Our Lord's care to acquaint *Peter* with his Resurrection. His going to the Sepulchre. *Christ's* appearance to *Peter*, when, and the Reasons of it: The Apostles Journey into Galilee: *Christ's* appearing to them at the Sea of Tiberias; His being discovered by the great draught of Fishes. *Christ's* questioning *Peter's* love, and why. Feed my Sheep, commended to *Peter*, imports no peculiar supereminent power and sovereignty. *Peter's* death and sufferings foretold. Our Lord takes his last leave of the Apostles at Bethany. His Ascension into Heaven. The Chappel of the Ascension. The Apostles joy at their Lord's Exaltation.

1. WHAT became of *Peter* after his late Prevarication, whether he followed our Saviour through the several stages of his Trial, and personally attended, as a Mourner at the Funerals of his Master, we have no account left upon Record. No doubt he stayed at *Jerusalem*, and probably with *S. John*, together with whom we first find him mentioned, when both setting forwards to the Sepulchre: which was in this manner. Early on that Morning, whereon our Lord was to return from the Grave, *Mary Mag-* Mark 16. 1.  
*dalen*, and some other devout and pious Women brought Spices and Ointments, with a design to Imbalm the Body of our crucified Lord. Coming to the Sepulchre at Sun-rising, and finding the Door open, they entred in, where they were suddenly saluted by an Angel, who told them, that *Jesus* was risen, and bad them go and acquaint his Apostles, and particularly *Peter*, that he was returned from the dead; and that he would go before them into *Galilee*, where they should meet with him. Hereupon they returned back, and acquainted the Apostles with what had passed, who beheld the story as the product of a weak frightened fancy. But *Peter* and *John* presently hastned towards the Garden; *John* being the younger and nimbler, out-ran Luke 24. 12.  
his Companion, and came first thither, where he only looked, but entred John 20. 2.  
not in, either out of fear in himself, or a great Reverence to our Saviour. *Peter*, though behind in space, was before in zeal, and being elder and more considerate, came and resolutely entred in, where they found nothing but the *Linnen Clothes* lying together in one place, and the *Napkin* that was about his Head wrapped together in another; which being disposed with so much care and order, shewed (what was falsely suggested by the *Jews*) that our Saviour's Body was not taken away by Thieves, who are wont more to consult their escape, than how to leave things orderly disposed behind them.

2. THE

1 Cor. 15. 5.

Luke 24. 34.

\* Ἦν ἀνδρῶν  
πέντε ἀποστόλων,  
πρὸς μὲν τὸν  
κύριον πρὸς ἑνὶ  
ἑκάστῳ. Chrys. in  
1. ad Cor. c. 15.  
Hom. 38. p. 666  
Ibid. p. 667.

[Comment. in  
Luc. 24. in fin.  
p. 170. Tom. 5.

John 21. 1.

2. THE same Day about Noon we may suppose it was, that our Lord himself appeared alone to *Peter*; being assured of the thing, though not so precisely of the time. That he did so, *S. Paul* expressly tells us; and so did the Apostles the two Disciples that came from *Emmaus*, *The Lord is risen, and hath appeared unto Simon*: which probably intimates, that it was before his appearing to those two Disciples. And indeed we cannot but think that our Lord would hasten the manifestation of himself to him, as compassionating his case, being overwhelmed with sorrow for the late shameful denial of his Master: and was therefore willing in the first place to honour him with his presence, at once to confirm him in the Article of his Resurrection, and to let him see, that he was restored to the place which before he had in his grace and favour. *S. Paul* mentioning his several appearances after his Resurrection, seems to make this the first of them, *That he was seen of Cephas*. Not that it was simply the first, for he first appeared to the *Women*. But as *\* Chrysostom* observes, it was the first, that was made to *men*. He was first seen by him who most desired to see him. He also adds several probable conjectures, why our Lord first discovered himself to *Peter*: As, that it required a more than ordinary firmness and resolution of mind, to be able to bear such a sight: For they who beheld him after others had seen him, and had heard their frequent Testimonies and Reports, had had their Faith greatly prepared and encouraged to entertain it; But he who was to be honoured with the first appearance had need of a bigger, and more undaunted Faith, lest he should be over-born, τῷ παρὰ φύσιν & δέας, with such a strange and unwonted sight: That *Peter* was the first that had made a signal confession of his Master, and therefore it was fit and reasonable, that he should first see him alive after his Resurrection: That *Peter* had lately denied his Lord, the grief whereof lay hard upon him, that therefore our Saviour was willing to administer some consolation to him, and as soon as might be to let him see, that he had not cast him off; like the kind *Samaritan*, he made haste to help him, and to pour Oil into his wounded Conscience.

3. SOME time after this, the Apostles began to resolve upon their journey into *Galilee*, as he himself had commanded them. If it be enquired why they went no sooner, seeing this was the first message and intimation, they had received from him; || *S. Ambrose* his resolution seems very rational, that our Lord indeed had commanded them to go thither, but that their fears for some time kept them at home; not being as yet fully satisfied in the truth of his Resurrection, till our Lord by often appearing to them, had confirmed their minds, and put the case beyond all dispute. They went, as we may suppose, in several Companies, lest going all in one Body, they should awaken the power and malice of their enemies, and alarm the care and vigilancy of the state, which by reason of the Noise that our Saviour's Trial and Execution had made up and down the City and Country, was yet full of jealousies and fears. We find *Peter*, *Thomas*, *Nathanael*, and the two Sons of *Zebedee*, and two more of the Disciples arrived at some Town about the *Sea of Tiberias*: Where, the Providence of God guiding the Instance of their employment, *Peter* accompanied with the rest, returns to his old Trade of Fishing. They laboured all Night, but caught nothing. Early in the Morning a grave Person, probably in the habit of a Traveller, presents himself upon the shore: And calling to them, asked them whether they had any meat: When they told him, No; He advised them to cast the Net on the right side of the Ship, that so the Miracle might not seem to be the effect of chance, and they should not fail to speed. They did so, and the Net presently inclosed so great a draught, that they were scarce able to drag

it

it a shore. *S. John* amazed with the strangeness of the matter, told *Peter* that surely this must be *the Lord*, whom the Winds and the Sea, and all the Inhabitants of that watry Region were so ready to obey. *Peter's* zeal presently took fire, notwithstanding the coldness of the Season, and impatient of the least moments being kept from the company of his dear Lord and Master, without any consideration of the danger to which he exposed himself, he girt his Fishers Coat about him, and throwing himself into the Sea, swam to shore, not being able to stay till the Ship could arrive, which came presently after. Landing, they found a Fire ready made, and Fish laid upon it, either immediately created by his Divine power, or which came to the shore of its own accord, and offered it self to his hand. Which notwithstanding, he commands them to bring of the Fish which they had lately caught, and prepare it for their Dinner, He himself dining with them; both that he might give them an instance of mutual love and fellowship, and also assure them of the truth of his humane nature, since his return from the dead.

4. DINNER being ended, our Lord more particularly addressed himself to *Peter*; urging him to the utmost diligence in his care of Souls: and because he knew, that nothing but a mighty love to himself could carry him through the troubles and hazards of so dangerous and difficult an employment; an employment attended with all the impediments, which either the perverseness of men, or the malice and subtilty of the Devil could cast in the way to hinder it; therefore he first enquired of him, whether he loved him more than the rest of the Apostles, herein mildly reproving his former overconfident resolution, that *though all the rest should deny him, yet would not he deny him*. *Peter* modestly replied, not censuring others, much less preferring himself before them, that our Lord knew the integrity of his affection towards him. This Question he puts three several times to *Peter*, who as often returned the same Answer: It being but just and reasonable, that he who by a threefold denial had given so much cause to question, should now by a threefold confession \* give more than ordinary assurance of his sincere affection to his Master. *Peter* was a little troubled at this frequent questioning of his love, and therefore more expressly appeals to our Lord's omniscience, that He who knew all things, must needs know that he loved him. To each of these confessions our Lord added this signal trial of his affection; then, *Feed my sheep*, that is, faithfully instruct and teach them, carefully rule and guide them, persuade, not compel them, feed, not fleece, nor kill them. And so 'tis plain *S. Peter* himself understood it, by the charge which he gives to the Guides and Rulers of the Church, that *they should feed the Flock of God, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind: Neither as being Lords over God's heritage, but as examples to the flock*. But that by feeding *Christ's Sheep and Lambs*, here commended to *S. Peter*, should be meant an universal and uncontrollable Monarchy and Dominion over the whole Christian Church, and that over the Apostles themselves and their Successors in ordinary, and this power and supremacy solely invested in *S. Peter*, and those who were to succeed him in the See of *Rome*, is so wild an inference, and such a melting down words to run into any shape, as could never with any face have been offered, or been possible to have been imposed upon the belief of mankind, if men had not first subdued their reason to their interest, and captivated both to an implicate faith and a blind obedience. For granting that our Lord here addressed his speech only unto *Peter*,

ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τοὺς ἀποστόλους,  
ἐκείνην ἀνδρῶν λατρίαν μισθώσατο Σίμων.  
καὶ ταχὺς εἰς ῥῶν ἄλλο καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἀμείβων,  
Χίτας ἐρετμώσας καὶ σπῆλιν εἰς ὕψος αἵσαν.  
Ποσσὶν ἀμοιβάζουσιν ὁπότερον ᾤσεν ὁ κύριος,  
Ἀκρίης δ' ἐγχεύς ἔμνε θεοῦ δόξαν ῥήμα βαλάνων.  
Novm. Paraphr. in loc.

\* Τὸ τετραπλῶν  
τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως  
τετραπλῶν δὲ  
συγγράμματα  
ὡς ἀγαθὸς  
ἰατρεὺς ἐξω-  
σέεισιν. Ibid.  
Pelus. lib. 1. Ep.  
103. p. 27.  
Redditur nega-  
tioni triune tri-  
na Confessio, ne  
minus amor  
lingua scrutat,  
quàm timor;  
& plus vocis  
eliciat, videtur  
mors im-  
minens, quàm  
vita praesens.  
Aug. in Jo. in.  
Tract. 123. col.  
566.  
1. et. 5. 1, 2, 3.

ter, yet the very same power in equivalent terms is elsewhere indifferently granted to all the Apostles, and in some measure to the ordinary Pastors and Governours of the Church: As when our Lord told them, That all power was given him in Heaven and in Earth, by vertue whereof they should go teach and baptize all Nations, and preach the Gospel to every Creature: That they should feed God's flock, Rule well, inspect and watch over those over whom they had the Authority and the Rule. Words of as large and more express signification, than those which were here spoken to S. Peter.

5. OUR Lord having thus engaged Peter to a chearful compliance with the dangers that might attend the discharge and execution of his Office, now particularly intimates to him what that fate was that should attend him: telling him, that though when he was young he girt himself, lived at his own pleasure, and went whither he pleased; yet when he was old, he should stretch forth his hands, and another should gird and bind him, and lead him whither he had no mind to go: intimating, as the Evangelist tells us, by what death he should glorify God, that is, by Crucifixion, the Martyrdom which he afterward underwent. And then rising up, commanded him to follow him; by this bodily attendance mystically implying his conformity to the death of Christ, that he should follow him in dying for the truth and testimony of the Gospel. It was not long after, that our Lord appeared to them to take his last farewell of them, when leading them out unto Bethany, a little Village upon the Mount of Olives, he briefly told them, That they were the persons, whom he had chosen to be the witnesses both of his Death and Resurrection; a testimony which they should bear to him in all parts of the World: In order to which he would after his Ascension pour out his Spirit upon them in larger measures, than they had hitherto received, that they might be the better fortified to grapple with that violent rage and fury, wherewith both Men and Devils would endeavour to oppose them; and that in the mean time they should return to Jerusalem, and stay till these miraculous powers were from on high conferred upon them. His discourse being ended, laying his hands upon them, he gave them his solemn blessing; which done, he was immediately taken from them, and being attended with a glorious guard and train of Angels, was received up into Heaven. \* Antiquity tells us, that in the place where he last trod upon the rock, the impression of his feet did remain, which could never afterwards be fill'd up or impaired, over which Helena, Mother of the Great Constantine, afterwards built a little Chappel, called the Chappel of the Ascension; in the floor whereof upon a whitish kind of stone, modern Travellers tell us, that the impression of his Foot is shewed at this day; but 'tis that of his right foot only, the other being taken away by the Turks, and as 'tis said, kept in the Temple at Jerusalem. Our Lord being thus taken from them, the Apostles were filled with a greater sense of his glory and majesty, than while he was wont familiarly to converse with them; and having performed their solemn adorations to him, returned back to Jerusalem, waiting for the promise of the Holy Ghost, which was shortly after conferred upon them. They worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy. They who lately were overwhelmed with sorrow at the very mention of their Lord's departure from them, entertained it now with joy and triumph, being fully satisfied of his glorious advancement at God's right hand, and of that particular care and providence which they were sure he would exercise towards them, in pursuance of those great trusts he had committed to them.

Acts 1. 8.  
Luke 24. 49.

\* Paulin Epist. 3. ad Sever. lib. 2. p. 130  
Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sac. lib. 2. p. 145.  
Euseb. de loc. Heb. in Ant. App. p. 297.  
Tom. 3.  
J. Cotovic. Itin. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 271. vid. Sands Relat. lib. 3. p. 156.

Luke 24. 52.

SECT.

## SECT. VII.

### S. Peter's Acts, from our Lord's Ascension, till the Dispersion of the Church.

The Apostles return to Jerusalem. The ὑπερῶν, or upper-room where they assembled, what. Peter declares the necessity of a new Apostles being chosen in the room of Judas. The promise of the Holy Ghost made good upon the day of Pentecost. The spirit descended in the likeness of fiery cloven tongues, and why. The greatness of the Miracle. Peter's vindication of the Apostles from the slanders of the Jews, and proving Christ to be the promised Messiah. Great numbers converted by his Sermon. His going up to the Temple. What their stated hours of Prayer. His curing the impotent Cripple there, and discourse to the Jews upon it. What numbers converted by him. Peter and John seized, and cast into Prison. Brought before the Sanhedrim, and their resolute carriage there. Their refusing to obey, when commanded not to preach Christ. The great security the Christian Religion provides for subjection to Magistrates in all lawful instances of Obedience. The severity used by Peter towards Ananias and Saphira. The great Miracles wrought by him. Again cast into Prison, and delivered by an Angel. Their appearing before the Sanhedrim; and deliverance, by the prudent counsels of Gamaliel.

1. THE Holy Jesus being gone to Heaven, the Apostles began to act according to the Power and Commission he had left with them. In order whereunto, the first thing they did after his Ascension, was to fill up the vacancy in their Colledge, lately made by the unhappy fall and Apostasie of Judas. To which end no sooner were they returned to Jerusalem, but they went eis ὑπερῶν, into an upper-room. Where this ὑπερῶν was, whether in the house of S. John, or of Mary John & Mark's Mother, or in some of the out-rooms belonging to the Temple, (for the Temple had over the Cloisters several Chambers for the service of the Priests and Levites, and as Repositories, where the consecrated Vessels and Utensils of the Temple were laid up, though it be not probable, that the Jews, and especially the Priests would suffer the Apostles and their company to be so near the Temple) I stand not to enquire. 'Tis certain that the Jews usually had their ὑπαρῶν, private Oratories in the upper parts of their houses, called קריית, for the more private exercises of their devotions. Thus Daniel had his קריית, his upper-Chamber (דא ὑπαρῶν the LXX. render it) whither he was wont to retire to pray to his God: and \* Benjamin the Jew tells us, that in his time (Ann. Chr. 1172.) the Jews at Babylon were wont to pray both in their Synagogues, ועליית דניאל, and in that ancient upper-room of Daniel, which the Prophet himself built. Such an ὑπερῶν, or upper-Chamber, was that wherein S. Paul preached at Troas: and such probably this, where the Apostles were now met together, and in all likelihood the same, where our Lord had lately kept the Passover, where the Apostles and the Church were assembled on the day of Pentecost, and which was then the usual place of their Religious Assemblies, as we have elsewhere observed more at \* large.

Dan. 6. 10.

\* Benj. Itiner. p. 76.

Acts 20. 8.

\* Prim. Christ. Part 1. Ch. 6. p. 126.

Here

Acts 1. 15.

Here the Church being met, to the number of about CXX, *Peter*, as President of the Assembly, put them in mind, that *Judas*, one of our Lord's Apostles, being betrayed by his own covetous and insatiable mind, had lately fallen from the honour of his place and ministry: that this was no more than what the *Prophet* had long since foretold should come to pass, and that the rule and over-sight in the Church, which had been committed unto him, should be devolved upon another: that therefore it was highly necessary, that one should be substituted in his room, and especially such a one as had been familiarly conversant with our Saviour, from first to last, that so he might be a competent witness both of his doctrine and miracles, his life and death, but especially of his Resurrection from the dead. For seeing no evidence is so valid and satisfactory, as the testimony of an eye-witness, the Apostles all along mainly insisted upon this, that they delivered no other things concerning our Saviour to the World, than what they themselves had seen and heard. And seeing his rising from the Dead was a principle likely to meet with a great deal of opposition, and which would hardliest gain belief and entertainment with the minds of men, therefore they principally urg'd this at every turn, that *they were eye-witnesses of his Resurrection*, that they had seen, felt, eaten, and familiarly conversed with him after his return from the Grave. That therefore such an Apostle might be chosen, two Candidates were proposed, *Joseph* called *Barsabas*, and *Matthias*. And having prayed, that the Divine Providence would immediately guide and direct the choice, they cast lots, and the lot fell upon *Matthias*, who was accordingly admitted into the number of the twelve Apostles.

Acts 2. 1.

2. FIFTY days since the last *Passeover* being now run out, made way for the Feast of *Pentecost*. At what time the great promise of the *Holy Ghost* was fully made good unto them. The Christian Assembly being met together, for the publick services of their Worship, on a sudden a sound, like that of a mighty wind, rush'd in upon them; representing the powerful efficacy of that Divine Spirit, that was now to be communicated to them: After which there appeared little flames of fire, which in the fashion of Cloven Tongues, not only descended, but sat upon each of them, probably to note their perpetual enjoyment of this gift upon all occasions, that when necessary, they should never be without it; not like the Prophetick gifts of old, which were conferred but sparingly, and only at some particular times and seasons. As the *seventy Elders prophesied and ceased not*, but it was only at such times as the Spirit came down and rested upon them. Hereupon they were all immediately filled with the *Holy Ghost*, which enabled them in an instant to speak several Languages, which they had never learn'd, and probably never heard of, together with other miraculous gifts and powers. Thus as the confounding of Languages became a curse to the old World, separating men from all mutual offices of kindness and commerce, rendring one part of Mankind Barbarians to another: so here the multiplying several Languages became a blessing, being intended as the means to bring men of all Nations into the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, into the fellowship of that Religion, that would banish discords, cement differences, and unite mens hearts in the bond of peace. The report of so sudden and strange an action presently spread it self into all corners of the City, and there being at that time at *Jerusalem* multitudes of Jewish Proselytes, *Devout men out of every Nation under Heaven, Parthians, Medes, Elamites* (or *Persians*) *the dwellers in Mesopotamia and Judæa, Cappadocia, Pontus, and Asia minor, from Phrygia and Pamphylia, from Egypt and the parts of Libya and Cyrene, from Rome, from Crete, from Arabia, Jews and Proselytes* (probab-

Numb. 11. 25.

(probably drawn thither by the general report and expectation which had spread it self over all the \* *Eastern* parts, and in a manner over all places of the *Roman Empire*, of the *Jewish Messiah*, that about this time should be born at *Jerusalem*) they no sooner heard of it, but universally flocked to this *Christian Assembly*: where they were amazed to hear these *Galileans* speaking to them in their own *native Languages*, so various, so vastly different from one another. And it could not but exceedingly encrease the wonder to reflect upon the meanness and inconsiderableness of the persons, neither assisted by natural parts, nor polished by education, nor improved by use and custom: which three things Philosophers require to render a man accurate and extraordinary in any art or discipline, φύσις γὰρ ἀνευ μαθήσεως τυφλόν. μάθησις δίχρα φύσεως ἑλλειπής. ἀσκησις χωρὶς ἀμφοῖν ἀτελής, says *Plutarch*; Natural disposition without institution is blind, instruction without a genius and disposition is defective, and exercise without both is lame and imperfect. Whereas these Disciples had not one of these to set them off; their parts were mean, below the rate of the common people, the *Galileans* being generally accounted the rudest and most stupid of the whole *Jewish Nation*; their education had been no higher than to catch Fish, and to mend Nets; nor had they been used to plead causes, or to deliver themselves before great Assemblies; but spoke on a sudden, not premeditated discourses, not idle stories, or wild roving fancies, but the great and admirable works of God, and the mysteries of the Gospel beyond humane apprehensions to find out, and this delivered in almost all the Languages of the then known World. Men were severally affected with it, according to their different tempers and apprehensions. Some admiring, and not knowing what to think on't, others deriding it, said, that it was nothing else but the wild raving effect of drunkenness and intemperance. At so wild a rate are men of prophane minds wont to talk, when they take upon them to pass their censure in the things of God.

3. HEREUPON the Apostles rose up, and *Peter* in the name of the rest, took this occasion of discoursing to them: He told them, that this scandalous slander proceeded from the spirit of malice and falsehood; that their censure was as uncharitable, as it was unreasonable; that *they that are drunken, are drunk in the night*; that it was against nature and custom for men to be in drink so soon, too early for such a suspicion to take place, it being now but about nine of the clock, the hour for Morning Prayer, till when men even of ordinary sobriety and devotion on Festival days were wont to fast. That these extraordinary and miraculous passages were but the accomplishment of an ancient prophecy, the fulfilling of what God had expressly foretold should come to pass in the times of the *Messiah*; that *Jesus of Nazareth* had evidently approv'd himself to be the *Messiah* sent from God by many unquestionable miracles, of which they themselves had been eye-witnesses: And though by God's permission, who had determined by this means to bring about the Salvation of mankind, they had wickedly crucified and slain him, yet that God had raised him from the dead: That it was not possible he should be holden always under the dominion of the Grave; nor was it consistent with the justice and goodness of God, and especially with those Divine predictions which had expressly foretold he should rise again from the dead: *David* having more particularly foretold, *That his flesh should rest in hope, that God would not leave his Soul in Hell, neither suffer his holy one to see corruption; but would make known to him the ways of life:*

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That

\* *Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eodem tempore Judæa profecti verum possentur. Id de imperatore, &c. Sueton. in vit. Vespas. c. 4. p. 728. eadem habet Tacitus Histor. l. 5. c. 13. p. 540.*

Περ. πάλδ.  
ἀγαγ. p. 2.

Πάντες οὖν ἐς  
ταύτην ἐλθόντες,  
εἰ μὴ ᾧ σω-  
θὲν δέλουσιν  
ἐπὶ τῷ ἔκτῳ  
ᾧ. καὶ ἵν  
τοῖς οἰκοδο-  
μοῦσι τοῖς  
ἀεισποιοῦσι  
τοῖς ἡμῶν. Ἰωσήφ.  
de vit. jud.  
p. 1020.

That this prophecy could not be meant concerning *David* himself, by whom it was spoken, he having many Ages since been turn'd to ashes, his body resolv'd into rottenness and putrefaction, his Tomb yet visible among them, from whence he never did return; that therefore it must needs have been prophetically spoken concerning *Christ*, having never been truly fulfill'd in any but him, who both died, and was risen again, whereof they were witnesses. Yea, that he was not only risen from the dead, but ascended into Heaven, and according to *David's* prediction, *Sate down on God's right hand, until he made his Enemies his foot-stool*: which could not be primarily meant of *David*, he never having yet *bodily* ascended into Heaven; that therefore the whole *house of Israel* ought to believe, and take notice, that this very *Jesus*, whom they had crucified, was the person whom God had appointed to be the *Messiah* and the *Saviour* of his Church.

4. THIS discourse in every part of it, like so many daggers, pierc'd them to the heart; who thereupon cried out to *Peter* and his Brethren to know what they should do. *Peter* told them, that there was no other way, than by an hearty and sincere repentance, and a being baptized into the Religion of this crucified Saviour, to expiate their guilt, to obtain pardon of sin, and the gifts and benefits of the Holy Ghost. That upon these terms the promises of the new Covenant, which was ratified by the death of *Christ*, did belong to them, and their children, and to all that should effectually believe and embrace the Gospel: Further pressing and perswading them by doing thus, to save themselves from that unavoidable ruine and destruction, which this wicked and untoward generation of obstinate unbelieving *Jews* were shortly to be expos'd to. The effects of his preaching were strange and wonderful: as many as believed were baptized: there being that day added to the Church no less than *three thousand souls*. A quick and plentiful harvest; the late sufferings of our Saviour, as yet fresh bleeding in their memories, the present miraculous powers of the Holy Ghost, that appeared upon them, the zeal of his Auditors, though heretofore misplaced and misguided, and above all, the efficacy of Divine grace, contributing to this numerous conversion.

Acts 3.1.

Vid. Drus. in  
Acts 3.1.

5. THOUGH the converting so vast a multitude might justly challenge a place amongst the greatest miracles, yet the Apostles began now more particularly to exercise their miraculous power. *Peter* and *John* going up to the Temple, about three of the clock in the afternoon, towards the conclusion of one of the solemn hours of prayer, (for the *Jews* divided their day into four greater hours, each quarter containing three lesser under it, three of which were publick and stated times of prayer, instituted (say they) by the three great Patriarchs of their Nation; the first from six of the clock in the morning till nine, called hence *the third hour of the day*, instituted by *Abraham*, this was called תפלת שחרית or *morning prayer*: the second from nine till twelve, called *the sixth hour*, and this hour of prayer ordain'd by *Isaac*, this was called תפלת צהריים or *mid-day prayer*: the third from twelve till three in the afternoon, called *the ninth hour*, appointed by *Jacob*, called תפלת ערבית or *evening prayer*; and at this hour it was that these two Apostles went up to the Temple, where) they found a poor impotent Cripple, who, though above forty years old, had been lame from his Birth, lying at the beautiful Gate of the Temple, and asking an Alms of them. *Peter* earnestly looking on him, told him, he had no money to give him, but that he would give him that which was a great deal better, restore him to his health; and lifting him up by the hand, commanded him in the Name of *Jesus of Nazareth* to rise up and walk.

The

The word was no sooner said, than the thing was done: Immediately the Nerves and Sinews were enlarged, and the Joynts returned to their proper use. The man standing up went into the Temple walking, leaping, and praising God. The beholding so sudden and extraordinary a Cure begot great admiration in the minds of the People, whose curiosity drew them to the Apostles to see those who had been the Authors of it. Which *Peter* taking notice of, began to discourse to them to this effect; That there was no reason they should wonder at them, as if by their own skill and art they had wrought this Cure, it being intirely done in the Name of their crucified Master, by the Power of that very *Christ*, that Holy and Just Person, whom they themselves had denied and delivered up to *Pilate*, and preferred a Rebel and a Murderer before him, when his Judge was resolved to acquit him: and that though they had put him to death, yet that they were witnesses that God had raised him up again, and that He was gone to Heaven, where he must remain till the times of the General Restitution: That he presumed that this in them, as also in their Rulers, was in a great measure the effect of ignorance, and the not being thoroughly convinced of the Greatness and Divinity of his Person; which yet God made use of for the bringing about his Wise and Righteous Designs, the accomplishing of what he had foretold concerning *Christ's* Person and Sufferings, by *Moses* and *Samuel*, and all the holy Prophets which had been since the World began: That therefore it was now high time for them to repent, and turn to God, that their great wickedness might be expiated, and that when *Christ* should shortly come in Judgment upon the Jewish Nation, it might be a time of comfort and refreshing to them, what would be of vengeance and destruction to other men: that they were the peculiar persons, to whom the blessings of the promises did primarily appertain, and unto whom God in the first place sent his Son, that he might derive his blessing upon them by turning them away from their iniquities. While *Peter* was thus discoursing to the People in one place, we may suppose that *John* was preaching to them in another; and the success was answerable. The Apostles cast out the seed, and God immediately gave the increase. There being by this means no fewer than *Five Thousand* brought over to the Faith: though 'tis possible the whole Body of Believers might be comprehended in that Number. Acts 4.4.

6. WHILE the Apostles were thus Preaching, the Priests and Sadducees (who particularly appeared in this business, as being enemies to all tumults, or what ever might disturb their present ease and quiet, the only portion of happiness they expected; besides that they hated Christianity, because so expressly asserting the Resurrection) being vexed to hear this Doctrine vented amongst the People, intimated to the Magistrate, that this Concourse might probably tend to an Uproar and Insurrection: Whereupon they came with the Captain of the Temple (Commander of the Tower of *Antonia*, which stood close by, on the North side of the Temple, wherein was a Roman Garrison to prevent or suppress, especially at Festival times, Popular Tumults and Uproars) who seized on the Apostles, and put them into Prison. The next Day they were convented before the Jewish Sanhedrim; and being asked by what Power and Authority they had done this; *Peter* resolutely answered, That as to the Cure done to this impotent Person, Be it known to them and all the *Jews*, that it was perfectly wrought in the Name of that *Jesus of Nazareth*, whom they themselves had crucified, and God had raised from the dead, and whom, though they had thrown him by as waste and rubbish, yet, God had made head of the corner; and that there was no other way, wherein they, or others, could expect salvation, but by this crucified Saviour.

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Great was the boldness of the Apostles, admired by the *Sanhedrim* itself, in this matter ; especially if we consider, that this probably was the very Court that had so lately sentenced and condemned their Master, and being fleshed in such sanguinary proceedings, had no other way but to go on and justify one cruelty with another : that the Apostles did not say these things in corners, and behind the curtain, but to their very faces, and that in the open Court of Judicature, and before all the people : That the Apostles had not been used to plead in such publick places, nor had been polished with the Arts of education, but were ignorant unlearned men, known not to be versed in the study of the *Jewish* Law.

7. THE *Council* ( which all this while had beheld them with a kind of wonder, and now remembered that they had been the companions and attendants of the late crucified *Jesus* ) commanded them to withdraw, and debated amongst themselves what they should do with them. The Miracle they could not deny, the fact being so plain and evident, and therefore resolved strictly to charge them, that they should Preach no more in the Name of *Jesus*. Being called in again, they acquainted them with the Resolution of the Council, to which *Peter* and *John* replied, That they could by no means yield obedience to it, appealing to themselves, whether it was not more fit, that *they should obey God, rather than them*: And that they could not but testi-

in this answer make any undue reflection upon the power of the Magistrates, and the obedience due to them, it being a ruled case by the first dictates of reason, and the common vote and suffrage of Mankind, that Parents and Governours are not to be obeyed, when their commands interfere with the obligations under which we stand to a superiour power. All authority is originally derived from God, and our duty to him may not be superseded by the Laws of any Authority deriving from him: and even *Socrates* himself in a parallel instance, when perswaded to leave off his excellent way of institution and instructing youth, and to comply

with the humour of his *Athenian* Judges to save his life, returned this answer, that indeed he loved and honoured the *Athenians*; but yet resolved to obey God, rather than them. An answer almost the same both in substance and words, with that which was here given by our Apostles. In all other cases where the Laws of the Magistrate did not interfere with the commands of *Christ*, none more loyal, more compliant than they. As indeed no Religion in the World ever secured the interests of Civil authority like the Religion of the Gospel. It positively charges every soul of what rank or condition soever to be subject to the higher powers, as a Divine ordinance and institution, and that not for wrath only, but for conscience-sake; it puts men in mind to be subject to *Principalities and Powers*, and to obey *Magistrates*, to submit to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, both to the King as supreme, and unto Governours as unto them that are sent by him: for so is the will of God. So far is it from allowing us to violate their persons, that it suffers us not boldly to censure their actions, to revile the Gods, despise Dominions, and speak evil of Dignities, or to vilifie and injure them so much, as by a dishonourable thought; commanding us when we cannot obey, to suffer the most rigorous penalties imposed upon us with calmness, and to possess our souls in patience. Thus when these two Apostles were shortly after again summoned before the Council,

Council, commanded no more to Preach the Christian Doctrine, and to be scourged for what they had done already, though they could not *obey* the one, they chearfully *submitted* to the other without any peevish or tart reflections, but went away rejoicing. But what the carriage of Christians was in this matter in the first and best ages of the Gospel, we have in another place sufficiently discovered to the World. We may not withhold our obedience, till the Magistrate invades God's Throne, and countermands his authority, and may then appeal to the sense of Mankind. whether it be not most reasonable that God's authority should first take place, as the Apostles here appealed to their very Judges themselves. Nor do we find that the *Sanhedrim* did except against the Plea. At least whatever they thought, yet not daring to punish them for fear of the People, they only threatened them, and let them go: who thereupon presently return'd to the rest of the Apostles and Believers.

*Prim. Christ.  
Part 3. Ch. 4.*

8. The Church exceedingly multiplied by these means : And that so great a Company ( most whereof were poor ) might be maintained, they generally sold their Estates, and brought the Money to the Apostles, to be by them deposited in one common Treasury, and thence distributed according to the several exigences of the Church : which gave occasion to this dreadful Instance. *Ananias* and his Wife *Sapphira* having taken upon them the profession of the Gospel, according to the free and generous spirit of those times, had consecrated and devoted their Estate to the honour of God, and the necessities of the Church. And accordingly sold their Possessions, and turned them into Money. But as they were willing to gain the reputation of charitable Persons, so were they loth wholly to cast themselves upon the Divine Providence, by letting go all at once, and therefore privately withheld part of what they had devoted, and bringing the rest, laid it at the Apostles feet : hoping herein they might deceive the Apostles, though immediately guided by the Spirit of God. But *Peter* at his first coming in, treated *Ananias* with these sharp enquiries ; Why he would suffer *Satan* to fill his heart with so big a wickedness, as by keeping back part of his estate, to think to deceive the Holy Ghost ? That before it was sold, it was wholly at his own disposal ; and after, it was perfectly in his own power fully to have performed his vow : So that it was capable of no other interpretation, than that herein he had not only abused and injured men, but mocked God, and, what in him lay, lied to, and cheated the Holy Ghost ; who, he knew, was privy to the most secret thoughts and purposes of his heart. This was no sooner said, but suddenly to the great terror and amazement of all that were present, *Ananias* was arrested with a stroke from Heaven, and fell down dead to the ground. Not long after his Wife came in, whom *Peter* entertained with the same severe reproofs, wherewith he had done her Husband, adding, that the like sad fate and doom should immediately seize upon her, who thereupon dropt down dead : As she had been Copartner with him in the Sin, becoming sharer with him in the punishment. An instance of great severity, filling all that heard of it with fear and terror, and became a seasonable prevention of that hypocrisy and dissimulation, wherewith many might possibly think to have imposed upon the Church.

9. THIS severe Case being extraordinary, the Apostles usually exerted their POWER in such Miracles as were more useful and beneficial to the World : Curing all manner of Diseases, and dispossessing Devils: In so much that they brought the Sick into the Streets, and laid them upon Beds and Couches, that at least *Peter's* shadow, as he passed by, might come upon them. These astonishing Miracles could not but mightily contribute

to the propagation of the Gospel, and convince the World that the Apostles were more considerable Persons, than they took them for, poverty and meanness being no bar to true worth and greatness. And methinks \* *Iraffimus* his reflection here is not unreasonable; that no honour or sovereignty, no power or dignity was comparable to this glory of the Apostle; that the things of *Christ*, though in another way, were more noble and excellent, than any thing that this World could afford. And therefore he tells us, that when he beheld the state and magnificence wherewith *Pope Julius the Second* appeared first at *Rebonia*, and then at *Rome*, equalling the triumphs of a *Pompey*, or a *Cæsar*; he could not but think how much all this was below the greatness and majesty of *S. Peter*, who converted the World, not by Power or Armies, not by Engines, or artifices of pomp and grandeur, but by Faith in the power of *Christ*, and drew it to the admiration of himself: and the same state (*says he*) would no doubt attend the Apostles Successors, were they Men of the same temper and holiness of life. The Jewish Rulers alarm'd with this News, and awakened with the growing numbers of the Church, sent to apprehend the Apostles, and cast them into Prison. But God who is never wanting to his own cause, sent that Night an Angel from Heaven to open the Prison doors, commanding them to repair to the Temple, and to the exercise of their Ministry. Which they did early in the Morning, and there taught the People. How unsuccessful are the projects of the wisest Statemen, when God frowns upon them! how little do any counsels against Heaven prosper! In vain is it to shut the doors, where God is resolved to open them; the firmest Bars, the strongest Chains cannot hold, where once God has designed and decreed our liberty. The Officers returning the next Morning, found the Prison shut and guarded, but the Prisoners gone: Wherewith they acquainted the Council, who much wondered at it: but being told where the Apostles were, they sent to bring them without any noise or violence before the Sanhedrim: where the High-Priest asked them, how they durst go on to propagate that Doctrine which they had so strictly commanded them not to preach? *Peter* in the name of the rest told them, That they must in this case obey God rather than men: That though they had so barbarously and contumeliously treated the Lord Jesus, yet that God had raised him up, and exalted him to be a Prince and a Saviour to give both repentance and remission of sins: That they were witnesses of these things, and so were those Miraculous Powers which the Holy Ghost conferred upon all true Christians. Vexed was the Council with this Answer, and began to consider how to cut them off. But *Gamaliel*, a grave and learned Senator, having commanded the Apostles to withdraw, bad the Council take heed what they did to them; putting them in mind, that several persons had heretofore raised parties and factions, and drawn vast Numbers after them; but that they had miscarried, and they and their designs come to nought: that therefore they should do well to let these men alone: that if their doctrines and designs were merely humane, they would in time of themselves fall to the ground; but if they were of God, it was not all their power and policies would be able to defeat and overturn them: and that they themselves would herein appear to oppose the counsels and designs of Heaven. With this prudent and rational advice they were satisfied; and having commanded the Apostles to be scourged, and charged them no more to preach this doctrine, restored them to their liberty. Who notwithstanding this charge and threatening returned home in a kind of triumph, that they were accounted worthy to suffer in so good a cause, and to undergo shame and reproach

reproach for the sake of so good a Master. Nor could all the hard usage they met with from men discourage them in their duty to God, or make them less zealous and diligent both publickly and privately to preach *Christ* in every place.

ὁ δὲ ἀγγελὸς ἐπεσφάδην τοὺς ἀποστόλους ὡς ἐρεῖ. ἐν δεινοῖς εἰμι, κίρις, καὶ δυστυχῶ, ὡς εἰς με ἐπιστρέψῃ, ὡς εἰς μοι διδοῖσιν ἔσθην, πάντες ψέψισι, πάντες χαρολογῶσι. τοῦ περὶ μέλει μαρτυρεῖν, καὶ κατακλινεῖν καὶ χλῆσιν ἢν κέκληκεν, ὅτι σε ἐτήμησε τοιαύτην τιμὴν, καὶ ἄξιον ἡγήσαστο περὶ μαρτυρεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. *Attilian, dissert. lib. 1. c. 29. p. 163.*

## S E C T. VIII.

Of *S. Peter's* Acts, from the Dispersion of the Church at *Jerusalem*, till his contest with *S. Paul* at *Antioch*.

*The great care of the Divine Providence over the Church. Peter dispatched by the Apostles to confirm the Church newly planted at Samaria. His baffling and silencing Simon Magus there. His going to Lydda, and curing Aeneas. His raising Dorcas at Joppa. The Vision of all sorts of Creatures presented to him, to prepare him for the conversion of the Gentiles. His going to Cornelius, and declaring God's readiness to receive the Gentiles into the Church. The Baptizing Cornelius and his Family. Peter censured by the Jews for conversing with the Gentiles. The mighty prejudices of the Jews against the Gentiles noted out of Heathen Writers. Peter cast into prison by Herod Agrippa: miraculously delivered by an Angel. His discourse in the Synod at Jerusalem, that the Gentiles might be received without being put under the obligation of the Law of Moses. His unworthy compliance with the Jews at Antioch in opposition to the Gentiles. Severely checked and resisted by S. Paul. The ill use Porphyry makes of this difference. The conceit of some that it was not Peter the Apostle, but one of the Seventy.*

1. **T**HE Church had been hitherto tossed with gentle storms, but now a more violent tempest overtook it, which began in the *Proto-Martyr Stephen*, and was more vigorously carried on afterwards; by occasion whereof the Disciples were dispersed. And God, who always brings good out of evil, hereby provided, that the Gospel should not be confin'd only to *Jerusalem*. Hitherto the Church had been crowded up within the City-walls, and the Religion had crept up and down in private corners; but the professors of it being now dispersed abroad by the malice and cruelty of their enemies, carried Christianity along with them, and propagated it into the neighbour-Countries, accomplishing hereby an ancient prophecy, That out of *Sion* should go forth the Law, and the Word of the Lord from *Jerusalem*. Thus God over-rules the malice of men, and makes intended poison to become food, or physick. That Divine Providence that governs the World, more particularly superintends the affairs and interests of his Church, so that no weapon form'd against *Israel* shall prosper; curses shall be turned into blessings, and that become an eminent means to enlarge and propagate the Gospel, which they designed as the only way to suppress and stifle it. Amongst those

Acts 8. 1.

Isai. 2. 3.

those that were scattered, *Philip* the Deacon was driven down unto *Samaria*; where he preached the Gospel, and confirmed his preaching by many miraculous cures, and dispossessing Devils. In this City there was one *Simon*, who by Magick Arts and Diabolical Sorceries sought to advance himself into a great fame and reputation with the People, insomuch that they generally beheld him as the great power of God, for so the \* Ancients tell us, he used to style himself, giving out himself to be the first and chiefest Deity, the Father, who is God over all, that is, that he was that which in every Nation was accounted the supreme Deity. This man hearing the Sermons, and beholding the Miracles that were done by *Philip*, gave up himself amongst the number of believers, and was baptized with them. The Apostles, who yet remained at *Jerusalem*, having heard of the great success of *Philip's* ministry at *Samaria*, thought good to send some of their number to his assistance. And accordingly deputed *Peter* and *John*, who came thither. Where having prayed for, and laid their hands upon these new converts, they presently received the Holy Ghost. *Simon* the Magician observing, that by laying on of the Apostle's hands, miraculous gifts were conferred upon men, offered them a considerable sum of money to invest him with this power, that on whom he laid his hands they might receive the Holy Ghost. *Peter* perceiving his rotten and insincere intentions, rejected his impious motion with scorn and detestation: *Thy money perish with thee.* He told him that his heart was naught and hypocritical; that he could have no share nor portion in so great a privilege; that it more concerned him to repent of so great a wickedness, and sincerely seek to God, that so the thought of his heart might be forgiven him; for that he perceived that he had a very vicious and corrupt temper and constitution of mind, and was as yet bound up under a very wretched and miserable state, displeasing to God, and dangerous to himself. The Conscience of the man was a little startled with this, and he prayed the Apostles to intercede with Heaven, that God would pardon his sin, and that none of these things might fall upon him. But how little cure this wrought upon him, we shall find elsewhere, when we shall again meet with him afterwards. The Apostles having thus confirmed the Church at *Samaria*, and preached up and down in the Villages thereabouts, returned back to *Jerusalem*, to joyn their counsel and assistance to the rest of the Apostles.

2. THE storm, though violent, being at length blown over, the Church enjoyed a time of great calmness and serenity: during which *Peter* went out to visit the Churches lately planted in those parts by those Disciples who had been dispersed by the persecution at *Jerusalem*. Coming down to *Lydda*, the first thing he did was to work a cure upon one *Aeneas*, who being crippled with the Palsie, had layn bed-ridden for eight years together. *Peter* coming to him, bad him in the name of Christ to arise, and the man was immediately restored to perfect health. A miracle that was not confined only to his person, for being known abroad generally brought over the Inhabitants of that place. The fame of this miracle having flown to *Joppa*, a Sea-port Town, some six miles thence; the Christians there presently sent for *Peter* upon this occasion. *Tabitha*, whose Greek name was *Dorcas*, a woman venerable for her piety and diffusive charity, was newly dead, to the great lamentation of all good men, and much more to the loss of the poor that had been relieved by her. *Peter* coming to the house, found her dressed up for her Funeral solemnity, and compassed about with the sorrowful Widows, who shewed the Coats and Garments wherewith she had clothed them, the badges of her charitable liberality. *Peter* shutting all out, kneeled down and prayed, and then turning him to the body, commanded her to arise, and lifting her

\* *J. Mart.*  
*Apol.* 2. p. 69.  
*Iren.* 1. 1. c. 20.  
p. 115.  
*Tertull.* de praescript. Haeretic.  
c. 15. p. 219.

her up by the hand, presented her in perfect health to her friends, and those that were about her: by which he confirmed many, and converted more to the Faith. After which he staid some considerable time at *Joppa*, lodging in the house of *Simon* a Tanner.

3. WHILE he abode in this City, retiring one morning to the house-top to pray, (as the Jews frequently did, having thence a free and open prospect towards *Jerusalem* and the Temple) it being now near Noon, which was the conclusion of one of their stated times of Prayer, he found himself hungry, and called for meat: but while it was preparing he himself fell into a Trance, wherein was presented to him a large sheet let down from Heaven, containing all sorts of Creatures, clean and unclean; a voice at the same time calling to him, that he should rise, kill freely, and indifferently feed upon them; *Peter* tenacious as yet of the Rites and Institutions of the Mosaic Law, rejoyn'd, That he could not do it, having never eaten any thing that was common or unclean. To which the voice replied, That what God had cleansed he should not account or call common. Which being done thrice, the Vessel was again taken up into Heaven, and the Vision presently disappeared. By this symbolick representment, though *Peter* at present knew not what to make of it, God was teaching him a new lesson, and preparing him to go upon an Errand and Embassy, which the Spirit at the same time expressly commanded him to undertake. While he was in this doubtful posture of mind, three messengers knock'd at the door, enquiring for him, from whom he received this account: That *Cornelius* a Roman, Captain of a Band of Italian Souldiers at *Cæsarea*, a person of great Piety and Religion (being a Proselyte of the Gate, who though not observing an exact conformity to the Rites of the Mosaic Law, did yet maintain some general correspondence with it, and lived under the obligation of the seven Precepts of the Sons of Noah) had by an immediate command from God sent for him. The next day *Peter* accompanied with some of the Brethren, went along with them, and the day after they came to *Cæsarea*. Against whose arrival *Cornelius* had summoned his friends and kindred to his house. *Peter* arriving, *Cornelius* (who was affected with a mighty reverence for so great a Person) fell at his Feet, and worshipped him: a way of address frequent in those Eastern Countries towards Princes and great men, but by the Greeks and Romans appropriated as a peculiar honour to the Gods. *Peter* rejecting the honour, as due only to God, entred into the house, where he first made his Apology to the Company, that though they could not but know, that it was not lawful for a Jew to converse in the duties of Religion with those of another Nation, yet that now God had taught him another lesson. And then proceeded particularly to enquire the reason of *Cornelius's* his sending for him. Whereupon *Cornelius* told him, That four days since, being conversant in the duties of Fasting and Prayer, an Angel had appeared to him, and told him, that his Prayers and Alms were come up for a memorial before God, that he should send to *Joppa* for one *Simon Peter*, who lodged in a Tanner's house by the Sea side, who should further make known his mind to him; that accordingly he had sent, and being now come, they were there met to hear what he had to say to them. Where we see, that though God sent an Angel to *Cornelius* to acquaint him with his will, yet the Angel was only to direct him to the Apostle for instruction in the Faith; which no doubt was done, partly that God might put the greater honour upon an institution, that was likely to meet with contempt and scorn enough from the World; partly to let us see, that we are not to expect extraordinary and miraculous ways of teaching and information, where God affords ordinary means.

4. HERE UPON *Peter* began this discourse, that by comparing things it was now plain and evident, that the *partition-wall* was broken down; that God had no longer a particular kindness for Nations or Persons; that it was not the Nation, but the Religion; not the outward quality of the man, but the inward temper of the mind that recommends men to God; that the devout and the pious, the righteous and the good man, where-ever he be, is equally dear to Heaven; that God has as much respect for a just and a virtuous person in the Wilds of *Seythia*, as upon *Mount Sion*: that the reconciling and making peace between God and Man by *Jesus Christ*, was the Doctrine published by the Prophets of old, and of late, since the times of *John*, preached through *Galilee* and *Judea*, viz. that God had anointed and consecrated *Jesus of Nazareth* with Divine Powers and Graces, in the exercise whereof he constantly went about to do good to men: that they had seen all he had done amongst the *Jews*, whom though they had slain and crucified, yet that God had raised him again the third day, and had openly show'd him to his Apostles and followers, whom he had chosen to be his peculiar witnesses, and whom to that end he had admitted to eat and drink with him after his Resurrection, commanding them to preach the Gospel to Mankind, and to testify that he was the person whom God had ordained to be the great Judge of the World: that all the Prophets with one consent bore witness of him: that this *Jesus* is he, in whose Name whosoever believes, should certainly receive remission of sins. While *Peter* was thus preaching to them, the Holy Ghost fell upon a great part of his Auditory, enabling them to speak several Languages, and therein to magnifie the giver of them. Whereat the *Jews*, who came along with *Peter*, did sufficiently wonder, to see that the gifts of the Holy Ghost should be poured upon the *Gentiles*. *Peter* seeing this, told the Company that he knew no reason why these persons should not be baptized, having received the Holy Ghost as well as they; and accordingly commanded them to be baptized. For whose further confirmation he staid some time longer with them. This act of *Peter's* made a great noise among the Apostles and Brethren at *Jerusalem*, who being lately converted from their Judaism, were as yet zealous for the Religion of their Country, and therefore severely charged *Peter* at his return for his too familiar conversing with the *Gentiles*. See here the powerful prejudice of education. The *Jews* had for several Ages conceived a radicated and inveterate prejudice against the *Gentiles*. Indeed the Law of *Moses* commanded them to be peculiarly kind to their own Nation; and the Rites and Institutions of their Religion, and the peculiar form of their Commonwealth made them different from the fashion of other Countries: a separation which in after-times they drew into a narrower compass. Besides they were mightily puffed up with their external privileges, that they were the seed of *Abraham*, the People whom God had peculiarly chosen for himself, above all other Nations of the World, and therefore with a lofty scorn proudly rejected the *Gentiles* as *Dogs* and *Reprobates*, utterly refusing to shew them any office of common kindness and converse. We find the *Heathens* frequently charging them with this rudeness and inhumanity. \* *Juvenal* accuses them, that they would not shew a Traveller the right way, nor give him a draught of Water, if he were not of their Religion. || *Tacitus* tells us, that they had *adversus omnes alios hostile odium*, a bitter hatred of all other People: \* *Haman* represented them to *Ahasuerus*, as *ἔθνη ἀμίχλον, ἀσύμφυλον, &c.* A people that would never kindly mix and correspond with any other, as different in their Manners, as in their Laws and Religion from other Nations. The friends of *Antiochus* (as the || Historian reports) charged them *μόνος ἀπάντων ἐθνῶν*

ros estis templum Domini, & Spiritus Sanctus habitat in vobis. Et de Hierosolymis, & de Britannia aequaliter patet aula celestis. Regnum enim Dei intra vos est. Hieronymus ad Paulin. p. 102. Tom. I.

Acts 11. 1.

\* Satyr. p. 439.

† Hist. lib. 5. c. 4. 5. p. 535.  
\* Ap. Joseph. Antiqu. Jud. lib. 11. c. 6.  
† Diod. Sicul. lib. 34. apud Phot. Cod. CXLIV. Col. 1149.

ἀκοινωνήτως

ἀκοινωνήτως ἢ τὸ πρὸς ἄλλο ἔθνη. ὁμιλίᾳς, καὶ πολεμίας ὑπολαμβάνειν πάντας, μηδὲν ἄλλω ἔθνεϊ κοινωνεῖν τὸ παρ' ἅπαν, μηδὲ ὀνοεῖν, That they alone of all others were the most unsociable people under Heaven; that they held no converse or correspondence with any other, but accounted them as their mortal enemies; that they would not eat or drink with men of another Nation, no nor so much as wish well to them, their Ancestors having leavened them with an hatred of all mankind. This was their humour; and that the *Gentiles* herein did not wrong them, is sufficiently evident from their ordinary practice, and is openly avowed by their own \* Writings. Nay, at their first coming over to Christianity, though one great design of it was to soften the manners of men, and to oblige them to a more extensive and universal charity, yet could they hardly quit this common prejudice, quarrelling with *Peter* for no other reason, but that he had eaten and drunken with the *Gentiles*: insomuch that he was forced to Apologize for himself, and to justify his actions as immediately done by Divine warrant and authority. And then, no sooner had he given them a naked and impartial account of the whole transaction, from first to last, but they presently turned their displeasure against him, into thanks to God, that he had granted to the *Gentiles* also Repentance unto life.

5. IT was now about the end of *Caligula's* Reign, when *Peter* having finished his visitation of the new planted Churches, was returned unto *Jerusalem*. Not long after *Herod Agrippa*, Grand-child to *Herod the great*, having attained the Kingdom, the better to ingratiate himself with the People, had lately put *S. James* to death. And finding that this gratified the Vulgar, resolved to send *Peter* the same way after him. In order whereunto he apprehended him, cast him into Prison, and set strong guards to watch him: the Church in the mean time being very instant and importunate with Heaven for his life and safety. The Night before his intended execution, God purposely sent an Angel from Heaven, who coming to the Prison, found him fast asleep between two of his Keepers. So soft and secure a Pillow is a good Conscience, even in the confines of Death, and the greatest danger. The Angel raised him up, knock'd off his Chains, bad him gird on his Garments, and follow him. He did so, and having passed the first and second Watch, and entred through the *Iron-Gate* into the City (which opened to them of its own accord) after having passed through one Street more, the Angel departed from him. By this time *Peter* came to himself, and perceived that it was no Vision, but a reality that had hapned to him. Whereupon he came to *Mary's* house, where the Church were met together at Prayer for him. Knocking at the Door, the Maid, who came to let him in, perceiving 'twas his voice, ran back to tell them, that *Peter* was at the Door. Which they at first looked upon as nothing, but the effect of fright or fancy, but she still affirming it, they concluded that it was his Angel, or some peculiar messenger sent from him. The Door being open, they were strangely amazed at the sight of him: but he briefly told them the manner of his deliverance, and charging them to acquaint the Brethren with it, presently withdrew into another place. 'Tis easie to imagine what a bustle and a stir there was the next Morning among the Keepers of the Prison, with whom *Herod* was so much displeased, that he commanded them to be put to Death.

6. SOME time after this it hapned, that a controversy arising between the Jewish and the Gentile Converts, about the observation of the *Mosaick Law*, the minds of men were exceedingly disquieted and disturbed with it; the *Jews* zealously contending for Circumcision and the observance of the Ceremonial Law to be joyn'd with the belief & profession of the Gospel,

\* Vid. Mai. mon. in 1177. cap. 12. & in Gezelab. cap. 11.

Acts 12. 1.

Acts 15. 1.

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as equally necessary to Salvation. To compose this difference, the best expedient that could be thought on, was to call a General Council of the Apostles and Brethren, to meet together at *Jerusalem*, which was done accordingly, and the case thoroughly scanned and canvassed. At last *Peter* stood up, and acquainted the Synod, that God having made choice of him among all the Apostles, to be the first that preached the Gospel to the *Gentiles*; God who was best able to judge of the hearts of men, had born witnesses to them, that they were accepted of him, by giving them his Holy Spirit as well as he had done to the *Jews*; having put no difference between the one and the other. That therefore it was a tempting and a provoking God, to put a Yoke upon the necks of the Disciples, which neither they themselves nor their Fathers were able to bear: there being ground enough to believe, that the *Gentiles* as well as the *Jews* should be saved by the grace of the Gospel. After some other of the Apostles had declared their judgments in the case, it was unanimously decreed, that except the temporary observance of some few particular things, equally convenient both for *Jew* and *Gentile*, no other burden should be imposed upon them. And so the decrees of the Council being drawn up into a *Synodical Epistle*, were sent abroad to the several Churches, for allaying the heats and controversies that had been raised about this matter.

Gal. 2. 11.

7. *PETER* a while after the celebration of this Council, left *Jerusalem*, and came down to *Antioch*, where using the liberty which the Gospel had given him, he familiarly ate and conversed with the *Gentile* Converts, accounting them, now that the partition-wall was broken down, no longer strangers and foreigners, but fellow-Citizens with the Saints, and of the household of God: This he had been taught by the Vision of the sheet let down from Heaven; this had been lately decreed, and he himself had promoted towards *Cornelius* and his Family, and justified the action to the satisfaction of his accusers; and this he had here freely and innocently done at *Antioch*, till some of the *Jewish* Brethren coming thither, for fear of offending and displeasing them, he withdrew his converse with the *Gentiles*, as if it had been unlawful for him to hold Communion with *uncircumcised* persons, when yet he knew, and was fully satisfied, that our Lord had wholly removed all difference, and broken down the Wall of separation between *Jew* and *Gentile*. In which affair, as he himself acted against the light of his own mind and judgment, condemning what he had approved, and destroying what he had before built up, so hereby he confirmed the *Jewish* zealots in their inveterate error, cast infinite scruples into the minds of the *Gentiles*, filling their Consciences with fears and dissatisfactions, reviving the old feuds and prejudices between *Jew* and *Gentile*; by which means many others were ensnared, yea, the whole number of *Jewish* Converts followed his example, separating themselves from the company of the *Gentile* Christians. Yea, so far did it spread, that *Barnabas* himself was carried away with the stream and torrent of this unwarrantable practice. *S. Paul*, who was at this time come to *Antioch*, unto whom *Peter* gave the right hand of fellowship, acknowledging his Apostleship of the Circumcision, observing these evil and unevangelical actings, resolutely withstood *Peter* to the face, and publicly reprov'd him as a person worthy to be blamed for his gross prevarication in this matter; severely expostulating and reasoning with him, that he who was himself a *Jew*, and thereby under a more immediate obligation to the *Mosaic* Law, should cast off that Yoke himself, and yet endeavour to impose it upon the *Gentiles*, who were not in the least under any obligation to it.

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A smart, but an impartial charge; and indeed so remarkable was this carriage of *S. Paul* towards our Apostle, that though it set things right for the present, yet it made some noise abroad in the World. Yea, \* *Porphyry* himself, that acute and subtil enemy of Christianity, makes use of it as an argument against them both: charging the one with error and falshood, and the other with rudeness and incivility; and that the whole was but a compact of forgery and deceit, while the Princes of the Church did thus fall out among themselves. And so sensible were some of this in the first Ages of Christianity, that rather than such a dishonour and disgrace, as they accounted it, should be reflected upon *Peter*; they tell \* us of two several *Cephas*'s, one the Apostle, the other one of the seventy Disciples; and that it was the last of these, that was guilty of this prevarication, and whom *S. Paul* so vigorously resisted and reprov'd at *Antioch*. But for this plausible and well-meant Evasion the Champions of the *Romish* Church conn them no great thanks at this day. Nay, *S. Hieron* long since fully confuted it in his Notes upon this place.

\* Apud Hieron. proœm. in Ep. ad Gal. p. 159. Tom. 9.

\* Hieron. Com. in Gal. 2. p. 168

## SECT. IX.

## Of S. Peter's Acts from the End of the Sacred Story till his Martyrdom.

*Peter's story prosecuted out of Ecclesiastical Writers. His planting of a Church, and an Episcopal See at Antioch; when said to be. His first Journey to Rome, and the happiness it brought to the Roman Empire. His preaching in other places, and return to Rome. His encounter with Simon Magus. The impostures of the Magician. His familiarity with the Emperours, and the great honours said to be done to him. His Statue, and Inscription at Rome. Peter's victory over him by raising one from the Dead. Simon attempting to fly is by Peter's Prayers hindered, falls down, and dies. Nero's displeasure against Peter, whence. His being cast into Prison. His flight thence, and being brought back by Christ appearing to him. Crucified with his head downwards, and why. The place of his Martyrdom, and Burial. The original and greatness of S. Peter's Church in Rome. His Episcopal Chair pretended to be still kept there.*

HITHERTO in drawing up the Life of this great Apostle, we have had an infallible Guide to conduct and lead us: But the sacred Story breaking off here, forces us to look abroad, and to pick up what *Memoires* the Ancients have left us in this matter: which we shall for the main digest according to the order, wherein *Baronius*, and other Ecclesiastick Writers have disposed the series of *S. Peter's* Life: Reserving what is justly questionable, to a more particular examination afterward. And that we may present the account more entire and perfect, we must step back a little in point of time, that so we may go forward with greater advantage. We are to know therefore, that during the time of peace and calmness which the Church enjoyed after *Saul's* Persecution, when *S. Peter* went down to visit

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the Churches, he is said to have gone to *Antioch*, where great Numbers of *Jews* inhabited, and there to have planted the Christian Faith. That he founded a Church here, \* *Eusebius* expressly tells us, and by || others it is said, that he himself was the first Bishop of this *See*. Sure I am that \* *S. Chrysostom* reckons it one of the greatest honours of that City, that *S. Peter* staid so long there, and that the Bishops of it succeeded him in that *See*. The care and precedency of this Church he had between Six and Seven Years. Not that he staid there all that time, but that having ordered and disposed things to the best advantage, he returned to other affairs and exigencies of the Church: confirming the new Plantations, bringing in *Cornelius* and his Family, and in him the first fruits of the *Gentiles* conversion to the faith of *Christ*. After which he returned unto *Jerusalem*, where he was imprisoned by *Herod*, and miraculously delivered by an Angel sent from Heaven.

2. WHAT became of *Peter* after his deliverance out of Prison, is not certainly known: probably he might preach in some parts a little further distant from *Judea*, as we are told \* he did at *Byzantium*, and in the Countries thereabouts (though, I confess, the evidence to me is not convincing.) After this he resolved upon a Journey to *Rome*; where most agree he arrived about the Second Year of the Emperor *Claudius*. || *Orosius* tells us, that coming to *Rome*, he brought prosperity along with him to that City: For besides several other extraordinary advantages which at that time hapned to it, this was not the least observable, that *Camillus Scribonianus* Governor of *Dalmatia*, soliciting the Army to rebell against the Emperor, the *Eagles*, their Military Standard, remained so fast in the Ground, that no power, nor strength was able to pluck them up. With which unusual accident the minds of the Souldiers were surprized and startled, and turning their Swords against the Author of the sedition, continued firm and loyal in their obedience. Whereby a dangerous Rebellion was prevented, likely enough otherwise to have broken out. This he ascribes to Saint *Peter's* coming to *Rome*, and the first Plantation of the *Christian* Faith in that City. Heaven beginning more particularly to smile upon that place at his first coming thither. 'Tis not to be doubted, but that at his first arrival, he disposed himself amongst the *Jews* his Country-men, who ever since the time of *Augustus*, had dwelt in the *Region* beyond *Tybur*. But when afterwards he began to preach to the *Gentiles*, he was forced to change his Lodging, and was taken in by one *Pudens*, a Senator lately converted to the Faith. Here he closely plyed his main office and employment, to establish Christianity in that place. Here we are told \* he met with *Philo* the *Jew*, lately come on his second Embassy unto *Rome*, in the behalf of his Countrymen at *Alexandria*, and to have contracted an intimate friendship and acquaintance with him. And now it was, says || *Baronius*, that *Peter* being mindful of the Churches which he had founded in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and *Asia* the less, wrote his first Epistle to them, which he probably infers hence, that Saint *Mark* being yet with him at the time of the date of this Epistle, it must be written at least some time this Year, for that now it was that *S. Mark* was sent to preach and propagate the Faith in *Egypt*. Next to the planting Religion at *Rome*, he took care to propagate it in the *Western* parts. And to that end (if we may believe one \* of those that pretend to be his Successors) he sent abroad Disciples into several Provinces. That so their sound might go into all the Earth, and their words into the ends of the World.

3. IT hapned that after *S. Peter* had been several Years at *Rome*, *Claudius* the Emperor taking advantage of some seditions and tumults raised by

by the *Jews*, by a publick Edict || banished them out of *Rome*. In the Number of whom *S. Peter* (they say) departed thence, and returned back to *Jerusalem*, where he was present at that great Apostolical Synod, of which before. After this we are left under great uncertainties, how he disposed of himself for many Years. Confident we may be, that he was not idle, but spent his time sometimes in preaching in the Eastern parts, sometimes in other parts of the World, as in \* *Africk*, *Sicily*, *Italy*, and other places. And here it may not be amiss to insert a claim in behalf of our own Country: *Eusebius* telling us (as || *Metaphrastes* reports it) that *Peter* was not only in these *Western* parts, but particularly that he was a long time in *Britain*, where he converted many Nations to the Faith. But we had better be without the honour of Saint *Peter's* company, than build the story upon so sandy a foundation: *Metaphrastes* his Authority being of so little value in this case, that it is slighted by the more learned and moderate Writers of the Church of *Rome*. But where-ever it was, that Saint *Peter* employed his time, towards the latter part of *Nero's* Reign, he returned to *Rome*: where he found the minds of People strangely bewitched and hardened against the embracing of the *Christian* Religion by the subtilties and Magick arts of *Simon Magus*, whom (as we have before related) he had formerly baffled at *Samaria*. This *Simon* was born at \* *Gitton*, a Village of *Samaria*, bred up in the Arts of Sorcery and Divination, and by the help of the Diabolical powers performed many strange feats of wonder and activity. Inasmuch that People generally looked upon him as some great Deity come down from Heaven. But being discovered and confounded by *Peter* at *Samaria*, he left the *East* and fled to *Rome*. Where by Witchcraft and Sorceries he insinuated himself into the favour of the People, and at last became very acceptable to the Emperours themselves, inasmuch that no honour and veneration was too great for him. || *Justin Martyr* assures us, that he was honoured as a Deity, that a Statue was erected to him in the *Insula Tyberina* between two Bridges with this Inscription, SIMONI DEO SANCTO: To *Simon* the holy God: that the *Samaritans* generally, and very many of other Nations did own and worship him as the chief principal Deity. I know the credit of this Inscription is shrewdly shaken by some later Antiquaries, who tell us, that the good Father being a *Greek* might easily mistake in a *Latin* Inscription, or be imposed upon by others; and that the true Inscription was SEMONI SANGO DEO FIDIO, &c. such an Inscription being in the last Age dug up in the *Tyberine* Island, and there preserved to this day. It is not impossible but this might be the foundation of the story. But sure I am, that it is not only reported by the *Martyr*, who was himself a *Samaritan*, and lived but in the next Age, but by others almost of the same time (a) *Irenaeus*, (b) *Tertullian*, and by others (c) after them. It further deserves to be considered, that *J. Martyr* was a person of great learning and gravity, inquisitive about matters of this nature, at this time at *Rome*, where he was capable fully to satisfy himself in the truth of things, that he presented this Apology to the Emperor and the Senate of *Rome*, to whom he would be careful what he said, and who as they knew whether it was true or no, so if false, could not but ill resent to be so boldly imposed upon by so notorious a fable. But be it as it will, he was highly in favour both with the People, and their Emperours; especially *Nero*, who was the Great Patron of Magicians, \* and all who maintained secret ways of commerce with the infernal powers. With him || *S. Peter* thought fit in the first place to encounter, and to undeceive the People, by discovering the impostures and delusions of that wretched man.

\* Damasc. in  
vit. Petr. Conc.  
Tom. 1. Const.  
App. lib. 6. c. 8.  
9. p. 944. Ar-  
nob. adv. Gent.  
lib. 2. p. 23.  
Epiph. Hæres.  
21. p. 31. Sulp.  
Sev. lib. 2. pag.  
137. & alii.  
¶ Hæges. de Ex-  
cid. Hierosol. lib.  
3. c. 2. p. 293.

4. THAT he did so, is generally affirmed by the Ancient Fathers, \* who tell us of some particular Instances, wherein he baffled and confounded him. But because the matter is more intirely drawn up by ¶ *Hegeſippus* the younger, an Author contemporary with S. *Ambrose*, if not (which is most probable) S. *Ambrose* himself, we shall from him represent the summary of the story. There was at this time at *Rome* an eminent young Gentleman, and a Kinsman of the Emperors, lately dead. The same which *Peter* had for raising persons to life, persuaded his friends that he might be called. Others also prevailing that *Simon* the Magician might be sent for. *Simon* glad of the occasion to magnifie himself before the People, propounded to *Peter*, that if he raised the Gentleman unto life, then *Peter*, who had so injuriously provoked the great power of God, (as he styled himself) should lose his life: But if *Peter* prevailed, he himself would submit to the same fate and sentence. *Peter* accepted the termes, and *Simon* began his Charmes and Inchantments: Whereat the dead Gentleman seemed to move his hand. The People that stood by, presently cried out, that he was alive, and that he talked with *Simon*, and began to fall foul upon *Peter*, for daring to oppose himself against so great a power. The Apostle entreated their patience, told them, that all this was but a phantasm and appearance, that if *Simon* was but taken from the Bed-side, all this pageantry would quickly vanish. Who being accordingly removed, the Body remained without the least sign of motion. *Peter* standing at a good distance from the Bed, silently made his address to Heaven, and then before them all commanded the young Gentleman in the Name of the Lord *Jesus* to arise: who immediately did so, spoke, walked, and ate, and was by *Peter* restored to his Mother. The People who saw this, suddenly changed their opinions, and fell upon the Magician with an intent to stone him. But *Peter* begged his life, and told them, that it would be a sufficient punishment to him, to live and see that in despite of all his power and malice, the Kingdom of *Christ* should increase and flourish. The Magician was inwardly tormented with this defeat, and vexed to see the triumph of the Apostle, and therefore mustering up all his powers, summoned the People, told them that he was offended at the *Galileans*, whose Protector and Guardian he had been, and therefore set them a Day, when he promised that they should see him fly up into Heaven. At the time appointed he went up to the Mount of the *Capitol*, and throwing himself from the top of the Rock, began his flight. A sight which the People entertained with great wonder and veneration, affirming that this must be the power of God, and not of man. *Peter* standing in the Croud, prayed to our Lord, that the People might be undeceived, and that the vanity of the Impostor might be discovered in such a way, that he himself might be sensible of it. Immediately the Wings which he had made himself, began to fail him, and he fell to the ground, miserably bruised and wounded with the fall: Whence being carried into a neighbouring Village, he soon after dyed. This is the story, for the particular circumstances whereof, the Reader must rely upon the credit of my Author, the thing in general being sufficiently acknowledged by most ancient Writers. This contest of *Peter's* with *Simon Magus* is placed by *Eusebius* under the Reign of *Claudius*, but by the generality both of ancient and later Authors, it is referred to the Reign of *Nero*.

5. SUCH was the end of this miserable and unhappy Man. Which no sooner came to the ears of the Emperor, to whom by wicked artifices he had endeared himself, but it became an occasion of hastning *Peter's* ruine. The Emperor probably had before been displeased with *Peter*, not only upon the account

account of the general disagreement and inconformity of his Religion, but because he had so strictly pressed temperance and chastity, and reclaimed so many Women in *Rome* from a dissolute and vicious life, thereby crossing that wanton and lascivious temper, to which that Prince was so immoderate a slave and vassal. And being now by his means robbed of his dear favourite and companion, he resolved upon revenge, commanded *Peter* (as also S. *Paul*, who was at this time at *Rome*) to be apprehended, and cast into the *Mamertine Prison*: \* where they spent their time in the exercises of Religion, and especially in Preaching to the Prisoners, and those who resorted to them. And here we may suppose it was (if not a little before) that *Peter* wrote his second Epistle to the dispersed Jews, wherein he endeavours to confirm them in the belief and practice of Christianity, and to fortifie them against those poisonous and pernicious principles and practices, which even then began to break in upon the Christian Church.

6. *NERO* returning from *Achaia*, and entering *Rome* with a great deal of pomp and triumph, resolved now the Apostles should fall as a Victim and Sacrifice to his cruelty and revenge. While the fatal stroke was daily expected, the Christians in *Rome* did by daily prayers and importunities sollicit ¶ S. *Peter* to make an escape, and to reserve himself to the uses and services of the Church. This at first he rejected, as what would ill reflect upon his courage and constancy, and argue him to be afraid of those sufferings for *Christ*, to which he himself had so often persuaded others. but the prayers and the tears of the People overcame him, and made him yield. Accordingly the next Night having prayed with, and taken his farewell of the Brethren, he got over the Prison-wall, and coming to the City-gate, he is there said to have met with our Lord, who was just entering into the City. *Peter* asked him, Lord, whither art thou going? from whom he presently received this answer, I am come to *Rome*, to be crucified a second time. By which answer, *Peter* apprehended himself to be reproved, and that our Lord meant it of his death, that he was to be crucified in his Servant. Whereupon he went back to the Prison, and delivered himself into the hands of his Keepers, shewing himself most ready and chearful to acquiesce in the will of God. And we are told, \* that in the stone whereon our Lord stood while he talked with *Peter*, he left the impression of his Feet, which stone has been ever since preserved as a very sacred Relique, and after several translations was at length fixed in the Church of S. *Sebastian* the Martyr, where it is kept and visited with great expressions of reverence and devotion at this day. Before his suffering he was no question scourged, according to the manner of the *Romans*, who were wont first to whip those Malefactors, who were adjudged to the most severe and capital punishments: Having saluted his Brethren, and especially having taken his last farewell of S. *Paul*, he was brought out of the Prison, and led to the top of the *Vatican Mount*, near to *Tybur*, the place designed for his Execution. The death he was adjudged to was crucifixion, as of all others accounted the most shameful, so the most severe and terrible. But he intreated the favour of the Officers, that he might not be crucified in the ordinary way, ¶ but might suffer with his Head downwards, and his Feet up to Heaven, affirming that he was unworthy to suffer in the same posture wherein his Lord had suffered before him. Happy man (as \* *Chrysostom* glosses) to be set in the readiest posture of travelling from Earth to Heaven. His Body

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\* Vid. Ambr.  
Orat. in Aux.  
ent. Ep. lib. 5.  
p. 125. Tom. 3.

\* Vid. Martyr.  
Rom. ad diem  
14. Mart.  
p. 165.

\* Vid. Ambr.  
ut supr. & He-  
ges. lib. p. 279.

\* Rom. Subter-  
ran. lib. 3. c. 21.  
N. 15. Tom. 1.  
p. 292.

¶ Orig. lib. 3. in Genes. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles.  
lib. 3. c. 1. p. 71. Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in 1 cur.  
p. 262. Hæges. p. 279.  
Prima Petrum rapuit sententia legibus Neronis,  
Pendere iussum praeminente ligno.  
Ille tamen veritus celum decus amulando mortis  
Ambire tanti gloriam Magistri:  
Exigit ut pedibus: crum c. put imprimant supinis,  
Quo spectet innum stipitem cerebro  
Figurat ergo manus subter, sola versus in cacumen,  
Hoc mente major, quo minor figura.  
Noverat ex humili caelum civium solere adiri,  
Dejecit ora, spiritum daturus.  
Prudent. Peristeph. Hymn. XI. in Pass. Pet. & Paul.  
\* Serm. in Petr. & Paul. p. 267. T. 6.

Id. Onuphr.  
de VII. Urb.  
Basil. c. 4. p. 45.  
Ec.

Loc. supr. lau-  
dat.

\* Ad Ann. 45.  
n. 11.

being taken from the Cross, is said to have been imbalmed by *Marcellinus* the *Presbyter* after the *Jewish* manner, and was then buried in the *Vatican*, near the *Triumphal* way. Over his Grave a small Church was soon after erected, which being destroyed by *Heliogabalus*, his Body was removed to the Cemetery in the *Appian way*, two Miles from *Rome*: where it remained till the time of Pope *Cornelius*, who re-conveyed it to the *Vatican*, where it rested somewhat obscurely until the Reign of *Constantine*, who out of the mighty reverence which he had for the Christian Religion, caused many Churches to be built at *Rome*, but especially rebuilt and enlarged the *Vatican* to the honour of *S. Peter*. In the doing whereof Himself is said to have been the first that began to dig the Foundation, and to have carried thence twelve Baskets of Rubbish with his own hands, in honour, as it should seem, of the twelve Apostles. He infinitely enriched the Church with Gifts and Ornaments, which in every Age encreased in Splendor and Riches, till it is become one of the wonders of the World at this day. Of whose glories, stateliness, and beauty, and those many venerable Monuments of antiquity that are in it, they who desire to know more, may be plentifully satisfied by *Onuphris*. Only one amongst the rest must not be forgotten: there being kept that very wooden Chair, wherein *S. Peter* sat when he was at *Rome*, by the only touching whereof many Miracles are said to be performed. But surely \* *Baronius* his wisdom and gravity were from home, when speaking of this Chair, and fearing that Hereticks would imagine, that it might be rotten in so long a time, he tells us, that it's no wonder that this Chair should be preserved so long, when *Eusebius* affirms, that the wooden Chair of *S. James* Bishop of *Jerusalem* was extant in the time of *Constantine*. But the Cardinal it seems forgot to consider, that there is some difference between three, and sixteen hundred Years. But of this enough. *S. Peter* was crucified according to the common computation in the Year of *Christ*, sixty nine, and the thirteenth (or as *Eusebius*, the fourteenth) of *Nero*, how truly may be enquired afterwards.

## SECT.

## S E C T. X.

### The Character of his Person and Temper: and an Account of his Writings.

*The description of S. Peter's person. An account of his Temper. A natural fervor and eagerness predominant in him. Fierceness and animosity peculiarly remarkable in the Galileans. The abatements of his zeal and courage. His humility and lowliness of mind. His great love to, and zeal for Christ. His constancy and resolution in confessing Christ. His faithfulness and diligence in his Office. His Writings genuine and supposititious. His first Epistle; what the design of it. What meant by Babylon, whence it was dated. His second Epistle a long time questioned, and why. Difference in the style, no considerable objection. Grotius his conceit of its being written by Symeon Bishop of Jerusalem, exploded. A concurrence of circumstances to entitle S. Peter to it. Some things in it referred to, which he had preached at Rome, particularly the destruction of Jerusalem. Written but a little before his death. The spurious Writings attributed to him, mentioned by the Ancients. His Acts. Gospel. Petri Prædicatio. His Apocalypse. Judicium Petri. Peter's married relation. His Wife the companion of his Travels. Her Martyrdom. His Daughter Petronilla.*

1. **H**AVING run through the current History of *S. Peter's* Life, it may not be amiss in the next place to survey a little his Person and Temper. His Body (if we may believe the description given of him by \* *Nicephorus*) was somewhat slender, of a middle size, but rather inclining to tallness, his complexion very pale, and almost white: The hair of his Head and Beard curl'd and thick, but withall short; though *S. Hierom* tells us out of *Clemens* his *Periods*, that he was Bald, which probably might be in his declining age; his Eyes black, but speck't with red, which \* *Baronius* will have to proceed from his frequent weeping; his Eye-brows thin, or none at all; his Nose long, but rather broad and flat than sharp; such was the Case and out-side. Let us next look inwards, and view the Jewel that was within. Take him as a *Man*, and there seems to have been a natural eagerness predominant in his Temper, which as a Whetstone sharpened his Soul for all bold and generous undertakings. It was this in a great measure that made him so forward to speak, and to return answers, sometimes before he had well considered them. It was this made him expose his person to the most eminent dangers, promise those great things in behalf of his Master, and resolutely draw his Sword in his quarrel against a whole Band of Souldiers, and wound the High-Priests Servant; and possibly he had attempted greater matters, had not our Lord restrained, and taken him off by that seasonable check that he gave him.

2. **T**HIS Temper he owed in a great measure to the *Genius* and nature of his Country, of which \* *Josephus* gives this true character, That it naturally bred in men a certain fierceness and animosity, whereby they were fearful and revengeful. *Καὶ περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων περὶ πάντων ἡρώδης καὶ κικῶν καὶ φέρων.* *Chrysost. Hom. 32. in Joan. p. 170.*

*Κυκλὰ μὲν οὖν ὡς πᾶσιν ἀεὶ πλεῖον πείραν ἀντήρων. μάχαι τε γὰρ ἐν νηπίων, καὶ πολλοὶ πάντοτε Γαλιλαοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι οὗτοι τὸν ἀνδρα, ὅτε λειπανδρήναι ἴδωσιν καὶ ἔχουσιν.* *de Bello Jud. lib. 3. c. 4. p. 833.*

lessly carried out upon any action, and in all things shew'd a great strength and courage both of mind and body. The *Galileans* (says he) being fighters from their childhood, the men being as seldom overtaken with cowardize, as their Country with want of men. And yet notwithstanding this, his fervor and fierceness had its intervals; there being some times when the *Paroxysms* of his heat and courage did intermit, and the man was surpris'd and betrayed by his own fears. Witness his passionate crying out, when he was upon the Sea in danger of his life, and his fearful deserting his Master in the Garden, but especially his carriage in the High-Priests Hall, when the confident charge of a forry Maid made him sink so far beneath himself, and notwithstanding his great and resolute promises so shamefully deny his Master, and that with curses and imprecations. But he was in danger, and passion prevailed over his understanding, and fear betrayed the succours which reason offered, and being intent upon nothing but the present safety of his life, he heeded not what he did, when he disown'd his Master, to save himself; so dangerous is it to be left to our selves, and to have our natural passions let loose upon us.

3. CONSIDER him as a *Disciple* and a Christian, and we shall find him exemplary in the great instances of Religion. Singular his *Humility*, and lowliness of mind. With what a passionate earnestness upon the conviction of a Miracle, did he beg of our Saviour to depart from him: accounting himself not worthy, that the Son of God should come near so vile a sinner. When our Lord by that wonderful condescension stooped to wash his Apostles feet, he could by no means be perswaded to admit it, not thinking it fit, that so great a person should submit himself to so servile an office towards so mean a person as himself; nor could he be induced to accept it, till our Lord was in a manner forced to threaten him into obedience. When *Cornelius* heightened in his apprehensions of him by an immediate command from God concerning him, would have entertained him with expressions of more than ordinary honour and veneration; so far was he from complying with it, that he plainly told him, he was no other than such a man as himself. With how much candor and modesty does he treat the inferiour Rulers and Ministers of the Church. He, upon whom Antiquity heaps so many honourable titles, styling himself no other than their fellow-*Presbyter*. Admirable his love to, and zeal for his Master, which he thought he could never express at too high a rate: for his sake venturing on the greatest dangers, and exposing himself to the most imminent hazards of life. 'Twas in his quarrel that he drew his Sword against a Band of Souldiers, and an armed multitude; and 'twas love to his Master drew him into that imprudent advice, that he should seek to save himself, and avoid those sufferings that were coming upon him, that made him promise and engage so deep, to suffer and die with him. Great was his forwardness in owning Christ to be the *Messiah* and Son of God; which drew from our Lord that honourable *Encomium*, *Blessed art thou Simon Bar Jonah*. But greater his courage and constancy in confessing Christ before his most inveterate enemies, especially after he had recovered himself of his fall. With how much plainness did he tell the *Jews* at every turn to their very faces, that they were the Murderers and Crucifiers of the Lord of Glory. Nay, with what an undaunted courage, with what an Heroick greatness of mind did he tell that very *Sanhedrim*, that had sentenced and condemned him, that they were guilty of his murder, and that they could never be saved any other way, than by this very *Jesus*, whom they had crucified and put to death.

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4. LASTLY, let us reflect upon him as an *Apostle*, as a Pastor and Guide of Souls. And so we find him faithful and diligent in his office, with an infinite zeal endeavouring to instruct the ignorant, reduce the erroneous, to strengthen the weak, and confirm the strong, to reclaim the vicious, and turn souls to righteousness. We find him taking all opportunities of preaching to the people, converting many thousands at once. How many voyages and travels did he undergo? with how unconquerable a patience did he endure all conflicts and trials, and surmount all difficulties and oppositions, that he might plant and propagate the Christian Faith? Not thinking much to lay down his own life, to promote and further it. Nor did he only do his duty himself, but as one of the prime Superintendents of the Church, and as one that was sensible of the value and the worth of Souls, he was careful to put others in mind of theirs, earnestly pressing and perswading the Pastors and Governours of it, *To feed the flock of God, To take upon them the Rule and Inspection of it freely and willingly*, not out of a sinister end, merely of gaining advantages to themselves, but out of a sincere design of doing good to Souls; that they would treat them mildly and gently, and be themselves examples of Piety and Religion to them, as the best way to make their Ministry successful and effectual. And because he could not be always present to teach and warn men, he ceased not by Letters to stir up their minds to the remembrance and practice of what they had been taught. A course, he tells them, which he was resolved to hold as long as he lived, as thinking it meet while he was in this Tabernacle, to stir them up, by putting them in mind of these things, that so they might be able after his decease, to have them always in remembrance. And this may lead us to the consideration of those Writings, which he left behind him for the benefit of the Church.

5. NOW the Writings that entitle themselves to this Apostle, were either genuine, or supposititious. The genuine Writings are his two *Epistles*, which make up part of the Sacred Canon. For the first of them, no certain account can be had when it was written. Though *Baronius* and most Writers commonly assign it to the year of Christ Forty Four. But this cannot be, *Peter* not being at *Rome* (from whence it is supposed to have been written) at that time, as we shall see anon. He wrote it to the *Jewish* Converts, dispersed through *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and the Countries thereabouts, chiefly upon the occasion of that persecution, which had been raised at *Jerusalem*. And accordingly the main design of it, is to confirm and comfort them under their present sufferings and persecutions, and to direct and instruct them how to carry themselves in the several states and relations, both of the Civil, and the Christian life. For the place whence it was written, 'tis expressly dated from *Babylon*. But what, or where this *Babylon* is, is not so easie to determine. Some think it was *Babylon* in *Egypt*, and probably *Alexandria*; and that there *Peter* preached the Gospel. Others will have it to have been *Babylon* the Ancient Metropolis of *Assyria*, and where great numbers of *Jews* dwelt ever since the times of their Captivities. But we need not send *Peter* on so long an Errand, if we embrace the Notion of a Learned \* man, who by *Babylon* will figuratively understand *Jerusalem*, no longer now the holy City, but a kind of spiritual *Babylon*, in which the Church of God did at this time groan under great servitude and captivity. And this Notion of the Word he endeavours to make good, by calling in to his assistance two of the Ancient \* Fathers, who so understand that of the Prophet, *We have healed Babylon, but she was not healed*. Where the Prophet (say they) by *Babylon* means *Jerusalem*, as differing nothing from the wickedness of the Nations, nor conforming it self to the Law of God.

Chap. 18. v. 2,  
10, 21.

God. But generally the Writers of the *Romish* Church, and the more moderate of the *Reformed* party, acquiescing herein in the Judgment of Antiquity, by *Babylon* understand *Rome*. And so 'tis plain S. John calls it in his *Revelation*, either from its conformity in power and greatness to that ancient City, or from that great *Idolatry* which at this time reign'd in *Rome*. And so we may suppose S. Peter to have written it from *Rome*, not long after his coming thither, though the precise time be not exactly known.

\* H. Eccl. l. 3.  
c. 3. p. 72. Orig.  
apud Niceph.  
lib. 5. c. 16.  
p. 365.  
¶ Vid. Edw. Po-  
cock, Praefat. ad  
Epist. Syr. à se  
edit.  
\* Hier. de script.  
Eccl. in Petr.  
¶ Quæst. 11. ad  
Hedib. Tom. 3.  
p. 151.

6. AS for the *Second Epistle*, it was not accounted of old of equal value and authority with the First, and therefore for some Ages not taken into the Sacred Canon, as is expressly affirmed by \* *Eusebius*, and many of the Ancients before him. The Ancient *Syriack* Church did not receive it, and accordingly it is not to be found in their ancient || Copies of the *New Testament*. Yea, those of that Church at this day do not own it as Canonical, but only read it privately, as we do the *Apocryphal* Books. The greatest \* exception that I can find against it, was the difference of its *style* from the other Epistle; and therefore it was presumed, that they were not both written by the same hand. But S. *Hierom*, who tells us the objection, does || elsewhere himself return the answer, That the difference in the style and manner of writing might very well arise from hence, that S. *Peter* according to his different circumstances, and the necessity of affairs, was forced to use several *Amanuenses* and Interpreters; sometimes S. *Mark*, and after his departure some other person, which might justly occasion a difference in the style and character of these *Epistles*. Not to say, that the same person may vastly alter and vary his style according to the times when, or the persons to whom, or the subjects about which he writes, or the temper and disposition he is in at the time of writing, or the care that is used in doing it. Who sees not the vast difference of *Jeremie's* writing in his *Prophecy*, and in his *Book of Lamentations*? between S. *John's* in his *Gospel*, his *Epistles*, and *Apocalypse*? How oft does S. *Paul* alter his style in several of his *Epistles*, in some more lofty and elegant, in others more rough and harsh? Besides hundreds of instances that might be given both in Ecclesiastical and Foreign Writers, too obvious to need insisting on in this place. The learned \* *Grotius* will have this Epistle to have been written by *Symeon*, S. *James* his immediate Successor in the Bishoprick of *Jerusalem*, and that the word [ *Peter* ] was inserted into the Title by another hand. But as a Judicious \* person of our own observes, these were but his Posthume Annotations, published by others, and no doubt never intended as the deliberate result of that great man's Judgment: especially since he himself tacitly acknowledges, that all Copies extant at this day read the Title and Inscription, as it is in our Books. And indeed there is a concurrence of circumstances to prove S. *Peter* to be the Author of it. It bears his name in the Front and Title, yea, somewhat more expressly than the former, which has only *one*, this, *both* his Names. There's a passage in it, that cannot well relate to any but him. When he tells us, that he was present with *Christ* in the *holy Mount*, *When he received from God the Father honour, and glory; Where he heard the voice which came from Heaven, from the excellent glory, This is my Beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* This evidently refers to *Christ's Transfiguration*, where none were present, but *Peter*, and the two Sons of *Zebedee*, neither of which were ever thought of to be the Author of this Epistle. Besides, that there is an admirable consent and agreement in many passages between these two Epistles, as it were easie to show in particular instances. Add to this, that S. *Jude* speaking of the *Scoffers who should come in the last time, walking after their own ungodly lusts*, cites this as that which had been before spoken by the Apostles of our Lord

\* Annot. in  
2 Pet. 1.

\* Dr. Ham. in  
Argum. Epist.

2 Pet. 1. 16,  
17, 18.

Jud. v. 17, 18.

Jesus

*Jesus Christ*: wherein he plainly quotes the words of this Second Epistle of *Peter*, affirming, *That there should come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts.* And that this does agree to *Peter*, will further appear by this, that he tells us of these *Scoffers*, that should come in the *last days*, that is, before the destruction of *Jerusalem* (as that phrase is often used in the New Testament) that they should say, *Where is the promise of his coming?* Which clearly respects their making light of those threatnings of our Lord, whereby he had foretold, that he would shortly come in Judgment for the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the *Jewish* Nation. This he now puts them in mind of, as what probably he had before told them of *Vivà voce*, when he was amongst them. For so we find he did elsewhere. *Lactantius* || assuring us, That amongst many strange and wonderful things which *Peter* and *Paul* preached at *Rome*, and left upon Record, this was one, That || within a short time God would send a *Prince*, who should destroy the *Jews*, || and lay their Cities level with the ground, straitly besiege them, destroy || them with Famine, so that they should feed upon one another: That their || Wives and Daughters should be ravished, and their Childrens brains dash || out before their faces; that all things should be laid waste by Fire and || Sword, and themselves perpetually banished from their own Country; || and this for their insolent and merciless usage of the innocent and dear Son || of God. All which, as he observes, came to pass soon after their death, when *Vespasian* came upon the *Jews*, and extinguished both their *Name* and *Nation*. And what *Peter* here foretold at *Rome*, we need not question but he had done before to those *Jews*, to whom he wrote this Epistle. Wherein he especially antidotes them against those corrupt and poisonous principles, wherewith many, and especially the followers of *Simon Magus* began to infect the Church of *Christ*. And this but a little time before his death, as appears from that passage in it, where he tells them, *That he knew he must shortly put off his earthly Tabernacle.*

7. BESIDES these Divine Epistles, there were other *supposititious* writings which in the first Ages were fathered upon S. *Peter*. Such was the Book called his *Acts*, mentioned by \* *Origen*, || *Eusebius*, and others, but rejected by them. Such was his *Gospel*, which probably at first was nothing else but the Gospel written by S. *Mark*, dictated to him (as is generally thought) by S. *Peter*; and therefore as \* S. *Hierom* tells us, said to be his. Though in the next Age there appeared a Book under that Title, mentioned by || *Serapion* Bishop of *Antioch*, and by him at first suffered to be read in the Church, but afterwards upon a more careful perusal of it, he rejected it as *Apocryphal*, as it was by others after him. Another was the Book stiled, *His Preaching*, mentioned and quoted both by \* *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and by || *Origen*, but not acknowledged by them to be Genuine: Nay, expressly said to have been forged by *Hereticks*, by an ancient (a) Author contemporary with S. *Cyprian*. The next was his *Apocalypse*, or *Revelation*, rejected, as (b) *Sozomen* tells us, by the Ancients as Spurious, but yet read in some Churches in *Palestine* in his time. The last was the Book called, *His Judgment*, which probably was the same with that called \* *Heremes*, or *Pastor*, a Book of good use and esteem in the first times of Christianity, and which, as || *Eusebius* tells us, was not only frequently cited by the Ancients, but also publicly read in Churches.

8. WE shall conclude this Section by considering *Peter* with respect to his several Relations: That he was married, is unquestionable, the Sacred History mentioning his *Wifes Mother*: his Wife (might we believe

2 1ct. 3. 2 3.

Lib. 4 c. 21.  
p. 422.

Chap. 1. v. 14.

\* Orig. Tom. 20.  
in Jo. an.

¶ Euseb. lib. 3.  
c. 3. p. 72.

\* In Petro, ut  
supr.

¶ Apud Euseb.  
lib. 6. c. 12.

p. 213.

\* Strom. lib. 6.  
p. 635. & in  
Excerpt. Græc.

ex Hypoty.

p. 809.

¶ Orig. Tom. 13.  
in Jo. an.

(a) De Harer.  
non rebapt.

apud Cyp.

p. 142.

(b) H. Eccl. lib.  
7. c. 19. p. 735.

\* Vid. Rufin.  
Exposit. Sym.

bol. inter Oper.  
Hier. Tom. 4.  
p. 113.

¶ H. Eccl. lib. 3.  
c. 3 p. 72.

\* Comment. de  
S. Pet. apud  
Sur. ad diem  
29. Jun. n. 2.  
† Ep. ad Julian.  
Tom. I p. 207.

1 Cor. 9. 5.  
Vid. Clem. Re-  
cognit. lib. 7.  
fol. 76. p. 2.  
\* Strom. lib. 7.  
p. 736.

\* Bar. ad An.  
60. n. 32.  
1. Ubi supr.  
\* Strom. lib. 3.  
p. 448.

lieve \* *Metaphrastes* being the Daughter of *Aristobulus*, Brother to *Barnabas* the Apostle. And though || *S. Hierom* would persuade us, that he left her behind him, together with his Nets, when he forsook all to follow *Christ*; yet we know that Father too well, to be over-confident upon his word in a case of Marriage or Single life, wherein he is not over-scrupulous sometimes to strain a point, to make his opinion more fair and plausible. The best is, we have an infallible Authority which plainly intimates the contrary, the testimony of *S. Paul*, who tells us of *Cephas*, that he led about a Wife, a Sister, along with him, who for the most part mutually cohabited and lived together, for ought that can be proved to the contrary. \* *Clemens Alexandrinus* gives us this account, though he tells us not the time or place, That *Peter* seeing his Wife going towards Martyrdom, exceedingly rejoiced that she was called to so great an honour, and that she was now returning home, encouraging and earnestly exhorting her, and calling her by her Name, *bid her to be mindful of our Lord*. Such (*says he*) was the Wedlock of that blessed couple, and the perfect disposition and agreement in those things that were dearest to them. By her he is said to have had a \* Daughter, called *Petronilla* ( || *Metaphrastes* adds a Son ) how truly I know not. This only is certain, that \* *Clemens* of *Alexandria* reckons *Peter* for one of the Apostles that was Married and had Children. And surely he who was so good a man, and so good an Apostle, was as good in the relation both of an Husband and a Father.

## SECT. XI.

### An Enquiry into S. Peter's going to Rome.

*Peter's being at Rome granted in general. The account of it given by Baronius and the Writers of that Church rejected, and disproved. No foundation for it in the History of the Apostolick Acts. No mention of it in S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. No news of his being there, at S. Paul's coming to Rome, nor intimation of any such thing in the several Epistles which S. Paul wrote from thence. S. Peter's first being at Rome inconsistent with the time of the Apostolical Synod at Jerusalem. And with an Ancient Tradition, that the Apostles were commanded to stay Twelve years in Judæa after Christ's death. A passage out of Clemens Alexandrinus noted and corrected to that purpose. Difference among the Writers of the Romish Church in their Accounts. Peter's being XXV years Bishop of Rome, no solid foundation for it in Antiquity. The planting and governing that Church equally attributed to Peter and Paul. S. Peter when (probably) came to Rome. Different dates of his Martyrdom assigned by the Ancients. A probable account given of it.*

1. **T**HOUGH it be not my purpose to swim against the Stream and Current of Antiquity, in denying *S. Peter* to have been at *Rome*, an Assertion easilier perplexed and entangled, than confuted and disproved; yet may we grant the main, without doing any great service to that Church, there being evidence enough to every impartial and considering man, to spoil that smooth and plausible Scheme of Times, which *Baronius* and the Writers

Writers of that Church have drawn with so much care and diligence. And in order to this we shall first enquire, whether that Account which *Bellarmino* and *Baronius* give us of *Peter's* being at *Rome* be tolerably reconcileable with the History of the *Apostles Acts* recorded by *S. Luke*, which will be best done by briefly presenting *S. Peter's* Acts in their just Series and order of Time, and then seeing what countenance and foundation their Account can receive from hence.

2. **AFTER** our Lord's Ascension, we find *Peter*, for the first year at least, staying with the rest of the Apostles at *Jerusalem*. In the next year he was sent, together with *S. John*, by the command of the Apostles, to *Samaria*, to preach the Gospel to that City, and the parts about it. About three years after *S. Paul* meets him at *Jerusalem*, with whom he staid some time. In the two following years he visited the late planted Churches, preached at *Lydda* and *Joppa*, where having tarried many days, he thence removed to *Cæsarea*, where he preached to, and baptized *Cornelius* and his Family. Whence after some time he returned to *Jerusalem*, where he probably staid; till cast into prison by *Herod*, and delivered by the Angel. After which we hear no more of him, till three or four years after we find him in the Council at *Jerusalem*. After which he had the contest with *S. Paul* at *Antioch*. And thence forward the Sacred Story is altogether silent in this matter. So that in all this time, we find not the least footstep of any intimation that he went to *Rome*. This \* *Baronius* well foresaw, and therefore once and again inserts this caution, that *S. Luke* did not design to record all the Apostles Acts, and that he has omitted many things which were done by *Peter*. Which surely no man ever intended to deny. But then that he should omit a matter of such vast moment and importance to the whole Christian World, that not one syllable should be said of a Church planted by *Peter* at *Rome*; a Church that was to be Paramount, the seat of all Spiritual Power and Infallibility, and to which all other Churches were to vail and do homage; nay, that he should not so much as mention that ever he was there, and yet all this said to be done within the time he designed to write of, is by no means reasonable to suppose. Especially considering, that *S. Luke* records many of his journeys and travels, and his preaching at several places, of far less consequence and concernment. Nor let this be thought the worse of, because a negative Argument, since it carries so much rational evidence along with it, that any man who is not plainly byassed by Interest, will be satisfied with it.

3. **BUT** let us proceed a little further to enquire, whether we can meet any probable footsteps afterwards. About the year *Fifty three*, towards the end of *Claudius* his Reign *S. Paul* is thought to have writ his Epistle to the Church at *Rome*, wherein he spends the greatest part of one Chapter in saluting particular persons that were there; amongst whom it might reasonably have been expected, that *S. Peter* should have had the first place. And supposing with \* *Baronius*, that *Peter* at this time might be absent from the City, preaching the Gospel in some parts in the *West*, yet we are not sure that *S. Paul* knew of this, and if he did, it is strange that in so large an Epistle, wherein he had occasion enough, there should be neither direct nor indirect mention of him, or of any Church there founded by him. Nay, *S. Paul* himself intimates, what an earnest desire he had to come thither, that he might impart unto them some spiritual gifts, to the end they might be established in the Faith, for which there could have been no such apparent cause had *Peter* been there so lately, and so long before him. Well, *S. Paul* himself not many years after is sent to *Rome*, *Ann. Chr. LVI*, or as

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Eusebius,

*Eusebius*, LVII, (though *Baronius* makes it two years after) about the second year of *Nero*; when he comes thither, does he go to sojourn with *Peter*, as 'tis likely he would, had he been there? No, but dwelt by himself in his own hired house. No sooner was he come, but he called the chief of the *Jews* together, acquainted them with the cause and end of his coming, explains the doctrine of Christianity, which when they rejected, he tells them, That *henceforth the Salvation of God was sent unto the Gentiles* who would hear it, to whom he would now address himself. Which seems to intimate, that however some few of the *Gentiles* might have been brought over, yet that no such harvest had been made before his coming, as might reasonably have been expected from *S. Peter's* having been so many years amongst them. Within the two first years after *S. Paul's* coming to *Rome*, he wrote Epistles to several Churches, to the *Colossians*, *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, and one to *Philemon*, in none whereof there is the least mention of *S. Peter*, or from whence the least probability can be derived, that he had been there. In that to the *Colossians*, he tells them, that of the *Jews* at *Rome*, he had had no other fellow-workers unto the Kingdom of God, which had been a comfort unto him, save only *Aristarchus*, *Marcus*, and *Jesus* who was called *Justus*, which evidently excludes *S. Peter*. And in that to *Timothy*, which *Baronius* confesses to have been written a little before his *Martyrdom*, (though probably it was written the same time with the rest above mentioned) he tells him, That at his first answer at *Rome*, no man stood with him, but that all men forsook him. Which we can hardly believe *S. Peter* would have done, had he then been there. He further tells him, That only *Luke* was with him, that *Crescens* was gone to this place, *Titus* to that, and *Tychicus* left at another. Strange! that if *Peter* was at this time gone from *Rome*, *S. Paul* should take no notice of it as well as the rest. Was he so inconsiderable a person, as not to be worth the remembrance? or his errand of so small importance, as not to deserve a place in *S. Paul's* account, as well as that of *Crescens* to *Galatia*, or of *Titus* to *Dalmatia*? Surely, the true reason was, that *S. Peter* as yet had not been at *Rome*, and so there could be no foundation for it.

4. IT were no hard matter, further to demonstrate the inconsistency of that Account which *Bellarmino* and *Baronius* give us of *Peter's* being at *Rome*, from the time of the *Apostolical Synod* at *Jerusalem*. For if *S. Paul* went up to that Council *Fourteen years* after his own Conversion, as he plainly intimates; and that he himself was converted *Ann. XXXV*, somewhat less than two years after the death of *Christ*, then it plainly appears, that this Council was holden *Ann. XLVIII*, in the sixth year of *Claudius*, if not somewhat sooner, for *S. Paul's* *διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν* does not necessarily imply, that *Fourteen years* were completely past, *διὰ* signifying *circa*, as well as *post*, but that it was near about that time. This being granted (and if it be not, it is eassie to make it good) then three things amongst others will follow from it. First, That whereas, according to \* *Bellarmino* and || *Baronius*, *S. Peter* after his first coming to *Rome* (which they place *Ann. XLIV*, and the second of *Claudius*) was seven years before he returned thence to the Council at *Jerusalem*, they are strangely out in their story, there being but three, or at most four years between his going thither, and the celebration of that Council. Secondly, That when they tell \* us, that *S. Peter's* leaving *Rome* to come to the Council, was upon the occasion of the decree of *Claudius*, banishing all *Jews* out of the City, this can no ways be. For \* *Orosius* does not only affirm, but prove it from *Josephus*, that *Claudius* his Decree was published in the Ninth Year of his Reign, or *Ann. Chr. LI*, Three

Three Years at least after the Celebration of the Council. Thirdly, That when || *Baronius* tells us, that the Reason why *Peter* went to *Rome* after the breaking up of the *Synod*, was because *Claudius* was now dead, he not daring to go before for fear of the Decree, this can be no reason at all, the Council being ended at least Three Years before that Decree took place: so that he might safely have gone thither without the least danger from it. It might further be shewed (if it were necessary) that the account which even they themselves give us, is not very consistent with it self. So fatally does a bad cause draw Men whether they will or no into Errors and Mistakes.

5. THE truth is, the learned Men of that Church are not well agreed among themselves, to give in their verdict in this case. And indeed, how should they, when the thing it self affords no solid foundation for it? *Ornephrius* a man of great learning and industry in all matters of antiquity, and who (as the \* writer of *Baronius* his Life informs us) designed before *Baronius* to write the History of the Church, goes a way by himself, in assigning the time of *S. Peter's* founding his See both at *Antioch* and || *Rome*. For finding by the account of the Sacred story, that *Peter* did not leave *Judea* for the Ten first Years after our Lord's Ascension, and consequently could not in that time erect his See at *Antioch*; he affirms, that he went first to *Rome*, whence returning to the Council at *Jerusalem*, he thence went to *Antioch*, where he remained Seven Years, till the Death of *Claudius*, and having spent almost the whole Reign of *Nero* in several parts of *Europe*, returned in the last of *Nero's* Reign to *Rome*, and there died. An opinion, for which he is sufficiently chastised by \* *Baronius*, and others of that Party. And here I cannot but remark the ingenuity (for the learning sufficiently commends it self) of || *Monsieur Valois*, who freely confesses the mistake of *Baronius*, *Petavius*, &c. in making *Peter* go to *Rome*, *Ann. XLIV*, the Second Year of *Claudius*, when as it is plain (says he) from the History of the Acts, that *Peter* went not out of *Judea* and *Syria*, till the Death of *Herod*, *Claudii Ann. IV*, Two whole years after. Consonant to which, as he observes, is what *Apollonius*, a Writer of the Second Century, reports from a Tradition current in his time, that the Apostles did not depart asunder till the Twelfth Year after *Christ's* Ascension, our Lord himself having so commanded them. In confirmation whereof, let me add a passage that I meet with in *Clement* of || *Alexandria*, where from *S. Peter* he records this Speech of our Saviour to his Apostles, spoken probably either a little before his Death, or after his Resurrection. *Εάν τις ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μετανοήσῃ, διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀφ᾽ ἧς ὀνόματι αὐτῷ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐξέλθῃ εἰς τὸν κόσμον, μή τις εἴπῃ, οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν.* If any *Israelite* shall repent, and believe in God through my Name, his sins shall be forgiven him after twelve years. Go ye into the World, lest any should say, we have not heard. This passage, as ordinarily pointed in all Editions that I have seen, is scarce capable of any tolerable sense: for what's the meaning, of a penitent *Israelite's* being pardoned after twelve years? It is therefore probable, yea, certain with me, that the stop ought to be after *ἁμαρτίαι*, and *μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη* joyned to the following clause, and then the sense will run clear and smooth; If any *Jew* shall repent, and believe the Gospel, he shall be pardoned; but after twelve years go ye into all the World, that none may pretend that they have not heard the sound of the Gospel. The Apostles were first to Preach the Gospel to the *Jews* for some considerable time, Twelve Years after *Christ's* Ascension, in and about *Judea*, and then to betake themselves to the Provinces of the *Gentile-World*, to make known to them the glad tidings of Salvation;

Acts 28.17.

Chap. 4.10.11

2 Tim. 4.16.

Gal. 2.1.

\* Bellarm. de Rom. Pontif. lib. 2. c. 6. Col. 615.  
|| Bar. ad An. 39. n. 15.

\* Ibid. & Bar. ad An. 51. n. 13.

\* Lib. 7. c. 6. fol. 297. p. 2.

\* Hier. Barnab. de vit. Bar. l. 1. c. 18.

\* Orneph. Annot. ad Plat. in vit. I. c. 9. & in Euseb.

\* Ad Ann. 39. N. 12.

\* Annot. ad Euseb. lib. 2. c. 16.

\* Stromat. lib. 6 p. 636.

exactly answerable to the Tradition mentioned by *Apollonius*. Besides, the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* tells us, that *Peter* came not to *Rome* till the Seventh Year of *Claudius*, *Ann. Christi* XLIX. So little certainty can there be of any matter, wherein there is no truth. Nay, the same excellent Man before \* mentioned does not stick elsewhere to profess, he wonders at *Baronius*, that he should make *Peter* come from *Rome*, banished thence by *Claudius* his *Edict*, to the *Synod* at *Jerusalem*, the same Year, viz. *Ann. Claudii* IX, a thing absolutely inconsistent with that story of the *Apostles Acts*, recorded by *S. Luke*, wherein there is the space of no less than Three Years from the time of that *Synod*, to the Decree of *Claudius*. It being evident, what he observes, that after the celebration of that Council, *S. Paul* went back to *Antioch*, afterwards into *Syria* and *Cilicia* to Preach the Gospel; thence into *Phrygia*, *Galatia* and *Mysia*; from whence he went into *Macedonia*, and first Preached at *Philippi*, then at *Thessalonica* and *Berea*, afterwards stay'd some considerable time at *Athens*, and last of all went to *Corinth*, where he met with *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, lately come from *Italy*; banished *Rome* with the rest of the *Jews*, by the Decree of *Claudius*: all which by an easy and reasonable computation can take up no less than Three Years at least.

6. THAT which caused *Baronius* to split upon so many Rocks, was not so much want of seeing them, which a Man of his parts and industry could not but in a great measure see, as the unhappy necessity of defending those unfound principles which he had undertaken to maintain. For being to make good *Peter's* five and twenty years presidency over the Church of *Rome*, he was forced to confound times, and dislocate stories, that he might bring all his ends together. What foundation this story of *Peter's* being five and twenty years Bishop of *Rome*, has in antiquity, I find not, unless it sprang from hence, that *Eusebius* places *Peter's* coming to *Rome* in the Second Year of *Claudius*, and his Martyrdom in the Fourteenth of *Nero*, between which there is the just space of five and twenty years. Whence those that came after concluded, that he sat Bishop there all that time. It cannot be denied, but that in *S. Hieron's* Translation it is expressly said, that he continued five and twenty years Bishop of that City. But then it is as evident, that this was his own addition, who probably set things down as the report went in his time, no such thing being to be found in the Greek Copy of \* *Eusebius*. Nor indeed does he ever there or elsewhere positively affirm *S. Peter* to have been Bishop of *Rome*, but only that he preached the Gospel there. And expressly || affirms, that he and *S. Paul* being dead, *Linus* was the first Bishop of *Rome*. To which I may add, that when the Ancients speak of the Bishops of *Rome*, and the first Originals of that Church, they equally attribute the founding, and the Episcopacy and Government of it to *Peter* and *Paul*, making the one as much concerned in it as the other. Thus \* *Epiphanius* reckoning up the Bishops of that See, places *Peter* and *Paul* in the front, as the first Bishops of *Rome*, εν Ρώμῃ γὰρ γεγονάσι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, οἱ ἀποστόλοι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι, *Peter and Paul Apostles became the first Bishops of Rome, then Linus, &c.* And again a little after, ἡ τῶν ἐν Ρώμῃ ἐπισκοπῶν διαδοχὴ ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἀκολουθίαν, the succession of the Bishops of *Rome* was in this manner, *Peter and Paul, Linus, Cletus, &c.* And || *Egesippus* speaking of their coming to *Rome*, equally says of them, that they were *Doctores Christianorum, sublimis operibus, clari magisterio, the Instructors of the Christians, admirable for miracles, and renowned for their authority.* However granting not only that he was there, but that he was Bishop, and that for five and twenty years together, yet what would this make for the unlimited Sovereignty and Universality of that Church, unless a better evidence than

\* H. Valer. An.  
not in Euseb.  
lib. 2. c. 18. p. 37

\* Πέτρος δὲ  
κορυφαῖος ὢν  
ἐν Ἀποστόλοις  
πρώτος ἐκκλη-  
σίας αἰς ὡ-  
μὴν ἀπεισκη-  
σάντων τὸ ἐν-  
αγγέλιον.  
Xcen. Kav. ad.  
Num. NT.  
p. 204.  
|| H. Eccl. lib. 3.  
c. 2. p. 72.  
\* Contr. Carp.  
erat. H. arif.  
XXVII. p. 51.

|| Decexil.  
Jud. lib. 3. c. 2.  
p. 292.

Feed my sheep could be produced for its uncontrollable Supremacy and Dominion over the whole Christian World?

7. THE summ is this, granting what none that has any reverence for Antiquity will deny, that *S. Peter* was at *Rome*, he probably came thither some few Years before his death, joyned with, and assisted *S. Paul* in Preaching of the Gospel, and then both sealed the Testimony of it with their Blood. The date of his Death is differently assigned by the Ancients. \* *Eusebius* places it *Ann. LXIX.* in the Fourteenth of *Nero*, || *Epiphanius* in the Twelfth. That which seems to me most probable is, that it was in the Tenth, or the Year *LXV.* which I thus compute: *Nero's* burning of *Rome* is placed by \* *Tacitus*, under the Consulship of *G. Lecanius*, and *M. Licinius*, about the Month of *July*, that is, *Ann. Chr. LXIV.* This act procured him the infinite hatred and clamours of the People, which having in vain endeavoured several ways to remove and pacify, he at last resolved upon this project, to derive the *Odium* upon the *Christians*, whom therefore both to appease the Gods, and please the People, he condemned as guilty of the fact, and caused to be executed with all manner of acute and exquisite Tortures. This Persecution we may suppose began about the end of that, or the beginning of the following Year. And under this Persecution, I doubt not, it was that *S. Peter* suffered, and changed Earth for Heaven.

### The End of S. Peter's Life.

# THE LIFE OF S. PAUL.

S. PAUL.



He was beheaded by the command of Nero the Roman Emperor. Place this to the Epistle for the Conversion of S. Paul.

St Paul's Conversion.



Act 9. 3. 4. And as he journeyed he came near to Damascus suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven: he fell to the earth & heard a voice saying unto him Saul Saul &c. Ver. 7 And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless hearing a voice but seeing no man.

## SECT I.

Of S. PAUL, from his Birth till his Conversion.

S. Paul, why placed next Peter. Tarsus the place of his Birth; an University, and a Roman Corporation. His Parents of the old stock of Israel; descended of the Tribe of Benjamin. Jacob's Prophecy applied to him by the Ancients. His Names; Saul, whence; Paul, when assumed, and why. His Education in the Schools of Tarsus, and in the Trade of Tent-making. The Custom of the Jews in bringing up their Youth to Manual Trades. His study of the Law under the Tutorage of Gamaliel. This Gamaliel, who. Why said to have been a Christian. Sitting at the feet of their Masters the posture of learners.

learners. His joining himself to the Sect of the Pharisees. An Enquiry into the Temper and Manners of that Sect. The fiery Zeal and Activity of his Temper. His being engaged in Stephen's Martyrdom. His violent persecution of the Church. His journey to Damascus. His Conversion by the way, and the manner of it. His blindness. His rapture into the third Heaven, when (probably.) His sight restored. His being Baptized, and preaching Christ.

**T**HOUGH S. Paul was none of the Twelve Apostles, yet had he the honour of being an Apostle extraordinary, and to be immediately called in a way peculiar to himself. He justly deserves a place next S. Peter; for as in their lives they were pleasant and lovely, so in their death they were not divided: especially if it be true, that they both suffered not only for the same cause, but at the same time, as well as place. S. Paul was born at Tarsus, the Metropolis of Cilicia; a City infinitely rich and populous, and what contributed more to the fame and honour of it, an Academy, furnished with Schools of Learning, where the Scholars so closely plied their Studies, that as \* Strabo informs us, they excelled in all Arts of polite Learning and Philosophy those of other places, yea, even of Alexandria, and Athens it self; and that even Rome was beholden to it for many of its best Professors. It was a Roman Municipium, or free Corporation, invested with many Franchises and Privileges by Julius Cæsar, and Augustus, who granted to the Inhabitants of it the honours and immunities of Citizens of Rome. In which respect S. Paul owned and asserted it as the privilege of his Birth-right, that he was a Roman, and thereby free from being bound or beaten. True it is, that \* S. Hierom (followed herein by || one, who himself travelled in these parts) makes him born at Gischalis, a well fortified Town in Judæa, which being besieged and taken by the Roman Army, his Parents fled away with him and dwelt at Tarsus. But besides that this contradicts S. Paul, who expressly affirms, that he was born at Tarsus, there needs no more to confute this opinion, than that \* S. Hierom elsewhere flights it as a fabulous report.

2. HIS Parents were Jews, and that of the Ancient stock, not entering in by the Gate of *profelytism*, but originally descended from that Nation, which surely he means, when he says, That he was an Hebrew of the Hebrews; either because both his Parents were Jews, or rather, that all his Ancestors had been so. They belonged to the Tribe of Benjamin, whose Founder was the youngest son of the old Patriarch Jacob, who thus prophesied of him. Benjamin shall raven as a Wolf, in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil. This prophetic character \* Tertullian, and others after him will have to be accomplished in our Apostle. As a ravening Wolf in the morning devouring the prey, that is, as a persecutor of the Churches, in the first part of his life destroying the flock of God: In the evening dividing the spoil, that is, in his declining and reduced age, as Doctor of the Nations, feeding and distributing to Christ's sheep.

3. WE find him described by two names in Scripture, one Hebrew, and the other Latin; probably referring both to his Jewish and Roman capacity and relation. The one, Saul, a name frequent and common in the Tribe of Benjamin ever since the first King of Israel, who was of that name, was chosen out of that Tribe. In memory whereof they were wont to give their Children this name at their Circumcision. His other was, Paul, assumed by him, as some think, at his Conversion, to denote his humility; as others,

others, in memory of his converting *Sergius Paulus* the Roman Governour, in imitation of the Generals and Emperors of Rome, who were wont from the places and Nations that they conquered, to assume the name, as an additional honour and title to themselves, as *Scipio Africanus*, *Cæsar Germanicus*, *Parthicus*, *Sarmaticus*, &c. But this seems no way consistent with the great humility of this Apostle. More probable therefore it is, what \* Origen thinks, That he had a double name given him at his Circumcision; *Saul*, relating to his Jewish original; and *Paul*, referring to the Roman Corporation, where he was born. And this the Scripture seems to favour, when it says, *Saul, who also is called Paul*. Or if it was taken up by him afterwards, it was probably done at his Conversion, according to the custom and manner of the Hebrews, who used many times upon solemn and eminent occasions, especially upon their entering upon a more strict and religious course of life, to change their names, and assume one which they had not before.

4. IN his Youth he was brought up in the Schools of Tarsus, fully instructed in all the liberal Arts and Sciences, whereby he became admirably acquainted with foreign and external Authors. Together with which he was brought up to a particular Trade and course of life; according to the great Maxim and principle of the Jews, That, \* He who teaches not his son a Trade, teaches him to be a Thief. They thought it not only fit, but a necessary part of Education, for their wisest and most learned Rabbins to be brought up to a manual Trade, whereby, if occasion was, they might be able to maintain themselves. Hence (as || Drusus observes) nothing more common in their writings, than to have them denominated from their callings, Rabbi Jose the Tanner, Rabbi Jochanan the Shoemaker, Rabbi Juda the Baker, &c. A custom taken up by the Christians, especially the || Monks and Ascetics of the Primitive times, who together with their strict profession and almost incredible exercises of devotion, each took upon him a particular Trade, whereat he daily wrought, and by his own hand-labour maintained himself. And this course of life the Jews were very careful should be free from all suspicion of scandal. *אומנות נקייה* (as they call \* it) a clean, that is, honest Trade, being wont to say, That he was happy that had his Parents employed in an honest and commendable Calling; as he was miserable, who saw them conversant in any sordid and dishonest course of life. The Trade our Apostle was put to, was that of Tent-making, whereat he wrought, for some particular reasons, even after his calling to the Apostolate. An honest, but mean course of life, and as \* Chrysostom observes, an argument that his Parents were not of the nobler and better rank; however, it was an useful and gainful Trade, especially in those war-like Countries, where Armies had such frequent use of Tents.

5. HAVING run through the whole circle of the Sciences, and laid the sure foundations of humane Learning at Tarsus; he was by his Parents sent to Jerusalem, to be perfected in the study of the Law, and put under the Tutorage of Rabban Gamaliel. This Gamaliel was the son of Rabban Symeon (probably presumed to be the same Symeon that came into the Temple, and took Christ into his arms) President of the Court of the Sanhedrim: he was a Doctor of the Law, a Person of great wisdom and prudence, and head at that time of one of the Families of the Schools at Jerusalem. A man of chief eminency and authority in the Jewish Sanhedrim, and President of it at that very time when our Blessed Saviour was brought before it. He lived to a great Age, and was buried by Onkelos the Proselyte, Author of the Chaldee Paraphrase (one who infinitely loved and honoured him) at his own vast expence and charge. He it was that made that wise and excellent speech

\* Prefat. in Ep. ad Rom. fol. 132. Tom. 3.

כל שאינו מלמד את בנו אומנות כאלו מלמדו לייסורין

Talm. Tract. Kiddush. c. 1. ap. Buxtorf. in voc.

אומנות Annot. in Act. 18. 3. || Epiph. 80. p. 451.

\* Buxtorf. ubi supr.

Acts 18. 3.

\* De Laud. S. Paul. Tom. 5. p. 512.

Acts 22. 3. & 5. 34.

\* Geograph. lib. 14. p. 463.

Acts 22. 25, 26

\* De Script. Eccl. in Paul. Bellon. Observ. lib. 2. c. 99 p. 366.

\* Com. in Phil. tem. p. 263. Tom 9.

Gen. 49. 27.

\* Adv. Marc. lib. 5. c. 1. p. 461

in the *Sanhedrim*, in favour of the Apostles and their Religion. Nay, he himself is \* said (though I know not why) to have been a *Christian*, and his sitting amongst the Senators to have been conniv'd at by the Apostles, that he might be the better friend to their affairs. || *Chrysippus*, a *Presbyter* of the Church of *Jerusalem* adds, that he was brother's son to *Nicodemus*, together with whom he and his son *Abib* were baptized by *Peter* and *John*. This account he derives from *Lucian*, a *Presbyter* also of that Church under *John* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, who in an Epistle of his still extant, tells us, that he had this, together with some other things, communicated to him in a Vision by *Gamaliel* himself. Which if true, no better evidence could be desired in this matter. At the feet of this *Gamaliel*, *S. Paul* tells us, he was brought up, alluding to the custom of the *Jewish* Masters, who were wont to sit, while their Disciples and Scholars stood at their feet. Which honorary custom continued till the death of this *Gamaliel*, and was then left off. Their own \* *Talmud* telling us, That since old *Rabban Gamaliel* died, the honour of the Law was perished, Purity and Pharisaism were destroyed: which the *Gloss* thus explains, That whilest he lived, men were found, and studied the Law standing; but he being dead, weakness crept into the World, and they were forced to sit.

6. UNDER the Tuition of this great Master *S. Paul* was Educated in the knowledge of the Law, wherein he made such quick and vast improvements, that he soon out-stript his fellow-Disciples. Amongst the various Sects at that time in the *Jewish* Church, he was especially Educated in the Principles and Institutions of the *Pharisees*: Of which Sect was both his Father and his Master, whereof he became a most earnest and zealous professor. This being, as himself tells us, the strictest Sect of their Religion. For the understanding whereof, it may not be amiss a little to enquire into the Temper and Manners of this Sect. \* *Josephus*, though himself a *Pharisee*, gives this character of them, That they were a crafty and subtil generation of men, and so perverse even to Princes themselves, that they would not fear many times openly to affront and oppose them. And so far had they || insinuated themselves into the affections and estimations of the populace, that their good or ill word was enough to make, or blast any one with the People, who would implicitly believe them, let their report be never so false or malicious. And therefore *Alexander Jannæus*, when he lay a dying, wisely advised his Queen by all means to comply with them, and to seem to Govern by their counsel and direction, affirming, that this had been the greatest cause of his fatal miscarriage, and that which had derived the odium of the Nation upon him, that he had offended this sort of men. Certain it is, that they were infinitely proud and insolent, surly and ill-natured, that they hated all mankind but themselves, and censured whoever would not be of their way, as a Villain and a Reprobate: greatly zealous to gather *Profelytes* to their party, not to make them more religious, but more fierce and cruel, more carping and censorious, more heady and high-minded, in short, *twofold more the children of the Devil, than they were before*. All Religion and kindness was confined within the bounds of their own party, and the first principles wherewith they inspired their new converts were, That none but they were the godly party, and that all other persons were slaves and sons of the Earth: and therefore especially endeavoured to inspire them with a mighty zeal and fierceness against all that differed from them, so that if any one did but speak a good word of our Saviour, he should be presently excommunicated and cast out, persecuted and devoted to the death. To this end they were wont, not only to separate, but discriminate themselves from the herd and

\* *Clem. Recogniz. lib. 1. p. 16, 17.*  
\* *Ap. Phot. Col. CLXXI. Col. 384. extra. Luciani hie de re Epist. ap. Sur. ad 3. Aug. p. 31. & Bar. ad 4. 415.*

\* *Sotab. c. 9. b. 1. c. 5. apud Lightf. 1107. 11. in Math. 13. 2.*

*Gal. 1. 14.*

\* *Antiq. Jud. lib. 17. cap. 3. p. 585.*

\* *Id. ibid. lib. 13 c. 23. p. 463.*

and community, by some peculiar notes and badges of distinction; such as their long Robes, broad Phylacteries, and their large Fringes and Borders of their Garments, whereby they made themselves known from the rest of men. These dogged and ill-natured principles, together with their seditious, unnatural, unjust, unmerciful, and uncharitable behaviour, which otherwise would have made them stink above-ground in the nostrils of men, they sought to palliate and varnish over with a more than ordinary pretence and profession of Religion: but were especially active and diligent in what cost them little, the outward instances of Religion, such duties especially as did more immediately refer to God, as frequent fasting, and praying, which they did very often, and very long, with demure and mortified looks, in a whining and an affected tone, and this almost in every corner of the streets: and indeed so contrived the scheme of their Religion, that what they did, might appear above-ground, where they might be seen of men to the best advantage.

7. THOUGH this seems to have been the general temper and disposition of the party, yet doubtless there were some amongst them of better and honest principles than the rest. In which number we have just reason to reckon our Apostle: who yet was deeply leavened with the active and fiery genius of the Sect; not able to brook any opposite party in Religion especially if late and novel. Inasmuch that when the Jews were resolved to do execution upon *Stephen*, he stood by and kept the cloaths of them that did it. Whether he was any further engaged in the death of this innocent and good man, we do not find. However this was enough loudly to proclaim his approbation and consent. And therefore elsewhere we find him indicting himself for this fact, and pleading guilty. *When the blood of thy Martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him.* God chiefly inspects the heart, and if the vote be passed there, writes the man guilty, though he stir no farther. 'Tis easy to murder another by a silent wish, or a passionate desire. In all moral actions God values the will for the deed, and reckons the man a companion in the sin, who, though possibly he may never actually joyn in it, does yet inwardly applaud and like it. The storm thus begun, encreased apace, and a violent persecution began to arise, which miserably afflicted and dispersed the Christians at *Jerusalem*. In which our Apostle was a prime Agent and Minister, raging about in all parts with a mad and ungovernable zeal, searching out the Saints, beating them in the Synagogues, compelling many to blaspheme, imprisoning others, and procuring them to be put to death. Indeed he was a kind of *Inquisitor Hæreticæ pravitatis* to the High-Priest, by whom he was employed to hunt and find out these upstart *Hæreticks*, who preached against the Law of *Moses*, and the Traditions of the Fathers. Accordingly having made strange havock at *Jerusalem*, he addressed himself to the *Sanhedrim*, and there took out a Warrant and Commission to go down and ransack the Synagogues at *Damascus*. How eternally insatiable is fury and a misguided zeal! how restless and unwearied in its designs of cruelty! it had already sufficiently harassed the poor Christians at *Jerusalem*, but not content to have vexed them there, and to have driven them thence, it persecuted them unto strange Cities, following them even to *Damascus* itself, whither many of these persecuted Christians had fled for shelter, resolving to bring up those whom he found there to *Jerusalem*, in order to their punishment and execution. For the *Jewish Sanhedrim* had not only power of seizing and scourging offenders against their Law within the bounds of their own Country, but by the connivence and favour of the Ro-

*Acts 22. 20.*

*Acts 9. 1.*

mans, might send into other Countries, where there were any Synagogues that acknowledged a dependence in Religious matters upon the Council at Jerusalem, to apprehend them; as here they sent Paul to Damascus to fetch up what Christians he could find, to be arraigned and sentenced at Jerusalem.

Gal. 1. 15.

8. BUT God who had designed him for work of another nature, and separated him from his Mothers womb to the preaching of the Gospel, stopt him in his journey. For while he was together with his company travelling on the Road, not far from Damascus, on a sudden a gleam of light beyond the splendor and brightness of the Sun, was darted from Heaven upon them, whereat being strangely amazed and confounded, they all fell to the ground, a Voice calling to him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? To which he replied, Lord, who art thou? Who told him, That he was Jesus whom he persecuted, that what was done to the members was done to the head, that it was hard for him to kick against the pricks, that he now appeared to him, to make choice of him for a Minister, and a Witness of what he had now seen, and should after hear; that he would stand by him, and preserve him, and make him a great instrument in the conversion of the Gentile World. This said, He asked our Lord, what he would have him to do? who bad him go into the City, where he should receive his Answer. 8. Paul's companions, who had been present at this transaction, heard the voice, but saw not him that spoke to him: though elsewhere the Apostle himself affirms, that they saw the light, but heard not the voice of him that spake, that is, they heard a confused sound, but not a distinct and articulate voice; or, more probably, being ignorant of the Hebrew Language, wherein our Lord spake to Saint Paul, they heard the words, but knew not the sense and the meaning of them.

Acts 22. 9.

2 Cor. 12. 1.

Gal. 1. 10, 11.

9. S. PAUL by this time was gotten up, but though he found his feet, yet he had lost his eyes, being stricken blind with the Extraordinary brightness of the light, and was accordingly led by his companions into Damascus. In which condition he there remained fasting three days together. At this time, we may probably suppose it was, that he had that vision and ecstasie, wherein he was taken up into the third Heaven, where he saw and heard things great and unutterable, and was fully instructed in the mysteries of the Gospel, and hence expressly affirms, that he was not taught the Gospel which he preached by man, but by the Revelation of Jesus Christ. There was at this time at Damascus one Ananias, a very devout and religious man, (one of the seventy Disciples, as the Ancients inform us, and probably the first planter of the Christian Church in this City) and though a Christian, yet of great reputation amongst all the Jews. To him our Lord appeared, commanding him to go into such a street, and to such an house, and there enquire for one Saul of Tarsus, who was now at Prayer, and had seen him in a Vision coming to him, to lay his hands upon him, that he might receive his sight. Ananias startled at the name of the man, having heard of his bloody temper and practices, and upon what errand he was now come down to the City. But our Lord to take off his fears, told him, that he mistook the man, that he had now taken him to be a chosen vessel, to preach the Gospel both to Jews and Gentiles, and before the greatest Potentates upon Earth, acquainting him with what great things he should both do and suffer for his sake, what chains and imprisonments, what racks and scourges, what hunger and thirst, what shipwrecks and death, he should undergo. Upon this Ananias went, laid his hands upon him, told him that our Lord had sent him to him, that he might receive his sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost, which was no sooner done, but thick films like scales fell

fell

fell from his eyes, and his sight returned. And the next thing he did was to be baptized, and solemnly initiated into the Christian Faith. After which he joyned himself to the Disciples of that place, to the equal joy and wonder of the Church: that the Wolf should so soon lay down its fierceness; and put on the meek nature of a Lamb; that he who had lately been so violent a persecutor, should now become not a professor only, but a preacher of that Faith, which before he had routed and destroyed,

## S E C T. II.

## Of S. Paul, from his Conversion, till the Council at Jerusalem.

S. Paul's leaving Damascus, and why. His Three Years Ministry in Arabia. His return to Damascus. The greatness of that City. The design of the Jews to surprize S. Paul, and the manner of his escape. His coming to Jerusalem, and converse with Peter and James. His departure thence. The Disciples first stiled Christians at Antioch. This when done, and by whom. The solemnity of it. The importance of the word *Χρηματισμοὶ*. *Χρηματισμοὶ Ἀντιοχείων*, what. S. Paul's Journey to Jerusalem with contributions. His voyage to Cyprus, and planting Christianity there. The opposition made by Elymas, and his severe punishment. The Proconsuls conversion. His preaching to the Jews at Antioch of Pisidia. His curing a Cripple at Lystra; and discourse to the people about their Idolatry. The Apostles way of arguing noted; and his discourse concerning the Being and Providence of God illustrated. His confirming the Churches in the Faith. The controversy at Antioch; and S. Paul's account of it in the Synod at Jerusalem.

SAINT Paul staid not long at Damascus after his Conversion, but having received an immediate intimation from Heaven, probably in the Ecstasie wherein he was caught up thither, he waited for no other counsel or direction in the case, lest he should seem to derive his Mission and Authority from Men, and being not disobedient to the Heavenly Vision, he presently retired out of the City; and the sooner probably, to decline the Odium of the Jews, and the effects of that rage and malice, which he was sure would pursue and follow him. He withdrew into the parts of Arabia, where he spent the first fruits of his Ministry, Preaching up and down for three Years together. After which he returned back to Damascus, Preached openly in the Synagogues, and convinced the Jews of Christ's Messiahship, and the truth of his Religion. Angry and enraged hereat, they resolved his Ruine, which they knew no better way to effect, than by exasperating and incensing the Civil powers against him. Damascus was a place, not more venerable for its Antiquity, if not built by, at least it gave title to Abraham's steward, hence called, *Beliezer of Damascus*, than it was considerable for its strength, stateliness and situation: it was the noblest City of all Syria (as \* Justin of old, and the Arabian || Geographer has since informed us, and the Prophet Isaiah before both calls it *ראש הערים* the head of Syria) seated in a

Gal. 1. 17, 18.

Acts 9. 23.

2 Cor. 11. 32.

33.

\* Full lib. 36.

c. 2. p. 425.

|| Geograph.

Nab. Clim. 3.

part 5. p. 116.

part 7. 7.

most

most healthful Air, in a most fruitful Soil, watered with most pleasant Fountains and Rivers, rich in Merchandize, adorned with stately Buildings, goodly and magnificent Temples, and fortified with strong Guards and Garrisons: in all which respects \* *Julian* calls it the *Holy and great Damascus*, καὶ ἡ ὅλη ὁφθαλμὸν, *the Eye of the whole East*. Scituate it was between *Libanus* and Mount *Hermon*, and though properly belonging to *Syria*, yet *Arabia retro deputabatur* (as || *Tertullian* tells us) was in after-times reckoned to *Arabia*. Accordingly at this time it was under the Government of *Aretas* (Father-in-law to *Herod the Tetrarch*) King of *Arabia Petraea*, a Prince tributary to the *Roman* Empire. By him there was an ἑνάρχης, or *Governour*, who had Jurisdiction over the whole *Syria Damascena*, placed over it, who kept constant residence in the City, as a place of very great importance. To him the *Jews* made their address, with crafty and cunning insinuations persuading him to apprehend *S. Paul*, possibly under the notion of a Spy, there being War at this time between the *Romans*, and that King. Hereupon the Gates were shut, and extraordinary Guards set, and all Engines that could be laid to take him. But the Disciples to prevent their cruel designs, at Night put him into a Basket, and let him down over the City-wall. And the place, we are \* told, is still shewed to Travellers, not far from the Gate, thence called *S. Paul's Gate* at this day.

2. HAVING thus made his escape, he set forwards for *Jerusalem*, where when he arrived, he addressed himself to the Church. But they knowing the former temper and principles of the Man, universally shunn'd his company; till *Barnabas* brought him to *Peter*, who was not yet cast into Prison, and to *James*, our Lord's Brother, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, acquainting them with the manner of his conversion, and by them he was familiarly entertained. Here he staid fifteen days, preaching *Christ*, and confuting the *Hellenist Jews* with a mighty courage and resolution. But snares were here again laid to intrap him, as malice can as well cease to be, as to be restless and active. Whereupon he was warned by God in a Vision, that his Testimony would not find acceptance in that place, that therefore he should leave it, and betake himself to the *Gentiles*. Accordingly being conducted by the Brethren to *Cæsarea*, he set sail for *Tarsus*, his Native City, from whence not long after he was fetched by *Barnabas* to *Antioch*, to assist him in propagating Christianity in that place. In which employment they continued there a whole Year. And now it was that the Disciples of the Religion were at this place first called *Christians*; according to the manner of all other Institutions, who were wont to take their denominations from the first Authors and Founders of them. Before this they were usually stiled || *Nazarenes*, as being the Disciples and followers of *Jesus of Nazareth*, a Name by which the *Jews* in scorn call them to this day, with the same intent that the *Gentiles* of old used to call them *Galileans*. The name of *Nazarenes* was hence-forward fixed upon those *Jewish* converts, who mixed the Law and the Gospel, and compounded a Religion out of *Judaism* and *Christianity*. The fixing this honourable Name upon the Disciples of the crucified *Jesus* was done at *Antioch* (as an ancient \* *Historian* informs us) about the beginning of *Claudius* his Reign, Ten Years after *Christ's* Ascension; nay, he further adds, that *Eunodius* lately ordained Bishop of that place was the person that imposed this name upon them, stiling them *Christians*, who before were called *Nazarenes* and *Galileans*, τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπονομάσθη Εὐοδίου προσομιλήσαντες αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομα τούτο πρῶτον τὸ Ναζαρεῖον ἐκαλεῖτο, καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι ἐκαλεῖτο οἱ χριστιανοί, as my Authors words are. I may not omit, what


a learned || Man has observed, that the word χρηματίζειν used by *S. Luke* (they were called) implies the thing to have been done by some publick and solemn act and declaration of the whole Church, such being the use of the word in the *Imperial Edicts* and proclamations of those times, the Emperors being said χρηματίζειν, to stile themselves, when they publickly proclaimed by what titles they would be called. When any Province submitted itself to the *Roman* Empire, the Emperor was wont by publick Edict χρηματίζειν αὐτὸν, to entitle himself to the Government and Jurisdiction of it, and the People to several great privileges and immunities. In a grateful sense whereof the People usually made this time the solemn date of their common Epoch or computation. Thus (as the forementioned \* *Historian* informs us) it was in the particular case of *Antioch*, and thence their publick Era was called χρηματισμός τῶν Ἀντιοχείων, the *Description of the People at Antioch*. Such being the general acceptance of the word, *S. Luke* (who was himself a Native of this City) makes use of it to express that solemn declaration, whereby the Disciples of the Religion entitled themselves to the Name of *Christians*.

3. IT happened about this time that a terrible Famine, foretold by *Agabus*, afflicted several parts of the *Roman* Empire, but especially *Judea*: The consideration whereof made the *Christians* at *Antioch* compassionate the case of their suffering Brethren, and accordingly raised considerable contributions for their relief and succour, which they sent to *Jerusalem* by *Barnabas* and *Paul*, who having dispatched their Errand in that City, went back to *Antioch*. Where while they were joyning in the publick exercises of their Religion, it was revealed to them by the H. Ghost, that they should set apart *Paul* and *Barnabas* to preach the Gospel in other places. Which was done accordingly, and they by Prayer, Fasting and Imposition of Hands immediately deputed for that service. Hence they departed to *Seleucia*, and thence sailed to *Cyprus*, where at *Salamis*, a great City in that Island, they Preached in the Synagogues of the *Jews*. Hence they removed to *Paphos*, the residence of *Sergius Paulus* the *Proconsul* of the Island, a Man of great wisdom and prudence, but miserably seduced by the wicked Artifices of *Bar-Jesus* a *Jewish* Impostor, who called himself *Elymas*, or the *Magician*, vehemently opposed the Apostles, and kept the *Proconsul* from embracing the Faith. Nay, || one who pretends to be ancient enough to know it, seems to intimate, that he not only spake, but wrote against *S. Paul's* Doctrine, and the Faith of *Christ*. However, the *Proconsul* calls for the Apostles, and *S. Paul* first takes *Elymas* to task, and having severely checked him for his malicious opposing of the truth, told him, that the Divine Vengeance was now ready to seize upon him. Upon which he was immediately struck blind. The Vengeance of God observing herein a kind of just proportion, that he should be punished with the loss of his Bodily eyes, who had so wilfully and maliciously shut the eyes of his mind against the light of the Gospel, and had endeavoured to keep not only himself, but others under so much blindness and darkness. This Miracle turned the Scale with the *Proconsul*, and quickly brought him over a Convert to the Faith.

4. AFTER this success in *Cyprus*, he went to *Perga* in *Pamphilia*, where taking *Titus* along with him in the room of *Mark*, who was returned to *Jerusalem*, they went to *Antioch* the *Metropolis* of *Pisidia*. Where entering into the *Jewish* Synagogue on the Sabbath Day after some Sections of the Law were read, they were invited by the Rulers of the Synagogue to discourse a little to the People. Which *S. Paul* did in a large and eloquent Sermon, wherein he put them in mind of the many great and particular blessings

blessings which God had heaped upon the *Jews*, from the first Originals of that Nation; that he had crowned them all with the sending of his Son, to be the *Messiah* and the Saviour, that though the *Jews* had ignorantly crucified this just, innocent Person, yet that God according to his own predictions had raised him up, from the dead, that through Him they preached forgiveness of sins, and that by Him alone it was that Men, if ever, must be justified and acquitted from that Guilt and Condemnation, which all the pompous Ceremonies, and Ministeries of the *Mosaic* Law could never do away: That therefore they should do well to take heed lest by their opposing this way of Salvation, they should bring upon themselves that propheticall curse, which God had threatned to the *Jews* of old for their great contumacy and neglect. This Sermon wanted not its due effects. The *Proselyte-Jews* desired the Apostles to discourse again to them of this matter the next *Sabbath* Day, the Apostles also perswading them to continue firm in the belief of these things. The Day was no sooner come, but the whole City almost flocked to be their Auditors, which when the *Jews* saw, acted by a spirit of envy, they began to blaspheme, and to contradict the Apostles, who nothing daunted, told them that our Lord had charged them *first* to preach the Gospel to the *Jews*, which since they so obstinately rejected, they were now to address themselves to the *Gentiles*, who hearing this exceedingly rejoiced at the good news, and magnified the Word of God, and *as many of them* as were thus prepared and disposed towards *eternal life*, heartily closed with it and embraced it; the Apostles preaching not there only, but through the whole Country round about. The *Jews* more exasperated than before, resolved to be rid of their company, and to that end perswaded some of the more devout and honourable Women, to deal with their Husbands, Persons of prime rank and quality in the City, by whose means they were driven out of those parts. Whereat *Paul* and *Barnabas* shaking off the dust of their Feet, as a Testimony against their ingratitude and infidelity, departed from them.

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5. THE next place they went to was *Iconium*, where at first they found kind entertainment, and good success, God setting a Seal to their Doctrine by the Testimony of his Miracles. But here the *Jewish* malice began again to ferment, exciting the People to sedition and a mutiny against them. Inſomuch that hearing of a deſign to ſtone them, they ſeaſonably withdrew to *Lyſtra*: where they firſt made their way by a miraculous cure. For S. *Paul* ſeeing an impotent Cripple that had been lame from his Mothers Womb, cured him with the ſpeaking of a word. The People who beheld the Miracle, had ſo much natural *Logic*, as to infer, that there was a Divinity in the thing, though miſtaking the Author, they applied it to the Inſtruments, crying out, That the *Gods* in humane ſhape were come down from Heaven; *Paul* as being chief Speaker, they termed *Mercury*, the God of ſpeech and eloquence; *Barnabas* by reaſon of his Age and gravity, they called *Jupiter*, the Father of their Gods; accordingly the *Syriack* Interpreter here renders *Jupiter* by  the Lord, or Sovereign of the Gods. The fame of this being ſpread over the City, the Prieſt of *Jupiter* brought Oxen, dreſſed up with Garlands after the *Gentile* Rites, to the Houſe where the Apoſtles were, to do Sacrifice to them. Which they no ſooner underſtood, but in deteſtation of thoſe undue honours offered to them, they rent their clothes, and told them that they were Men of the ſame make and temper,

of the same passions and infirmities with themselves, that the design of their Preaching was to convert them from these vain Idolatries and superstitions; to the worship of the true God, the great Parent of the World, who though heretofore he had left Men to themselves, to go on in their own ways of *Idolatrous* worship, yet had he given sufficient evidence of himself in the constant returns of a gracious and benign providence in crowning the Year with fruitful Seasons, and other acts of common kindness and bounty to Mankind.

6. A SHORT discourse, but very rational and convictive, which it may not be amiss a little more particularly to consider, and the method which the Apostle uses to convince these blind Idolaters. He proves Divine honours to be due to God alone, as the Sovereign Being of the World, and that there is such a Supreme infinite Being, he argues from his Works both of Creation and Providence. Creation, *He is the living God that made Heaven, and Earth, the Sea, and all things that are therein.* Providence, *He left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave rain from Heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness.* Than which no argument can be more apt and proper to work upon the minds of men. *That which may be known of God is manifest to the Gentiles, for God hath shewed it unto them.* For the invisible things of him from the Creation of the World, even his eternal power and Godhead, are clearly seen and understood by the things that are made: It being impossible impartially to survey the several parts of the Creation, and not see in every place evident footsteps of an infinite wisdom, power, and goodness. Who can look up unto the Heavens, and not there discern an Almighty wisdom, beautifully garnishing those upper Regions, distinguishing the circuits, and perpetuating the motions of the Heavenly lights? placing the Sun in the middle of the Heavens, that he might equally dispense and communicate his light and heat to all parts of the World, and not burn the Earth with the too near approach of his scorching beams: by which means the Creatures are refreshed and cheered, the Earth impregnated with fruits and flowers by the benign influence of a vital heat, and the vicissitudes and seasons of the year regularly distinguished by their constant and orderly revolutions. Whence are the great Orbs of Heaven kept in continual motion, always going in the same tract, but because there's a Superiour power that keeps these great wheels a going? Who is it that poises the balancings of the Clouds; that divides a water-course for the overflowing of waters; and a way for the lightning of the Thunder? Who can bind the sweet influences of Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion? Or who can bring forth Maζaroθ in his season, or guide Arcturus with his sons? Do these come by chance? or by the secret appointment of infinite wisdom? Who can consider the admirable thinness and purity of the Air, its immediate subserviency to the great ends of the Creation, its being the treasury of vital breath to all living Creatures, without which the next moment must put a period to our days, and not reflect upon that Divine wisdom that contrived it? If we come down upon the Earth, there we discover a Divine providence, supporting it with the pillars of an invisible power, stretching the North over the empty space, and hanging the Earth upon nothing; filling it with great variety of admirable and useful Creatures, and maintaining them all according to their kinds at his own cost and charges. 'Tis he that clothes the Grass with a delightful verdure, that crowns the Year with his loving kindness, and makes the Valleys stand thick with corn; that causes

*the Grass to grow for the Cattel, and Herb for the service of Man, that he may bring forth food out of the Earth; and Wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and Oil to make his face to shine, and Bread which strengtheneth man's heart; that beautifies the Lilies that neither toil nor spin, and that with a glory that out-shines Solomon in all his pomp and grandeur. From Land let us ship our observations to Sea, and there we may descry the wise effects of infinite understanding: A wide Ocean fitly disposed for the mutual commerce and correspondence of one part of mankind with another; filled with great and admirable Fishes, and enriched with the treasures of the deep. What but an Almighty arm can shut in the Sea with doors, bind it by a perpetual decree that it cannot pass, and tie up its wild raging waves with no stronger cordage than ropes of Sand? Who but he commands the storm, and stills the tempest? and brings the Mariner, when at his wits-end in the midst of the greatest dangers, to his desired Haven? They that go down to the Sea in ships, and do business in great waters; these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep. So impossible is it for a man to stand in any part of the Creation, wherein he may not discern evidences enough of an infinitely wise, gracious and Omnipotent Being. Thus much I thought good to add, to illustrate the Apostles argument; whence he strongly infers, that 'tis very reasonable, that we should worship and adore this great Creator and Benefactor, and not transfer the honours due to him alone upon men of frail and sinful passions, and much less upon dumb Idols, unable either to make or to help themselves. An argument, which though very plain and plausible, and adapted to the meanest understandings, yet was all little enough to restrain the people from offering Sacrifice to them. But how soon was the wind turned into another corner? The old spirit of the Jews did still haunt and pursue them: Who coming from Antioch and Iconium, exasperated and stirred up the multitude. And they who just before accounted them as Gods, used them now worse, not only than ordinary men, but slaves. For in a mighty rage they fall upon S. Paul, stone him, as they thought, dead, and then drag him out of the City: Whither the Christians of that place coming, probably to interr him, he suddenly revived, and rose up amongst them, and the next day went thence to Derbe.*

7. HERE they preached the Gospel, and then returned to *Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch of Pisidia*, confirming the Christians of those places in the belief and profession of Christianity, earnestly perswading them to persevere, and not be discouraged with those troubles and persecutions which they must expect would attend the profession of the Gospel. And that all this might succeed the better, with fasting and prayer they ordained Governours and Pastors in every Church, and having recommended them to the grace of God, departed from them. From hence they passed through *Pisidia* and thence came to *Pamphilia*, and having preached to the people at *Perga*, they went down to *Attalia*. And thus having at this time finished the whole circuit of their Ministry, they returned back to *Antioch in Syria*, the place whence they had first set out. Here they acquainted the Church with the various transactions and successes of their travels, and how great a door had hereby been opened to the conversion of the Gentile World.

8. WHILE S. Paul staid at *Antioch* there arose that famous controversy about the observance of the *Mosaick Rites*, set on foot and brought in by some Jewish Converts that came down thither, whereby great disturbances and distractions were made in the minds of the people. For the composing whereof the Church of *Antioch* resolved to send *Paul and Barnabas* to consult with the Apostles and Church at *Jerusalem*. In their way thither, they declared

declared to the Brethren, as they went along, what success they had had in the conversion of the Gentiles. Being come to *Jerusalem*, they first addressed themselves to *Peter, James, and John*, the pillars and principal persons in that place: By whom they were kindly entertained, and admitted to the right hand of fellowship. And perceiving by the account which S. Paul gave them, that the Gospel of the *uncircumcision* was committed to him, as that of the *circumcision* was to *Peter*; they ratified it by compact and agreement, that *Peter* should preach to the Jews, and *Paul* unto the Gentiles. Hereupon a Council was summoned, wherein *Peter* having declared his sense of things, *Paul* and *Barnabas* acquainted them what great things God by their Ministry had done among the Gentiles. A plain evidence, that though uncircumcised, they were accepted by God as well as the Jews with all their legal Rites and Privileges. The issue of the debate was, That the Gentiles were not under the obligation of the Law of *Moses*, and that therefore some persons of their own should be joyned with *Paul* and *Barnabas*, to carry the Canons and decrees of the Council down to *Antioch*, for their fuller satisfaction in this matter. But of this affair we shall give the Reader a more distinct and particular account in another place.

### S E C T. III.

Of S. Paul, from the time of the Synod at *Jerusalem*, till his departure from *Athens*.

S. Paul's carrying the Apostolick Decree to *Antioch*. His contest with *Peter*. The dissention between him and *Barnabas*. His Travels to confirm the new-planted Churches. The conversion of *Lydia* at *Philippi*. The Jewish Prosecution, what; the frequency of them in all places. The dispossessing of a *Pythionesse*. S. Paul's imprisonment and ill usage at *Philippi*. The great provision made by the Roman Laws for the security of its Subjects. His preaching at *Theffalonica* and *Berea*. His going to *Athens*. The fame of that place. His doctrine opposed by the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans*, and why. The great Idolatry and Superstition of that City. The Altar to the Unknown God. This Unknown God, who. The Superstition of the Jews in concealing the name of God. This imitated by the Gentiles. Their general Forms of Invoking their Deities noted. The particular occasion of these Altars at *Athens*, whence. S. Paul's discourse to the Philosophers in the *Areopagus* concerning the Divine Being and Providence. The different entertainment of his Doctrine. *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, who. His Learning, Conversion, and being made Bishop of *Athens*. The difference between him and S. Denys of *Paris*. The Books published under his name.

SAINT Paul and his Companions having received the Decretal Epistle, returned back to *Antioch*; where they had not been long before *Peter* came thither to them. And according to the Decree of the Council freely and inoffensively conversed with the Gentiles: Till some of the Jews coming down thither from *Jerusalem*, he withdrew his converse, as if it were a thing unwarrantable and unlawful. By which means the minds of many were

Acts 15.36.

were dissatisfied, and their Consciences very much ensnared. Whereat S. Paul being exceedingly troubled, publicly rebuked him for it, and that as the case required, with great sharpness and severity. It was not long after, that S. Paul and Barnabas resolved upon visiting the Churches, which they had lately planted among the Gentiles. To which end Barnabas determined to take his cousin Mark along with them. This, Paul would by no means agree to, he having deserted them in their former journey. A little spark, which yet kindled a great feud and dissention between these two good men, and arose to that height, that in some discontent they parted from each other. So natural is it for the best of men sometimes to indulge an unwarrantable passion, and so far to espouse the interest of a private and particular humour, as rather to hazard the great Law of Charity, and violate the bands of friendship, than to recede from it. The effect was, Barnabas taking his Nephew, went for Cyprus, his native Country, S. Paul made choice of Silas, and the success of his undertaking being first recommended to the Divine care and goodness, they set forwards on their journey.

2. THEIR first passage was into Syria and Cilicia, confirming the Churches as they went along. And to that end they left with them Copies of the Synodical Decrees, lately ordained in the Council at Jerusalem. Hence we may suppose it was that he set sail for Crete, where he preached and propagated Christianity, and constituted Titus to be the first Bishop and Pastor of that Island, whom he left there, to settle and dispose those affairs, which the shortness of his own stay in those parts would not suffer him to do. Hence he returned back unto Cilicia, and came to Lystra, where he found Timothy, whose Father was a Greek, his Mother a Jewish convert, by whom he had been brought up under all the advantages of a pious and religious education, and especially an incomparable skill and dexterity in the holy Scriptures. S. Paul designed him for the companion of his travels, and a special instrument in the Ministry of the Gospel, and knowing that his being uncircumcised would be a mighty prejudice in the opinion and estimation of the Jews, caused him to be circumcised; being willing in lawful and indifferent matters (such was Circumcision now become) to accommodate himself to mens humors and apprehensions for the saving of their Souls.

Acts 16.6.

3. FROM hence with his company he passed through Phrygia, and the Country of Galatia, where he was entertained by them with as mighty a kindness and veneration, as if he had been an Angel immediately sent from Heaven. And being by Revelation forbidden to go into Asia, by a second Vision he was commanded to direct his journey for Macedonia. And here it was that S. Luke joyned himself to his company, and became ever after his inseparable companion. Sailing from Troas, they arrived at the Island Samothracia, and thence to Neapolis, from whence they went to Philippi, the chief City of that part of Macedonia, and a Roman Colony: where he staid some considerable time to plant the Christian Faith, and where his Ministry had more particular success on Lydia, a Purple-seller, born at Thyatira, baptized together with her whole Family; and with her the Apostle sojourned during his residence in that place. A little without this City there was a Proseucha, *Προσκύνημα* as the Syriack renders it, an Oratory, or house of Prayer, whereto the Apostle and his company used frequently to retire, for the exercise of their Religion, and for preaching the Gospel to those that resorted thither. The Jews had three sorts of places for their publick worship: The Temple at Jerusalem, which was like the Cathedral, or Mother-Church, where all Sacrifices and Oblations were offered, and where

where all Males were bound three times a-year personally to pay their devotions: Their Synagogues (many whereof they had almost in every place, not unlike our Parochial Churches) where the Scriptures were read and expounded, and the people taught their duty. *Moses of old time hath in every City them that preach him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath-day.* And then they had their Proseuchæ (τὰ κατὰ πόλεις προσευχῆα, as Philo sometimes calls them) or Oratories, which were like Chappels of Ease to the Temple and the Synagogues, whither the people were wont to come solemnly to offer up their Prayers to Heaven. They were built (as \* Epiphanius informs us) *ἔξω τῆ πόλεως, ἐν ἀέρι καὶ ἀνεῳχτο τόπων*, without the City, in the open Air and uncovered, *τόποι πλατεῖς φόρων δίκην, προσευχῆς αὐτάς ἐκάλεον*, being large spacious places, after the manner of Fora, or Market-places, and these they called Proseuchæ's. And that the Jews and Samaritans had such places of Devotion, he proves from this very place at Philippi, where S. Paul preached. For they had them not in Judæa only, but even at Rome it self, where Tiberius (as \* Philo tells Caius the Emperor) suffered the Jews to inhabit the Transiberin Region, and undisturbedly to live according to the Rites of their Institutions, καὶ προσευχῆς ἔχειν, καὶ συνίεναι εἰς αὐτάς, καὶ μάλιτα ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐβδόμας, ὅτε δημοσίῃ, ἢ πατρὸν παιδεύονται φιλοσοφίαν, and also to have their Proseuchæ's, and to meet in them, especially upon their holy Sabbaths, that they might be familiarly instructed in the Laws and Religion of their Countrey. Such they had also in other places, especially where they had not, or were not suffered to have Synagogues for their publick worship. But to return,

4. AS they were going to this Oratory, they were often followed by a Pythonesse, a Maid-servant, acted by a spirit of Divination, who openly cried out, That these men were the servants of the most high God, who came to shew the way of Salvation to the World. So easily can Heaven extort a Testimony from the mouth of Hell. But S. Paul, to shew how little he needed Satan to be his witness, commanded the Demon to come out, which immediately left her. The evil Spirit thus thrown out of possession, presently raised a storm against the Apostles; for the Masters of the Damiel, who used by her Diabolical arts to raise great advantages to themselves, being sensible that now their gainful Trade was spoil'd, resolved to be revenged on them that had spoiled it. Accordingly they laid hold upon them, and drag'd them before the Seat of Judicature, insinuating to the Governours, that these men were Jews, and sought to introduce different customs and ways of worship, contrary to the Laws of the Roman Empire. The Magistrates and People were soon agreed, the one to give Sentence, the other to set upon the Execution. In fine, they were stript, beaten, and then commanded to be thrown into Prison; and the Jaylor charged to keep them with all possible care and strictness. Who to make sure of his charge, thrust them into the Inner Dungeon, and made their feet fast in the Stocks. But a good man can turn a Prison into a Chappel, and make a den of Thieves to be an house of Prayer. Our feet cannot be bound so fast to the Earth, but that still our hearts may mount up to Heaven. At midnight the Apostles were over-heard by their fellow-prisoners, praying, and singing Hymns to God. But after the still voice came the Tempest. An Earthquake suddenly shook the foundations of the Prison, the Doors flew open, and their Chains fell off. The Jaylor awaking with this amazing accident, concluded with himself, that the Prisoners were fled, and to prevent the Sentence of publick Justice, was going to lay violent hands upon himself, which S. Paul espying, called out to him to hold his hand, and told him they were

Acts 15.21.

De vit. Mos. lib.3.p.685.

\* Adv. Missal. Hieros. LXXX. p.450.

In qua se quer-  
ro Proseucha?  
Juvenal. Satyr.  
3.v.296.  
Proseucha] Jo-  
cus Judaeorum,  
ubi orant. Pet.  
Schol. ibid.  
\* De Legat. ad  
Caicum. p.1914.Milites stanti-  
serint custodi-  
ds, ipsi in peri-  
culum dedu-  
cuntur. 1.12 ff.  
de custod. Ex-  
hib. recor. Tit.3.

were all there: Who thereupon came in to them with a greater Earthquake in his own Conscience, and falling down before them, asked them, *What he should do to be saved?* They told him there was no other way of Salvation for him or his, than an hearty and sincere embracing of the Faith of *Christ*. What a happy change does Christianity make in the minds of men! How plain does it smoothe the roughest tempers, and instill the sweetest principles of civility and good nature! He who but a little before had tyrannized over the Apostles with the most merciless and cruel usage, began now to treat them with all the arts of kindness and charity, bringing them out of the Dungeon, and washing their stripes and wounds, and being more fully instructed in the principles of Christianity, was together with his whole Family, immediately baptized by them. Early in the morning the Magistrates sent Officers privately to release them: Which the Apostles refused, telling them, That they were not only innocent persons, but *Romans*; that they had been illegally condemned and beaten, that therefore their delivery should be as publick, as the injury, and an open vindication of their innocency, and that they themselves, that had sent them thither, should fetch them thence;

*Ista laus primum est majorum nostrorum, Quirites, qui lenitate legum vestram libertatem munitam esse voluerunt. Quamobrem inviolatum corpus omnium civium Romanorum integrum libertatis defendo servari oportere. Porcia Lex virgæ ab omnium civium Rom. Corpore amovit. C. Gracchus legem tulit, ne de capite civium Rom. injussu vestro judicaretur. Cicer. Orat. pro C. Rabir. p. 314. Tom. 2.*

\* L. 7. ff. de injuriis, lib. 49. Tit. 10.

for the *Roman* Government was very tender of the lives and liberties of its own subjects, those especially that were free *Denizens* of *Rome*, every injury offered to a *Roman* being look'd upon as an affront against the Majesty of the whole People of *Rome*. Such a one might not be beaten; but to be scourged, or bound, without being first legally heard and tried, was not only against the *Roman*, but the Laws of all Nations: \* and the more publick any injury was, the greater was its aggravation, and the Laws required a more strict and solemn reparation. *S. Paul* who was a *Roman*, and very well understood the Laws and privileges of *Rome*, insisted upon this, to the great startling and affrighting of the Magistrates, who sensible of their error, came to the Prison, and intreated them to depart. Whereupon going to *Lydia's* house, and having saluted and encouraged the Brethren, they departed from that place.

5. LEAVING *Philippi*, they came next to *Thessalonica*, the Metropolis of *Macedonia*; where *Paul*, according to his custom, presently went to the Jewish Synagogue, for three Sabbath-days, reasoning and disputing with them, proving from the predictions of the Old Testament, that the *Messiah* was to suffer, and to rise again, and that the blessed *Jesus* was this *Messiah*. Great numbers, especially of religious *Profelytes*, were converted by his preaching: while like the Sun that melts wax, but hardens clay, it wrought a quite contrary effect in the unbelieving *Jews*, who presently set themselves to blow up the City into a tumult and an uproar, and missing *S. Paul* (who had withdrawn himself) they fell foul upon *Jason*, in whose house he lodged; representing to the Magistrates, that they were enemies to *Cæsar*, and sought to undermine the peace and prosperity of the *Roman* Empire. At night *Paul* and *Silas* were conducted by the Brethren to *Berea*. Where going to the Synagogue, they found the People of a more noble and generous, a more pliable and ingenuous temper, ready to entertain the Christian Doctrine, but yet not willing to take it merely upon the Apostles word, till they had first compared his preaching with what the Scriptures say of the *Messiah* and his Doctrine. And the success was answerable, in those great numbers that came over to them. But the Jewish malice pursued them still, for hearing at *Thessalonica*, what entertainment they had found in this place, they

they presently came down, to exasperate and stir up the People. To avoid which, *S. Paul* leaving *Silas* and *Timothy* behind him, thought good to withdraw himself from that place.

6. FROM *Berea* he went to *Athens*, one of the most renowned Cities in the World, excelling all others (says an Ancient \* *Historian*) in *Antiquity*, *Humanity*, and *Learning*. Indeed it was the great seat of Arts and Learning, and as *Cicero* will have it, the Fountain whence Civility, Learning, Religion, Arts and Laws were derived into all other Nations. So universally flocked to by all that had but the least kindness for the *Muses*, or good Manners, that he who had not seen *Athens*, was accounted a *Block*; he who having seen it, was not in love with it, a dull stupid *Ass*; and he who after he had seen it, could be willing to leave it, fit for nothing but to be a *Pack-Horse*. Here among the several Sects of Philosophers, he had more particular contests with the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans*, who beyond all the rest seemed enemies to Christianity. The *Epicureans*, because they found their pleasant and jovial humour, and their loose and exorbitant course of life, so much checked and controlled by the strict and severe precepts of *Christ*, and that Christianity so plainly and positively asserted a Divine providence, that governs the World, and that will adjudge to men suitable rewards and punishments in another World. The *Stoicks* on the other hand, though pretending to principles of great and uncommon rigour and severity, and such as had nearest affinity to the doctrines of the Christian Religion, yet found themselves aggrieved with it: That meek and humble temper of mind, that modesty and self-denial, which the Gospel so earnestly recommends to us, and so strictly requires of us, being so directly contrary to the immoderate pride and ambition of that Sect, who beyond all proportions of reason were not ashamed to make their wife man equal to, and in some things to exceed God himself.

*Tantum sapi-  
entia sua, quar-  
um Deo omnis  
atque pater. Est  
aliquid, quo  
sapiens antecedit Deum: ille naturæ beneficio non timet, suo sapiens. Ecce res magna, habere imbecillitatem hominis, securitatem Dei. Senec. Epist. 53. p. 131. Solebat Sextius dicere, foveam plus non posse, quam bonum virum. Plura Jupiter habet, quæ præstet hominibus, sed inter duos bonos non est melior, qui locupletior. Jupiter quo antecedit virum bonum? diutius bonus est. Sapiens nihilo se minoris aestimat, quod virtutes ejus ipso breviori clauduntur. Id. Epist. 73. p. 203.*

7. WHILE *S. Paul* staid at *Athens* in expectation of *Silas* and *Timothy* to come to him, he went up and down to take a more curious view and survey of the City; which he found miserably overgrown with Superstition and Idolatry. As indeed *Athens* was noted by all their own Writers for far greater numbers of *Deities* and *Idols* than all *Greece* besides. They were *ὡς περὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενῶντες, ὅτω καὶ περὶ τῆς Θεῆς: πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ξενικῶν ἱερῶν παρεδίδξαντο*, as \* *Strabo* notes: Not more fond of strangers and novelties in other things, than forward to comply with novelties in Religion, ready to entertain any foreign Deities and Rites of worship; no Divinity that was elsewhere adored, coming amiss to them. Whence *Athens* is by one of their own *Orators* stiled τὸ μέγιστον ἡ εὐσεβείας κεφάλαιον, the great Summ and Center of Piety and Religion: And he there aggravates the impiety of *Epicurus*, in speaking unworthily and irreverently of the Gods, from the place where he did it; at *Athens*, a place so pious, so devoted to them. Indeed herein justly commendable, that they could not brook the least

*Ἀλέκῳ δὲ μοι καὶ πρὸς πρῶτον ὡς Ἀθηναίοις φιλοξενῶντι πῶς τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς τὰ θεῖα ἔστι σπουδή. Pausan. lib. 1. p. 42. τάς τε καὶ εἰς εὐλαβήσαντων κόνων κατέστησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Θεοὺς ἐνοστήσαν ἄλλων πλῆθος. Id. Ἐπὶ ξενικοῖς ὡς Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς τὰς κατὰ λόγους Ἀπολλωνίου ἐν Κηφισί. Hesych. in voc. Θεοί. p. 438.*

*αὐτὸν δὲ θεοφίλων καὶ μέγαν Ἀθηναίων ἀρχαίων φιλοθεῶντες εἰσι πλεῖστοι. Nonn. Dionys. lib. 38. p. 542. \* Geograph. lib. 10. pag. 325. † Himer. Orat. in Epicur. ap. Phot. Cod. CCXLIII. col. 1086.*

\* Philostr. de vit. Apollon. lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 262. & ex eo, Suid. in voc. Τιμα-εἶον. least dishonourable reflexion upon any Deity, and therefore \* Apollonius Tyaneus tells Timasion, that the safest way was to speak well of all the Gods, and especially at Athens, where Altars were dedicated even to Unknown Gods. And so S. Paul here found it, for among the several Shrines and places of Worship and Devotion, he took more particular notice of one Altar inscrib'd To the Unknown God. The intire Inscription, whereof the Apostle quotes only part of the last words, is thought to have been this.

Oecumen. Schol. in Act. 17. pag. 137.



TO the Gods of Asia, Europe, and Africa, to the strange and UNKNOWN GOD. Saint \* Hierom represents it in the same manner, onely makes it Gods in the plural number, which because, says he, Saint Paul needed not, he only cited it in the singular. Which surely he affirms without any just ground and warrant: though it cannot be denied, but that Heathen Writers make frequent mention of the Altars of Unknown Gods, that were at Athens, as there want not others who speak of some erected there to an unknown God. This Notion the Athenians might probably borrow from the Hebrews, who had the Name of God in great secrecy and veneration. This being one of the Titles given him by the Prophet מְסֻתָּה a hidden God, or a God that hides himself. Sure I am that \* Justin Martyr tells us, that one of the principal names given to God by some

Isid. 45. 15. || Paren. ad Græc. p. 37.

some of the Heathens, was Πάγκρυπτος. one altogether hidden. Hence the Egyptians probably derived their great God Ammon, or more truly Amun, which signifies occult, or hidden. Accordingly in this passage of S. Paul the Syriac Interpreter renders it, the Altar *ἱεὺς τοῦ κρυπτοῦ* of the hidden God. The Jews were infinitely superstitious in concealing the Name of God, not thinking it lawful ordinarily to pronounce it. This made the Gentiles, strangers at best both to the Language and Religion of the Jews, at a great loss by what Name to call him, only styling him in general an uncertain, unspeakable, invisible Deity; whence \* Caligula in his ranting Oration to the Jews, told them, that wretches as they were, though they refused to own him, whom all others had confessed to be a Deity, yet they could worship τὸν ἀκατάνομαστον ὑμῶν, their own nameless God. And hence the Gentiles derived their custom of keeping secret the name of their Gods; Thus (a) Plutarch tells us of the Tutelar Deity of Rome, that it was not lawful to name it, or so much as to enquire what Sex it was of, whether God or Goddess; and that for once revealing it, Valerius Soranus, though Tribune of the People, came to an untimely end, and was crucified, the vilest and most dishonourable kind of death. Whereof among other reasons he assigns this, that by concealing the Author of their publick safety, μὴ μόνον τῶτον, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν τὰς θεὰς τιμᾶσαι, not he only, but all the other Gods might have due honour and worship paid to them. Hence in their publick adorations, after the Invocation of particular Deities, they were wont to add some more general and comprehensive form, as when Cicero had been making his address to most of their particular Gods, he concludes with a \* Ceteros item Deos, Deasque omnes imploro atque obtestor. Usually the form was, DII DEAEQUE OMNES. The reason whereof was this, that not being assured many times what that peculiar Deity was, that was proper to their purpose, or what numbers of Gods there were in the World, they would not affront or offend any, by seeming to neglect and pass them by. And this \* Chrysostome thinks to have been particularly designed in the erection of this Athenian Altar, μήποτε ἢ ἄλλός τις ἢ αυτοῖς μὴ ὑδέπω γινώσκω, & ἀλλὰ ἄλλοι, they were afraid lest there might be some other Deity (besides those whom they particularly worshipped) as yet unknown to them, though honoured and adored elsewhere, and therefore ὑπὲρ ὧλε-οῖος ἀσφαλείας, for the more security, they dedicated an Altar to the unknown God. As for the particular occasion of erecting these Altars at Athens (omitting that of Pans appearing to Philippiades, mentioned by Oecumenius) the most probable seems to be this. When a great Plague raged at \* Athens, and several means had been attempted for the removal of it, they were advised by Epimenides the Philosopher, to build an Altar, and dedicate it τῷ προσήκοι δὲ θεῷ, to the proper and peculiar Deity, to whom it did appertain, be he what he would. A course which proving successful, no doubt gave occasion to them by way of gratitude to erect more shrines to this unknown God. And accordingly Laertius who lived long after S. Paul's time, tells us that there were such nameless Altars (he means such as were not inscribed to any particular Deity) in and about Athens in his days, as Monuments of that eminent deliverance.

\* En ὃ ἅπλῶς πολλῶν νομιζόντων ἴδιον παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ὄνομα τῷ Διὶ καὶ Ἀμῶν (ὃ παράγοντες ἡμεῖς Ἀμμωνα λέγομεν) Μανεδῶς δὲ ὁ Σεβέντιος τὴν κεκρυμμένην εἰσέται, καὶ τὴν κρυφὴν τῶν πάντων διὰ τῶν φωνῶν, Plutarch. lib. de Isid. & Osir. p. 354.

— dedita sacris Incerti Index Dei, Lucan. Pharsal. lib. 2. incertum. Mojsis nu. c. c. Tribol. Pol. in vit. Claud. c. 2. p. 800.

Judæi mente sola, unumque nomen intel- ligunt; summum illud & æternum, neque mu- tabile, neque interituum. Tacit. Histor. lib. 5. c. 5. p. 535.

\* Phil. de legat. ad Cui. p. 1041.

\* In Verr. Accus. 7. p. 223. Post specialem invocationem. transit ad generalitatem, ne quod nomen praterat, more Pontificum. per quos ritu veteri in omnibus sacris, post speciales Deos, quos ad ipsum sacrum, quod sebat, necesse erat in- vocari, generaliter omnia numina invocantur. Serv. in illud Virgil. Georgic. lib. 1. Diique De- que omnes.

|| Homil. 38. in Act. p. 705. || Laert. lib. 1. in vit. Epimen. p. 78. K BUT

7. BUT whatever the particular cause might be, hence it was that *Paul* took occasion, to discourse of the true, but to them *unknown God*. For the Philosophers had before treated him with a great deal of scorn and derision, asking what that idle and prating fellow had to say to them? Others looking upon him as a propagator of new and strange Gods, because he preached to them *Jesus* and *Anastasis* or the Resurrection, which they looked upon as two upstart Deities, lately come into the World. Hereupon they brought him to the place, where stood the famous Senate-house of the *Areopagites*, and according to the *Athenian* humour, which altogether delighted in curious novelties, running up and down the *Forum*, and places of publick concourse to see any strange accident, or hear any new report (a Vice which their own great \* Orator long since taxed them with) they asked him, what that new and strange Doctrine was, which he preached to them? Whereupon, in a neat and elegant discourse he began to tell them, he had observed how much they were over-run with *superstition*, that their zeal for Religion was indeed generous and commendable, but which miserably over shot its due measures and proportions; that he had taken notice of an *Altar* among them Inscribed, *To the unknown God*, and therefore in compassion to their blind and misguided zeal, he would declare unto them the Deity which they ignorantly worshipped; and that this was no other, than the great God, the Creator of all things, the Supreme Governor and Ruler of the World, who was incapable of being confined within any Temple or humane Fabrick: That no Image could be made as a proper Instrument to represent him; that he needed no Gifts or Sacrifices, being himself the Fountain, from whence Life, Breath, and all other blessings were derived to particular Beings: That from one common original he had made the whole Race of Mankind, and had wisely fixed and determined the times and bounds of their habitation: And all to this end, that Men might be the stronger obliged to seek after him, and sincerely to serve and worship him. A duty which they might easily attain to (though otherwise sunk into the deepest degeneracy, and overspread with the grossest darkness) he every where affording such palpable evidences of his own being and providence, that he seemed to stand near, and

touch us; It being intirely from him, that we derive our life, motion, and subsistence. A thing acknowledged even by their own *Poet*, that *We also are his Offspring*. If therefore God was our Creator, it was highly unreasonable, to think that we could make any Image or Representation of Him: That it was too long already, that the Divine patience

had born with the manners of Men, and suffered them to go on in their blind Idolatries, that now he expected a general repentance and reformation from the World, especially having by the publishing of his Gospel put out of all dispute the case of a future judgment, and particularly appointed the Holy *Jesus* to be the Person that should sentence and judge the World: By whose Resurrection he had given sufficient evidence and assurance of it. No sooner had he mentioned the Resurrection, but some of the Philosophers (no doubt *Epicureans*, who were wont to laugh at the notion of a future state) mocked and derided him, others more gravely answered, that they would hear him again concerning this matter. But his discourse however scorned and slighted, did not wholly want its desired effect, and that upon some of the greatest quality and rank among them. In the number of whom was *Dionysius* one of the grave Senators and Judges of the *Areopagus*, and *Damaris*, whom the Ancients\* not improbably make his Wife.

8. THIS

8. THIS *Dionysius* was bred at *Athens*, in all the learned Arts and Sciences; at five and twenty Years of Age, he is said to have travelled into *Egypt*, to perfect himself in the study of *Astrology*, for which that Nation had the credit and renown. Here beholding the miraculous Eclipse that was at the time of our *Saviour's* Passion, he concluded that some great accident must needs be coming upon the World. Returning to *Athens*, he became one of the Senators of the *Areopagus*, disputed with *S. Paul*, and was by him converted from his Errours and Idolatry; and being thoroughly instructed, was by him (as the \* Ancients inform us) made the first Bishop of *Athens*. As for those that tell us, that he went afterwards into *France* by the direction of *Clement* of *Rome*, planted Christianity at, and became Bishop of *Paris*, of his suffering Martyrdom there under *Domitian*, his carrying his Head for the space of two Miles in his Hand, after it had been cut off, and the rest of his Miracles done before, and after his Death, I have as little leisure to enquire into them, as I have faith to believe them. Indeed the foundation of all is justly denied, viz. that ever he was there, a thing never heard of till the times of *Charles the Great*, though since that, Volumes have been written of this controversy both heretofore, and of later times, among which *J. Sirmondus* the Jesuit, and *Monsieur Launoy*, one of the learned Doctors of the *Sorbon*, have unanswerably proved the *Athenian* and *Parisian Dionysius* to be distinct Persons. For the Books that go under his name, *M. Daillé* has sufficiently evinced them to be of a date many Hundred Years younger than *S. Denys*, though I doubt not but they may claim a greater Antiquity, than what he allows them. But whoever was their Author, I am sure *Suidas* has over-stretched the praise of them beyond all proportion, when he gives them this character, ἡ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὰ κάλλη τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων, καὶ τὰ βιβλία τῶν νοημάτων, ἐκ ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ταῦτα νομίσαι γεινῆματα, ἀλλὰ τινος ἀκρεάτου καὶ δίκας δυνάμεως, that whoever considers the elegance of his discourses, and the profoundness of his notions and speculations, must needs conclude that they are not the issue of any humane understanding, but of some Divine and Immaterial Power. But to return to our Apostle.

\* *Dionys. Corinth. Episc. ap. Euseb. lib. 3. c. 4. p. 74. lib. 4. c. 22. p. 144.*  
 \* *Martyrium S. Dionys. per S. Metaphr. ap. Sur. ad diem 9. Octob. Epist. Hist. lib. 5. c. 1. c. 20. p. 167.*

\* Τοῦτον  
 χρονον παυλοῦ  
 ζῆτε. ὅσον ἐν  
 καὶ οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ  
 οὐδὲν ἢν ὡς  
 ἀλλὰ οὐδὲν π  
 νεότερον,  
 Demosth. Phil.  
 lip. 4. p. 53.

πῶς ὁ Διὸς κεκρήμεθα πάντες.  
 ΤΟΤΕ ΤΑΡ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΝΟΞ ΕΜΕΝ ὁ δ' ἦν πῶς  
 Δεῖν ὁ σημεῖον ἄλλοι. Ph. in. in prin. (ἀνθρώποις)  
 αὐτὸς τὸ πατρὸς ἀνθρώπων τε θεῶν τε. οἱ δ' αὐτὸς  
 καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ χρόνῳ πρὸς τὸ πῶς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ  
 στελέος, αὐτὸς ἀνθρώπων, αὐτὸν πατέρα καὶ  
 δημιουργὸν ὡς πατέρα ἔχοντες. Schol. ibid.

\* *Christ. de  
 Sacerdot. lib. 4.  
 c. 7. p. 67. 7. 1.*

K 2

SECT.

## SECT. IV.

## Of S. Paul's Acts at Corinth and Ephesus.

S. Paul's arrival at Corinth. The opposition made by the Jews. The success of his Preaching upon others. His first Epistle to the Thessalonians, when written. His Arraignment before Gallio. The second Epistle to the Thessalonians, and the design of it. S. Paul's voyage to Jerusalem. His coming to Ephesus. Disciples baptized into John's Baptism. S. Paul's preaching at Ephesus, and the Miracles wrought by him. Ephesus noted for the study of Magick. Jews eminently versed in Charms and Incantments. The Original of the Mystery, whence pretended to have been derived. The ill attempt of the Sons of Sceva to dispossess Demons in the name of Christ. S. Paul's doctrine greatly successful upon this sort of men. Books of Magick forbidden by the Roman Laws. S. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, why, and when written. Diana's Temple at Ephesus, and its great stateliness and magnificence. The mutiny against S. Paul raised by Demetrius, and his party. S. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, upon what occasion written. His Epistle to Titus. Apollonius Tyanæus, whether at Ephesus at the same time with S. Paul. His Miracles pretended to be done in that City.

Acts 18. 1.

1. **A**FTER his departure from Athens, he went to Corinth, the Metropolis of Greece, and the residence of the Proconsul of Achaia: where he found Aquila and Priscilla lately come from Italy, banished out of Rome by the Decree of Claudius: And they being of the same trade and profession, wherein he had been educated in his youth, he wrought together with them, lest he should be unnecessarily burdensome unto any, which for the same reason he did in some other places. Hither, after some time, Silas and Timothy came to him. In the Synagogue he frequently disputed with the Jews and Profelytes, reasoning and proving, that Jesus was the true Messiah. They, according to the nature of the men, made head and opposed him, and what they could not conquer by argument and force of reason, they endeavoured to carry by noise and clamour, mixed with blasphemies and revilings, the last refuges of an impotent and baffled cause. Whereat to testify his resentment, he shook his Garments, and told them, since he saw them resolved to pull down vengeance and destruction upon their own heads, he for his part was guiltless and innocent, and would henceforth address himself unto the Gentiles. Accordingly he left them, and went into the house of Justus, a religious Profelyte, where by his preaching and the many miracles which he wrought, he converted great Numbers to the Faith. Amongst which were Crispus, the Chief Ruler of the Synagogue, Gaius, and Stephanus, who together with their Families embraced the Doctrine of the Gospel, and were baptized into the Christian Faith. But the constant returns of malice and ingratitude are enough to tire the largest charity, and cool the most generous resolution: therefore that the Apostle might not be discouraged by the restless attempts and machinations of his enemies, our Lord appeared to him in a Vision, told him that notwithstanding the bad success he had hitherto met with, there was a great Harvest to be gathered in that

that place, that he should not be afraid of his enemies, but go on to preach confidently and securely, for that he himself would stand by him and preserve him.

2. ABOUT this time, as is most probable, he wrote his first Epistle to the Thessalonians, Silas and Timothy being lately returned from thence, and having done the message for which he had sent them thither. The main design of the Epistle, is to confirm them in the belief of the Christian Religion, and that they would persevere in it, notwithstanding all the afflictions and persecutions, which he had told them would ensue upon their profession of the Gospel, and to instruct them in the main duties of a Christian and Religious life. While the Apostle was thus employed, the malice of the Jews was no less at work against him, and universally combining together, they brought him before Gallio the Proconsul of the Province, elder Brother to the famous Seneca: Before him they accused the Apostle as an Innovator in Religion, that sought to introduce a new way of worship, contrary to what was established by the Jewish Law, and permitted by the Roman Powers. The Apostle was ready to have pleaded his own cause, but the Proconsul told them, that had it been a matter of right or wrong, that had fall'n under the cognizance of the Civil Judicature, it had been very fit and reasonable that he should have heard and determined the case, but since the controversy was only concerning the punctilio's and niceties of their Religion, it was very improper for him to be a Judge in such matters. And when they still clamoured about it, he threw out their Indictment, and commanded his Officers to drive them out of Court. Whereupon some of the Towns-men seized upon Sosthenes, one of the Rulers of the Jewish Consistory, a man active and busie in this Insurrection, and beat him even before the Court of Judicature, the Proconsul not at all concerning himself about it. A year and an half Saint Paul continued in this place, and before his departure thence, wrote his second Epistle to the Thessalonians, to supply the want of his coming to them, which in his former he had resolved on, and for which, in a manner, he had engaged his promise. In this therefore he endeavours again to confirm their minds in the truth of the Gospel, and that they would not be shaken with those troubles which the wicked unbelieving Jews would not cease to create them; a lost and undone race of men, and whom the Divine vengeance was ready finally to overtake. And because some passages in his former Letter, relating to this destruction, had been mis-understood, as if this day of the Lord were just then at hand, he rectifies those mistakes, and shews what must precede our Lord's coming unto Judgment.

3. **S. PAUL** having thus fully planted and cultivated the Church at Corinth, resolved now for Syria. And taking along with him Aquila and Priscilla, at Cenchrea, the Port and Harbour of Corinth, Aquila (for of him it is certainly to be understood) shaved his head, in performance of a Nazarite-Vow he had formerly made, the time whereof was now run out. In his passage into Syria he came to Ephesus, where he preached a while in the Synagogue of the Jews. And though desired to stay with them, yet having resolved to be at Jerusalem at the Passover (probably that he might have the fitter opportunity to meet his friends, and preach the Gospel to those vast numbers that usually flock'd to that great solemnity) he promised, that in his return he would come again to them. Sailing thence, he landed at Casarea, and thence went up to Jerusalem, where having visited the Church, and kept the Feast, he went down to Antioch. Here having staid some time, he traversed the Countries of Galatia, and Phrygia,

Act. 19. 1.

confirming, as he went, the new-converted Christians, and so came to *Ephesus*, where finding certain Christian Disciples, he enquired of them, whether, since their conversion, they had received the miraculous gifts and powers of the Holy Ghost. They told him, that the Doctrine which they had received had nothing in it of that nature, nor had they ever heard that any such extraordinary Spirit had of late been bestowed upon the Church. Hereupon he further enquired, unto what they had been baptized (the Christian Baptism being administered in the name of the Holy Ghost?) They answered, they had received no more than *John's* Baptism; which though it obliged men to repentance, yet did it explicitly speak nothing of the Holy Ghost, or its gifts and powers. To this the Apostle replied, That though *John's* Baptism did openly oblige to nothing but Repentance, yet that it did implicitly acknowledge the whole Doctrine concerning *Christ* and the Holy Ghost. Whereunto they assenting, were solemnly initiated by Christian Baptism, and the Apostle laying his hands upon them, they immediately received the Holy Ghost, in the gift of Tongues, Prophecy, and other miraculous powers conferred upon them.

4. AFTER this he entered into the Jewish Synagogues, where for the first three months he contended and disputed with the Jews, endeavouring with great earnestness and resolution to convince them of the truth of those things that concerned the Christian Religion. But when instead of success, he met with nothing but refractoriness and infidelity, he left the Synagogue, and taking those with him whom he had converted, instructed them, and others that resorted to him, in the School of one *Tyrannus*, a place where Scholars were wont to be educated and instructed. In this manner he continued for two years together: In which time the Jews and Proselytes of the whole *Proconsular Asia* had opportunity of having the Gospel preached to them. And because Miracles are the clearest evidence of a Divine commission, and the most immediate Credentials of Heaven, those which do nearest affect our senses, and consequently have the strongest influence upon our minds, therefore God was pleased to ratify the doctrine which *S. Paul* delivered by great and miraculous operations; and those of somewhat a more peculiar and extraordinary nature. Inasmuch that he did not only heal those that came to him, but if Napkins or Handkerchiefs were but touched by him, and applied unto the sick, their diseases immediately vanished, and the Demons and evil Spirits departed out of those that were possessed by them.

5. *EPHESUS*, above all other places in the World, was noted of old for the study of *Magick*, and all secret and hidden Arts, whence the *ἑφῆσια γράμματα* so often spoken of by the Ancients, which were certain obscure and mystical Spells and Charms, by which they endeavoured to heal Diseases, and drive away evil Spirits, and do things beyond the reach and apprehensions of common people. Besides other professors of this black Art, there were at this time at *Ephesus* certain Jews, who dealt in the arts of *Exorcism* and Incantation; a craft and mystery which \* *Josephus* affirms to have been derived from *Solomon*; who, he tells us, did not only find it out, but composed forms of *Exorcism* and Incantation, whereby to cure diseases, and expel Demons, so as they should never return again; and adds, *ὅτι αὐτὴ μὴ χεῖρ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἡ θεοπραγμία πλεῖστον ἰσχύει*, That this Art was still in force among the Jews: Instances whereof, he tells us, he himself had seen, having beheld one *Eleazar* a Jew, in the presence of *Vespasian*, his Sons, and the great Officers of his Army, curing *Demoniacs*, by holding a ring to their nose, under whose Seal was hid the root of a certain Plant, prescribed by *Solomon*, at the

*ἑφῆσια γράμματα*, ἐπωδὸν τινὲς δυσπαράνολα ὄντων. *Suid. in voc.* *ἑφῆσια γράμματα*, *vid. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. p. 305, 306.* \* *Antiq. Jud. lib. 8. cap. 2. p. 257.*

the scent whereof the *Demon* presently took leave and was gone, the Patient falling to the ground, while the Exorcist, by mentioning *Solomon*, and reciting some Charms made by him, stood over him, and charged the evil Spirit never to return. And to let them see that he was really gone, he commanded the *Demon* as he went out to overturn a cup full of water, which he had caused to be set in the room before them. In the number of these Conjurors now at *Ephesus*, there were the seven Sons of *Sceva*, one of the chief heads of the Families of the Priests, who seeing what great things were done by calling over *Demoniacs* the name of *Christ*, attempted themselves to do the like, Conjuring the evil Spirit in the name of that *Jesus*, whom *Paul* preached, to depart. But the stubborn *Demon* would not obey the warrant, telling them, he knew who *Jesus* and *Paul* were, but did not understand what authority they had to use his name. And not content with this, forced the *Demoniac* violently to fall upon them, to tear their clothes, and wound their bodies, scarce suffering them to escape with the safety of their lives. An accident that begot great terror in the minds of men, and became the occasion of converting many to the Faith, who came to the Apostle, and confessed the former course and manner of their lives. Several also, who had traded in curious Arts, and the mysterious methods of Spells and Charms, freely brought their Books of *Magick* Rites (whose price, had they been to be sold, according to the rates which men who dealt in those cursed mysteries put upon them, would have amounted to the value of above One thousand Five hundred pounds) and openly burnt them before the people, themselves adjudging them to those flames, to which they were condemned by the Laws of the Empire. For so we find the \* *Roman* Laws prohibiting any to keep Books of *Magick* Arts, and that where any such were found, their Goods should be forfeited, the Books publicly burned, the persons banished, and if of a meaner rank, beheaded. These Books the penitent converts did of their own accord sacrifice to the fire, not tempted to spare them either by their former love to them, or the present price and value of them. With so mighty an efficacy did the Gospel prevail over the minds of men.

6. ABOUT this time it was that the Apostle writ his Epistle to the *Galatians*. For he had heard, that since his departure, corrupt opinions had got in amongst them about the necessary observation of the legal Rites, and that several Impostors were crept into that Church, who knew no better way to undermine the Doctrine he had planted there, than by vilifying his person, slighting him as an Apostle only at the second hand, not to be compared with *Peter*, *James* and *John*, who had familiarly conversed with *Christ* in the days of his flesh, and been immediately deputed by him. In this Epistle therefore he reproves them with some necessary smartness and severity, that they had been so soon led out of that right way, wherein he had set them, and had so easily suffered themselves to be imposed upon by the crafty artifices of seducers. He vindicates the honour of his Apostolate, and the immediate receiving his Commission from *Christ*, wherein he shews, that he came not behind the very best of those Apostles. He largely refutes those *Judaical* opinions, that had tainted and infected them, and in the conclusion instructs them in the rules and duties of an holy life. While the Apostle thus staid at *Ephesus*, he resolved with himself to pass through *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, thence to *Jerusalem*, and so to *Rome*. But for the present altered his resolution, and continued still at *Ephesus*.

*Act. 19. 19.* *συνέψαλλον τὰς βιβλὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐβρεχάζοντες μυστήρια πολλὰ. Ἀργύριον Gr. 1600- rum valuit Drachmam Atticam, adeoque nostrum 7 d. ob.* *Ac proinde Ἀργύρια μυριάδες quinque nummi nostri summam faciunt 1562 l. 10 s.* \* *Paul. 1C. Sentent. lib. 5. Sent. 21. Sect. 4. Tit. 23. ad leg. Corneli. de Sicar. & Venefic. vid. leg. 4. ff. fam. heredit. Sect. 1. lib. 10 T. 2. § 1. 12. C. Theod. de Malef. & Mathem. lib. 9. Tit. 16.*

7. DU-

7. DURING his stay in this place, an accident happened, that involved him in great trouble and danger. *Ephesus* above all the Cities of the

East was renowned for the famous Temple of *Diana*, one of the stateliest Temples of the World. It was (as \* *Pliny* tells us) the very wonder of magnificence, built at the common charges of all *Asia* properly so called, 220 Years (elsewhere || he says 400) in building, which we are to understand of its successive rebuildings and reparations, being often wasted and destroyed. It was 425 Foot long, 220 broad, supported by 127 Pillars,

60 Foot high; for its antiquity it was in some degree before the times of *Bacchus*, equal to the Reign of the *Amazons* (by whom it is generally said to have been first built) as the \* *Ephesian* Ambassadors told *Tiberius*, till by degrees it grew up into that greatness and splendor, that it was generally reckoned one of the seven wonders of the World. But that which gave the greatest fame and reputation to it, was an *Image* of *Diana* kept there, made of no very costly materials, but which the crafty Priests persuaded the People was beyond all humane artifice or contrivement, and that it was immediately formed by *Jupiter*, and dropt down from Heaven, having first killed, or banished the Artists that made it (as || *Suidas* informs us) that the cheat might not be discovered, by which means they drew not *Ephesus* only, but the whole World into a mighty veneration of it. Besides there were within this Temple multitudes of Silver Cabinets, or *Chappelets*, little Shrines, made in fashion of the Temple, wherein was placed the *Image* of *Diana*. For the making of these holy shrines, great numbers of Silver-smiths were employed and maintained, among whom one *Demetrius* was a Leading-man, who foreseeing that if the Christian Religion still got ground, their gainful Trade would soon come to nothing, presently called together the Men of his Profession, especially those whom he himself set on work, told them, that now their welfare and livelihood were concerned, and that the fortunes of their Wives and Children lay at stake, that it was plain that this *Paul* had perverted City and Country, and persuaded the People that the *Images*, which they made and worshipped, were no real Gods; by which means their Trade was not only like to fall to the ground, but also the honour and magnificence of the great Goddess *Diana*, whom not *Asia* only, but the whole World did worship and adore. Enraged with this discourse, they cried out with one voice, that *Great was Diana of the Ephesians*. The whole City was presently in an uproar, and seizing upon two of *S. Paul's* Companions, hurried them into the Theatre, probably with a design to have cast them to the wild Beasts. *S. Paul* hearing of their danger, would have ventured himself among them, had not the Christians, nay, some even of the *Gentile* Priests, Governours of the popular Games and Sports, earnestly dissuaded him from it; well knowing that the People were resolved, if they could meet with him, to throw him to the wild Beasts, that were kept there for the disport and pleasure of the People. And this doubtless he means, when elsewhere he tells us, that *he fought with Beasts at Ephesus*, probably intending what the People designed, though he did not actually suffer; though the brutish rage, the savage and inhumane manners of this People did sufficiently deserve that the censure and character should be fixed upon themselves.

8. GREAT was the confusion of the Multitude, the major-part not knowing the reason of the Concourse. In which distraction *Alexander* a Jewish

\* *H. Natur. lib. 36. c. 14. p. 716.*

|| *Zib. 16. c. 40. p. 336.*

Σοὶ καὶ Ἀμαζόνιδες

Ἐνκοτε παρρηλίῃ ἔφευε βρέτης ἰδρυσαῖο.

— πῶν δ' ἔπ' ἀνέστην ὄλεται ἡδὲ

Οὐδ' ἀφινέτερον βία κ' ἢ Πυθῶνα παρῆλθαι.

*Calym. in Dian. Hymn. 2. p. 23.*

— πειρώσιν ἀνέστην δαίμα. *Dionys. Peri-*

*cr. v. 829.*

\* *Tacit. Annal.*

*lib. 3. c. 61.*

*p. 117.*

† *Suid. in voc.*

Διομήδης.

*Jewish* Convert being thrust forward by the *Jews*, to be questioned and examined about this matter, he would accordingly have made his *Apologie* to the People, intending no doubt to clear himself by casting the whole blame upon *S. Paul*; This being very probably that *Alexander the Copper-smith*, of whom our Apostle elsewhere complains, *That he did him much evil, and greatly withstood his words, and whom he delivered over unto Satan for his Apostasie, for blaspheming Christ, and reproaching Christianity.* But the Multitude perceiving him to be a *Jew*, and thereby suspecting him to be one of *S. Paul's* Associates, began to raise an out-cry for near two Hours together, wherein nothing could be heard, but *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*. The noise being a little over, the *Recorder*, a discreet and prudent Man, came out and calmly told them, That it was sufficiently known to all the World, what a mighty honour and veneration the City of *Ephesus* had for the great Goddess *Diana*, and the famous *Image* which fell from Heaven, that therefore there needed not this stir to vindicate and assert it: That they had seized Persons, who were not guilty either of *Sacrilege*, or *Blasphemy* towards their Goddess; that if *Demetrius* and his Company had any just charge against them, the Courts were sitting, and they might prefer their Indictment: or if the Controversie were about any other matter, it might be referred to such a proper Judicature, as the Law appoints for the determination of such cases: That therefore they should do well to be quiet, having done more already than they could answer, if called in question, (as 'tis like they would) there being no cause sufficient to justify that days riotous Assembly. With which prudent discourse, he appeased and dismissed the Multitude.

9. IT was about this time that *S. Paul* heard of some disturbance in the Church at *Corinth*, hatched and fomented by a pack of false heretical Teachers, crept in among them, who endeavoured to draw them into Parties and Factions, by persuading one Party to be for *Peter*, another for *Paul*, a third for *Apollos*, as if the man of Religion consisted in being of this or that Denomination, or in a warm active zeal to decry and oppose whoever is not of our narrow Sect. 'Tis a very weak and slender claim, when a Man holds his Religion by no better a title, than that he has joyned himself to this Man's Church, or that Man's Congregation, and is zealously earnest to maintain and promote it, to be childishly and passionately clamorous for one Man's mode and way of administration, or for some particular humour or opinion, as if Religion lay in nice and curious disputes, or in separating from our Brethren, and not rather in *righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*. By this means Schisms and Factions broke into the *Corinthian* Church, whereby many wild and extravagant Opinions, and some of them such as undermined the fundamental Articles of Christianity, were planted, and had taken root there. As the envious Man never fishes more successfully than in troubled Waters. To cure these Distempers *S. Paul* (who had received an Account of all this by Letters which *Apollos*, and some others had brought to him from the Church of *Corinth*) writes his first Epistle to them. Wherein he smartly reproves them for their Schisms and Parties, conjures them to peace and unity, corrects those gross corruptions that were introduced among them, and particularly resolves those many cases and controversies, wherein they had requested his advice and counsel. Shortly after *Apollos* designing to go for *Crete*, by him and *Zenas* *S. Paul* sends his Epistle to *Titus*, whom he had made Bishop of that Island, and had left there for the propagating of the Gospel. Herein he fully instructs him in the execution of his Office, how to carry himself, and what directions he should give to others.

others, to all particular ranks and relations of men, especially those who were to be advanced to places of Office and Authority in the Church.

10. A LITTLE before S. Paul's departure from *Ephesus*, we may not improbably suppose, that *Apollonius Tyaneus*, the famous Philosopher and Magician of the Heathen World (a Man remarkable for the strictness of his manners, and his sober and regular course of life, but especially for the great Miracles said to have been done by him; whom therefore the Heathens generally set up as the great Corridor of our Saviour; though some of his own party, and particularly \* *Euphratus* the Philosopher, who lived with him at the same time at *Rome*, accused him for doing his strange feats by *Magick*) came to *Ephesus*. The enemy of Mankind, probably designing to obstruct the propagation of Christianity, by setting up one who by the Arts of Magick might, at least in the Vogue and estimation of the People, equal, or eclipse the Miracles of S. Paul. Certain it is, if we compare times and actions set down by the || Writer of his Life, we shall find that he came hither about the beginning of *Nero's* Reign, and he particularly sets down the strange things that were done by him, especially his clearing the City of a grievous Plague, for which the People of *Ephesus* had him in such veneration, that they erected a *Statue* to him as to a particular Deity, and did divine honour to it. But whether this was before S. Paul's going thence, I will not take upon me to determine; it seems most probable to have been done afterwards.

\* Euseb. lib. 4. contr. Hierocl. p. 530. ad c. 11. Demonstr. Evang.

|| Philostr. de vit. Apollon. lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 159. & c. 12. p. 194. confer. lib. 5.

Ibid. lib. 4. c. 3. p. 164. vid. Euseb. in Hierocl. lib. 4. ap. Philostr. p. 457.

## S E C T. V.

S. Paul's Acts, from his departure from *Ephesus*, till his Arraignment before *Felix*.

S. Paul's journey into Macedonia. His preaching as far as Illyricum, and return into Greece. His second Epistle to the Corinthians, and what the design of it. His first Epistle to Timothy. His Epistle to the Romans whence written, and with what design. S. Paul's preaching at *Troas*, and raising *Eutychus*. His summoning the Asian Bishops to *Myletus*, and pathetic discourse to them. His stay at *Caesarea* with *Philip the Deacon*. The Churches passionate dissuading him from going to *Jerusalem*. His coming to *Jerusalem*, and compliance with the indifferent Rites of the Mosaic Law, and why. The tumults raised against him by the Jews, and his rescue by the Roman Captain. His asserting his Roman freedom. His carriage before the Sanhedrim. The difference between the Pharisees and Sadducees about him. The Jews conspiracy against his life discovered. His being sent unto *Caesarea*.

Acts 20. 1.

1. IT was not long after the tumult at *Ephesus*, when S. Paul having called the Church together, and constituted *Timothy* Bishop of that place, took his leave, and departed by *Troas* for *Macedonia*. And at this time it was, that, as he himself tells us, he preached the Gospel round about unto *Illyricum*, since called *Sclavonia*, some parts of *Macedonia* bordering on that Province. From *Macedonia* he returned back unto *Greece*, where he abode three

three months, and met with *Titus*, lately come with great contributions from the Church at *Corinth*. By whose example he stirr'd up the liberality of the *Macedonians*, who very freely, and somewhat beyond their ability contributed to the poor Christians at *Jerusalem*. From *Titus* he had an account of the present state of the Church at *Corinth*; and by him at his return, together with S. Luke, he sent his second Epistle to them. Wherein he endeavours to set right what his former Epistle had not yet effected, to vindicate his Apostleship from that contempt and scorn, and himself from those slanders and aspersions, which the seducers, who had found themselves last by his first Epistle, had cast upon him, together with some other particular cases relating to them. Much about the same time he writ his first Epistle to *Timothy*, whom he had left at *Ephesus*, wherein at large he counsels him, how to carry himself in the discharge of that great place and authority in the Church, which he had committed to him; instructs him in the particular qualifications of those whom he should make choice of, to be Bishops and Ministers in the Church. How to order the *Deaconesses*, and to instruct Servants, warning him withall of that pestilent generation of heretics and seducers, that would arise in the Church. During his three months stay in *Greece*, he went to *Corinth*, whence he wrote his famous Epistle to the *Romans*, which he sent by *Phabe*, a *Deaconess* of the Church of *Cenchrea*, nigh *Corinth*: wherein his main design is fully to state and determine the great controversy between the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, about the obligation of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Jewish Law, and those main and material Doctrines of Christianity, which did depend upon it, such as of Christian liberty, the use of indifferent things, &c. And which is the main end of all Religion, instructs them in, and presses them to the duties of an holy and good life, such as the Christian Doctrine does naturally tend to oblige men to.

2. S. PAUL being now resolved for *Syria*, to convey the contributions to the Brethren at *Jerusalem*, was a while diverted from that resolution, by a design he was told of which the *Jews* had to kill and rob him by the way. Whereupon he went back into *Macedonia*, and so came to *Philippi*, and thence went to *Troas*, where having staid a week, on the *Lords-day* the Church met together to receive the holy Sacrament. Here S. Paul preached to them, and continued his discourse till mid-night, the longer probably, being the next day to depart from them. The length of his discourse, and the time of the night had caused some of his Auditors to be overtaken with sleep and drowsiness, among whom a young man called *Eutychus* being fast asleep, fell down from the third story, and was taken up dead, but whom S. Paul presently restored to life and health. How indefatigable was the industry of our Apostle! how close did he tread in his Masters steps, who went about doing good! He compassed Sea and Land, preached and wrought miracles where-ever he came. In every place like a wise Master-builder, he either laid a foundation, or raised the superstructure. He was instant in season and out of season, and spared not his pains, either night or day, that he might do good to the Souls of men. The night being thus spent in holy exercises, S. Paul in the morning took his leave, and went on foot to *Assos*, a Sea-port Town, whither he had sent his company by Sea. Thence they set sail to *Mytilene*; from thence to *Samos*, and having staid some little time at *Troglyium*, the next day came to *Myletus*, not so much as putting in at *Ephesus*, because the Apostle was resolved, if possible, to be at *Jerusalem* at the Feast of *Pentecost*.

3. AT

Acts 20. 17.

3. A T *Myletus* he sent to *Ephesus*, to summon the Bishops and Governours of the Church, who being come, he put them in mind with what uprightness and integrity, with what affection and humility, with how great trouble and danger, with how much faithfulness to their Souls he had been conversant among them, and had preached the Gospol to them, ever since his first coming into those parts: That he had not failed to acquaint them both publickly and privately with whatever might be useful and profitable to them, urging both upon *Jews* and *Gentiles* repentance and reformation of life, and an hearty entertainment of the Faith of *Christ*; That now he was resolved to go to *Jerusalem*, where he did not know what particular sufferings would befall him, more than this, That it had been foretold him in every place by those who were endued with the Prophetical gifts of the Holy Ghost, that afflictions and imprisonment would attend him there: But that he was not troubled at this, no nor unwilling to lay down his life, so he might but successfully preach the Gospel, and faithfully serve his Lord in that place and station wherein he had set him: That he knew that henceforth they should see his face no more, but that this was his encouragement and satisfaction, that they themselves could bear him witness, that he had not by concealing from them any parts of the Christian Doctrine, betray'd their Souls: That as for themselves, whom God had made Bishops and Pastors of his Church, they should be careful to feed, guide and direct those Christians under their inspection, and be infinitely tender of the good of Souls, for whose redemption *Christ* laid down his own life: That all the care they could use was no more than necessary, it being certain, that after his departure, Heretical Teachers would break in among them, and endanger the ruine of mens Souls; nay, that even among themselves, there would some arise, who by subtil and crafty methods, by corrupt and pernicious Doctrines would gain Profelytes to their party, and thereby make Rents and Schisms in the Church: That therefore they should watch, remembring with what tears and sorrow, he had for three years together warned them of these things: That now he recommended them to the Divine care and goodness, and to the rules and instructions of the Gospel, which if adhered to, would certainly dispose and perfect them for that state of happiness, which God had prepared for good men in Heaven. In short, that he had all a-long dealt faithfully and uprightly with them, they might know from hence, that in all his preaching he had no crafty or covetous designs upon any man's Estate or Riches, having (as themselves could witness) industriously laboured with his own hands, and by his own work maintained both himself and his company: Herein leaving them an example, what pains they ought to take to support the weak, and relieve the poor, rather than to be themselves chargeable unto others; according to that incomparable saying of our Saviour (which surely *S. Paul* had received from some of those that had conversed with him in the days of his flesh) *It is more blessed to give, than to receive.* This *Concio ad Clerum*, or *Visitacion-Sermon* being ended, the Apostle kneeled down, and concluded all with Prayer. Which done, they all melted into tears, and with the greatest expressions of sorrow attended him to the Ship, though that which made the deepest impression upon their minds was, that he had told them, *That they should see his face no more.*

1 Acts 20. 1.

4. DEPARTING from *Myletus*, they arrived at *Coos*, thence came to *Rhodes*, thence to *Patara*, thence to *Tyre*; where meeting with some Christians, he was advised by those among them, who had the

the gift of Prophecy, that he should not go up to *Jerusalem*: with them he staid a week, and then going all together to the shore, he kneeled down and prayed with them, and having mutually embraced one another, he went on board, and came to *Ptolemais*, where only saluting the Brethren, they came next day unto *Cæsarea*. Here they lodged in the house of *Philip* the *Evangelist*, one of the seven *Deacons* that were at first set apart by the Apostles, who had four Virgin-daughters; all endued with the gift of prophecy. During their stay in this place, *Agabus* a Christian Prophet came down hither from *Judea*, who taking *Paul's* girdle, bound with it his own hands and feet, telling them, that by this external *Symbol* the Holy Ghost did signifie and declare, that *S. Paul* should be thus serv'd by the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, and be by them delivered over into the hands of the *Gentiles*. Whereupon they all passionately besought him, that he would divert his course to some other place. The Apostle ask'd them, what they meant, by these compassionate dissuaves to add more affliction to his sorrow; that he was willing and resolved not only to be imprisoned, but, if need were to die at *Jerusalem* for the sake of *Christ* and his Religion. Finding his resolution fixed and immoveable, they importuned him no further, but left the event to the Divine will and pleasure. All things being in readiness, they set forwards on their journey, and being come to *Jerusalem*, were kindly and joyfully entertained by the Christians there.

5. THE next day after their arrival, *S. Paul* and his company went to the house of *S. James* the Apostle, where the rest of the Bishops and Governours of the Church were met together; after mutual salutations, he gave them a particular account with what success God had blessed him in propagating Christianity among the *Gentiles*, for which they all heartily blessed God, but withall told him, that he was now come to a place, where there were many thousands of *Jewish* converts, who all retained a mighty zeal and veneration for the Law of *Moses*, and who had been informed of him, that he taught the *Jews*, whom he had converted, in every place, to renounce Circumcision, and the Ceremonies of the Law: That as soon as the multitude heard of his arrival, they would come together to see how he behaved himself in this matter; and therefore to prevent so much disturbance, it was advisable, that there being four men there at that time, who were to accomplish a Vow (probably not the *Nazarite-vow*, but some other, which they had made for deliverance from sickness, or some other eminent danger and distress; for so \* *Josephus* tells us, they were wont to do in such cases, and before they came to offer the accustomed Sacrifices, to abstain for some time from Wine, and to shave their heads) he would joyn himself to them, perform the usual Rites and Ceremonies with them, and provide such Sacrifices for them, as the Law required in that case, and that in discharge of their Vow, they might shave their heads. Whereby it would appear, that the reports which were spread concerning him were false and groundless, and that he himself did still observe the Rites and Orders of the *Mosaical* Institution: That as for the *Gentile* converts they required no such observances at their hands, nor expected any thing more from them in these indifferent matters, than what had been before determined by the *Apostolical Synod* in that place. *S. Paul* (who in such things was willing to become all things to all men, that he might gain the more) consented to the counsel which they gave him, and taking the persons along with him to the Temple, told the Priests, that the time of a Vow which they had made being now run out, and having purified themselves, as the nature

Acts 21. 18.

\* De Bell. Jud. lib. 2. c. 15.

of the case required, they were come to make their offerings according to the Law.

6. THE seven days wherein those Sacrifices were to be offered being now almost ended, some *Jews* that were come from *Asia* (where, probably, they had opposed *S. Paul*) now finding him in the Temple, began to raise a tumult and uproar, and laying hold of him, called out to the rest of the *Jews* for their assistance: Telling them, that this was the fellow, that every where vented Doctrines derogatory to the prerogative of the *Jewish* Nation, destructive to the Institutions of the Law, and to the purity of that place, which he had prophaned by bringing in uncircumcised *Greeks* into it: Positively concluding, that because they had seen *Trophimus* a *Gentile* convert of *Ephesus* with him in the City, therefore he had brought him also into the Temple. So apt is malice to make any premises, from whence it may infer its own conclusion. Hereupon the whole City was presently in an uproar, and seizing upon him, they dragged him out of the Temple, the doors being presently shut against him. Nor had they failed there to put a period to all his troubles, had not *Claudius Lyfias*, Commander of the *Roman* Garrison in the Tower of *Antonia*, come in with some Souldiers to his rescue and deliverance, and supposing him to be a more than an ordinary Malefactor, commanded a double chain to be put upon him, though as yet altogether ignorant, either who he, or what his crime was, and wherein he could receive little satisfaction from the clamorous multitude, who called for nothing but his dearth, following the cry with such crouds and numbers, that the Souldiers were forced to take him into their arms, to secure him from the present rage and violence of the people. As they were going up into the Castle, *S. Paul* asked the Governour, whether he might have the liberty to speak to him, who finding him to speak *Greek* enquired of him, whether he was not that *Egyptian*, which a few Years before had raised a Sedition in *Judea*, and headed a party of Four Thousand debauched and profligate wretches. The Apostle replied, that he was a *Jew* of *Tarsus*, a Free-man of a rich and honourable City, and therefore begg'd of him, that he might have leave to speak to the People. Which the Captain readily granted, and standing near the Door of the Castle, and making signs that they would hold their peace, he began to address himself to them in the *Hebrew* Language: which when they heard, they became a little more calm and quiet, while he discoursed to them to this effect.

Acts 22.1.

7. HE gave them an account of himself from his Birth, of his education in his youth, of the mighty zeal which he had for the Rites and Customs of their Religion, and with what a passionate earnestness he persecuted and put to death all the Christians that he met with, whereof the High-Priest and the Sanhedrim could be sufficient witnesses. He next gave them an entire and punctual relation of the way and manner of his conversion, and how that he had received an immediate command from God himself to depart *Jerusalem*, and preach unto the *Gentiles*. At this word the patience of the *Jews* could hold no longer, but they unanimously cried out, to have him put to death, it not being fit that such a Villain should live upon the Earth. And the more to express their fury, they threw off their Clothes, and cast dust into the Air, as if they immediately designed to stone him. To avoid which, the Captain of the Guard commanded him to be brought within the Castle, and that he should be examined by whipping, till he confessed the reason

reason of so much rage against him. While the *Lictor* was binding him in order to it, he asked the *Centurion* that stood by, whether they could justify the scourging a *Citizen* of *Rome*, and that before any sentence legally passed upon him. This the *Centurion* presently intimated to the Governour of the Castle, bidding him have a care what he did, for the Prisoner was a *Roman*. Whereat the Governour himself came, and asked him, whether he was a free *Denizon* of *Rome*? and being told that he was, he replied, that it was a great privilege, a privilege which he himself had purchased at a considerable rate. To whom *S. Paul* answered, that it was his Birth-right, and the privilege of the place where he was born and bred. Hereupon they gave over their design of whipping him, the Commander himself being a little startled, that he had bound and chained a *Denizon* of *Rome*.

8. THE next Day the Governour commanded his Chains to be knock'd off, and that he might thoroughly satisfy himself in the matter, commanded the Sanhedrim to meet, and brought down *Paul* before them: where being set before the Council, he told them, that in all passages of his life he had been careful to act according to the severest rules and conscience of his duty. *Men and Brethren, I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day.* Behold here the great security of a good man, and what invisible supports innocency affords under greatest danger. With how generous a confidence does virtue and honesty guard the breast of a good man! as indeed nothing else can lay a firm basis and foundation for satisfaction and tranquillity, when any misery or calamity does overtake us. Religion and a good conscience beget peace and a Heaven in the Man's bosom beyond the power of the little accidents of this World to ruffle and discompose. Whence \* *Seneca* compares the mind of a wise and a good man to the state of the upper Region, which is always serene and calm. The High-Priest *Ananias* being offended at the holy and ingenuous freedom of our Apostle, as if by asserting his own innocency, he had reproached the justice of their Tribunal, commanded those that stood next him, to strike him in the Face; whereto the Apostle tartly replied, That GOD would smite him, Hypocrite as he was, who under a pretence of doing Justice had illegally commanded him to be punished, before the Law condemned him for a Malefactor. Whereupon they that stood by asked him, how he durst thus affront so sacred and venerable a Person as *God's High-Priest*? He calmly returned, That he did not know [or own] *Ananias* to be an *High-Priest* [of God's appointment.] However being a Person in Authority, it was not lawful to revile him, God himself having commanded, that no man should speak evil of the Ruler of the People. The Apostle, who as he never laid aside the innocency of the Dove, so knew how, when occasion was, to make use of the wisdom of the Serpent, perceiving the Council to consist partly of *Sadducees*, and partly of *Pharisees*, openly told them,

*Cadebatur virgis in medio foro. Messianæ Civis Romanus, cum interea nullus gemitus, nulli vox illi ipsius miseri audiebatur, nisi hæc, Civis Romanus sum. Hæc se commémorazione Civitatis omnia verbera depulsurum arbitrabatur. — O nomen dulce libertatis! O jus eximium nostræ civitatis! O lex torcia, legesque Sempronie! Cicer. in Ferr. lib. 7. Tom. 2. p. 218. Facinus est vincire Civem Romanum, scelus, verberare. Id. ib. p. 220. vid. supra Sect. III. Num. 4.*

*Εἰς αὐτὸν σιωπῶντες. αὐτὸν ἔχει τὸ λογικὸν ἥθη μόνον, ταῦτα δὲ ἀρκούντες διακρίναμεν γὰρ τὸ πᾶν αὐτὸ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντι. M. Anton. ἔκ. εἰς ταῦτ. lib. 7. Sect. 28. p. 63.*

*Fustum & tenacem propositi Virum,  
Non Civium ardor prava jubentium,  
Non vultus instantis Tyranni  
Mente quatit solida: neque Auspex  
Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,  
Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus.  
Si fractus illabatur orbis,  
Impavidum serient ruinæ.*

*Horat. Carm. l. 3. Od. 3. p. 154.*

\* *Sapientis ille est plenus gaudio, hilaris, & placidus, inconcussus, cum dñs ex pari vivit. per dies nollesque par & aequalis animi tenor erecti & placentis sibi est. — Talis est sapientis animus, qualis mundi status super Lunam, semper illic serenum est: nunquam sine gaudio est. Gaudium hoc non nascitur, nisi ex virtutum conscientia. Senec. Epist. 59. p. 152.*

*Hæc Pauli verba Ananias & Apparitores sic accipiebant, quasi excusaret Paulus quod sibi in istis malis constituto non satis in mentem venisset, quicquid sibi res esset. Verum latentior sensus suberat, non esse eum sacerdotem, aut principem Sennatus, qui eas dignitates precio comparasset. Dedicerat enim hoc à Gamaliel Paulus; Judicem qui honoris consequendi causa pecunias dederit, revera neque judicem esse, neque honorandum, sed alium habendum loco, ut est in Titulo Talmudico de Synedrio. Grot. in loc.*

that he was a *Pharisee*, and the Son of a *Pharisee*, and that the main thing he was questioned for, was his belief of a future Resurrection. This quickly divided the Council, the *Pharisees* being zealous Patrons of that Article, and the *Sadducees* asstifly denying, that there is either *Angel* (that is, of a spiritual and immortal nature, really subsisting of it self, for otherwise they cannot be supposed to have utterly denied all sorts of Angels, seeing they own'd the *Pentateuch*, wherein there is frequent mention of them) or *Spirit*, or that humane Souls do exist in a separate state, and consequently that there is no Resurrection. Presently the Doctors of the Law, who were *Pharisees*, stood up to acquit him, affirming he had done nothing amiss, that it was possible he had received some intimation from Heaven by an Angel, or the revelation of the H. Spirit, and if so, then in opposing his Doctrine, they might fight against God himself.

9. GREAT were the dissentions in the Council about this matter, in so much that the Governour fearing S. Paul would be torn in pieces, commanded the Souldiers to take him from the Bar, and return him back into the Castle. That night to comfort him after all his frights, and fears, God was pleased to appear to him in a vision, encouraging him to constancy and resolution, assuring him that as he had born witness to his cause at Jerusalem, so in despite of all his enemies he should live to bear his testimony even at Rome it self. The next Morning the Jews, who could as well cease to be, as to be mischievous and malicious, finding that these dilatory proceedings were not like to do the work, resolved upon a quicker dispatch. To which end above Forty of them entred into a wicked confederacy, which they ratified by Oath and Execration, never to eat or drink till they had killed him: and having acquitted the *Sanhedrim* with their design, they entreated them to importune the Governour, that he might again the next day be brought down before them, under pretence of a more strict trial of his case, and that they themselves would lye in ambush by the way, and not fail to dispatch him. But that Divine providence that peculiarly superintends the safety of good men, disappoints the devices of the crafty. The design was discovered to S. Paul by a Nephew of his, and by him imparted to the Governour, who immediately commanded two Parties of Foot and Horse, to be ready by Nine of the Clock that Night, and provision to be made for S. Paul's carriage to *Felix* the Roman Governour of that Province: To whom also he wrote, signifying whom he had sent, how the Jews had used him, and that his enemies also should appear before him to manage the charge and accusation. Accordingly he was by Night conducted to *Antipatris*, and afterwards to *Cæsarea*, where the Letters being delivered to *Felix*, the Apostle was presented to him: and finding that he belonged to the Province of *Gilicia*, he told him, that as soon as his Accusers were arrived he should have an hearing, commanding him in the mean time to be secured in the place called *Herod's Hall*.

## S E C T.

## S E C T. VI.

Of S. Paul, from his first Trial before *Felix*, till his coming to Rome.

S. Paul impleaded before *Felix* by Tertullus the Jewish Advocate. His charge of Sedition, Heresie, and Prophanation of the Temple. S. Paul's reply to the several parts of the charge. His second Hearing before *Felix* and *Dru-silla*. His smart and impartial Reasonings. *Felix* his great injustice and oppression: His Luxury and Intemperance, Bribery and Covetousness. S. Paul's Arraignment before Festus, *Felix* his Successor, at *Cæsarea*. His Appeal to *Cæsar*. The nature and manner of those Appeals. He is again brought before Festus and Agrippa. His vindication of himself, and the goodness of his cause. His being acquitted by his Judges of any Capital crime. His Voyage to Rome. The trouble and danger of it. Their Shipwrack, and being cast upon the Island *Melita*. Their courteous entertainment by the Barbarians, and their different censure of S. Paul. The civil usage of the Governour, and his Conversion to Christianity. S. Paul met and conducted by Christians to Rome.

1. NOT many days after down comes *Ananias* the High-Priest, with Acts 24.1. some others of the *Sanhedrim* to *Cæsarea*, accompanied with *Tertullus* their Advocate, who in a short but neat speech, set off with all the flattering and insinuating arts of Eloquence, began to implead our Apostle, charging him with Sedition, Heresie, and the Prophanation of the Temple: That they would have saved him the trouble of this Hearing, by judging him according to their own Law, had not *Lysias* the Commander violently taken him from them, and sent both him and them down thither. To all which the Jews that were with him gave in their Vote and Testimony. S. Paul having leave from *Felix* to defend himself, and having told him, how much he was satisfied that he was to plead before one, who for so many years had been Governour of that Nation, distinctly answered to the several parts of the Charge.

2. AND first for Sedition, he point-blank denied it, affirming that they found him behaving himself quietly and peaceably in the Temple, not so much as disputing there, nor stirring up the people either in the Synagogues, or any other place of the City. And though this was plausibly pretended by them, yet were they never able to make it good. As for the charge of Heresie, that he was a ring-leader of the Sect of the Nazarenes, he ingenuously acknowledged, that after the way which they counted Heresie, so he worshipped God, the same way in substance wherein all the Patriarchs of the Jewish Nation had worshipped God before him, taking nothing into his Creed, but what the Authentick writings of the Jews themselves did own and justifie: That he firmly believed, what the better of themselves were ready to grant, another Life, and a future Resurrection: In the hope and expectation whereof he was careful to live unblameable, and conscientiously to do his duty both to God and men. As for the third part of the Charge,

his *Prophaning of the Temple*, he shews how little foundation there was for it, that the design of his coming to *Jerusalem* was to bring charitable contributions to his distressed Brethren, that he was indeed in the Temple, but not as some *Astiatick Jews* fallibly suggested, either with tumult or with multitude, but only purifying himself according to the rites and customs of the *Mosaick Law*: And that if any would affirm the contrary, they should come now into open Court, and make it good. Nay, that he appealed to those of the *Sanhedrim* that were there present, whether he had not been acquitted by their own great Council at *Jerusalem*, where nothing of moment had been laid to his charge, except by them of the *Sadducean* party, who quarrelled with him only for asserting the Doctrine of the Resurrection. *Felix* having thus heard both parties argue, refused to make any final determination in the case, till he had more fully advised about it, and spoken with *Lyfias*, Commander of the Garrison, who was best able to give an account of the Sedition and the Tumult; commanding in the mean time that *S. Paul* should be under guard, but yet in so free a custody, that none of his friends should be hindered from visiting him, or performing any office of kindness and friendship to him.

3. IT was not long after this before his Wife *Drusilla* (a *Jewess*, Daughter of the elder *Herod*, and whom *Tacitus*, I fear by a mistake for his former Wife *Drusilla*, Daughter to *Juba* King of *Mauritania*, makes Niece to *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*) came to him to *Cæsarea*. Who being present, he sent for *S. Paul* to appear before them, and gave him leave to discourse concerning the doctrine of Christianity. In his discourse he took occasion particularly to insist upon the great obligation, which the Laws of Christ lay upon men to Justice and Righteousness toward one another, to Sobriety and Chastity both towards themselves and others, withall urging that severe and impartial account, that must be given in the Judgment of the other World, wherein men shall be arraigned for all the actions of their past life, and be eternally punished or rewarded according to their works. A discourse wisely adapted by the Apostle to *Felix* his state and temper. But corrodatives are very uneasy to a guilty mind: Men naturally hate that which brings their sins to their remembrance, and sharpens the sting of a violated conscience. The Prince was so nettled with the Apostles reasonings, that he fell a trembling, and caused the Apostle to break off abruptly, telling him, he would hear the rest at some other season. And good reason there was that *Felix* his conscience should be sensibly alarmed with these reflexions, being a man notoriously infamous for rapine and violence. \**Tacitus* tells us of him, that he made his will the Law of his Government, practising all manner of cruelty and injustice. And then for incontinency, he was given over to luxury and debauchery, for the compassing whereof he scrupled not to violate all Laws both of God and Man. Whereof this very Wife *Drusilla* was a famous \* instance. For being married by her Brother to *Azis* King of the *Emisenes*, *Felix*, who had heard of her incomparable beauty, by the help of *Simon* the Magician, a *Jew* of *Cyprus*, ravished her from her Husbands bed, and in defiance of all law and right, kept her for his own Wife. To these qualities he had added bribery and covetousness, and therefore frequently sent for *S. Paul* to discourse with him, expecting that he should have given him a considerable sum for his release; and the rather probably, because he had heard that *S. Paul* had lately brought up great summs of money to *Jerusalem*. But finding no offers made, either by the Apostle or his friends, he kept him prisoner for two years together, so long as himself continued *Procurator* of that Nation, when being displaced by *Nero*, he

\* *Histor. lib. 5. c. 9. p. 538. vid. Annal. lib. 12. c. 54. p. 234.*

\* *Joseph. Antiquit. Jud. lib. 20. c. 5. p. 693.*

he left *S. Paul* still in Prison, on purpose to gratifie the *Jews*, and engage them to speak better of him after his departure from them.

4. TO him succeeded *Portius Festus* in the Procuratorship of the Province, at whose first coming to *Jerusalem*, the High-Priest and *Sanhedrim* presently began to prefer to him an Indictment against *S. Paul*, desiring, that in order to his Trial, he might be sent for up from *Cæsarea*, designing under this pretence that some Assassins should lie in the way to murder him. *Festus* told them, that he himself was going shortly for *Cæsarea*, and that if they had any thing against *S. Paul*, they should come down thither and accuse him. Accordingly being come to *Cæsarea*, and sitting in open Judicature, the *Jews* began to renew the Charge which they had heretofore brought against *S. Paul*: Of all which he cleared himself, they not being able to make any proof against him. However *Festus* being willing to oblige the *Jews* in the entrance upon his Government, asked him, whether he would go up and be tried before him at *Jerusalem*? The Apostle well understanding the consequences of that proposal, told him that he was a *Roman*, and therefore ought to be judged by their Laws, that he stood now at *Cæsar's* own Judgment-seat (as indeed what was done by the Emperor's *Procurator* in any Province, the \* Law reckoned as done by the Emperor himself) \* *L. 1. ff. de Off. sic. Procur. Cæs. sur. lib. 1. Tit. 19* and though he should submit to the *Jewish* Tribunal, yet he himself saw, that they had nothing which they could prove against him; that if he had done any thing which really deserved capital punishment, he was willing to undergo it; but if not, he ought not to be delivered over to his enemies, who were before-hand resolved to take away his life. However as the safest course, he solemnly made his appeal to the *Roman* Emperor, who should judge between them. Whereupon *Festus* advising with the *Jewish Sanhedrim*, received his appeal, and told him he should go to *Cæsar*. This way of appealing was frequent amongst the *Romans*, introduced to defend and secure the lives and fortunes of the populace from the unjust incroachments, and over-rigorous severities of the Magistrates, whereby it was lawful in cases of oppression to appeal to the People for redress and rescue, a thing more than once and again settled by the Sanction of the *Valerian* Laws. These \* appeals were wont to be made in writing, by *Appellatory Libels* given in, wherein was contained an account of the Appellant, the person against whom, and from whose Sentence he did appeal. But where the case was done in open Court, it was enough for the Criminal verbally to declare, that he did appeal: In great and weighty cases appeals were made to the Prince himself, and that not only at *Rome*, but in the Provinces of the Empire, all *Proconsuls* and Governours of Provinces being strictly \* forbidden to execute, scourge, bind, or put any badge of servility upon a Citizen, or any that had the privilege of a Citizen of *Rome*, who had made his appeal, or any ways to hinder him from going thither, to obtain justice at the hands of the Emperor, who had as much regard to the liberty of his Subjects (says the Law itself) as they could have of their good will and obedience to him. And this was exactly *S. Paul's* case, who knowing that he should have no fair and equitable dealing at the hands of the Governour, when once he came to be swayed by the *Jews*, his sworn and inveterate enemies, appealed from him to the Emperour, the reason why *Festus* durst not deny his demand, it being a privilege so often, so plainly settled and confirmed by the *Roman* Laws. \* *Ibid. Leg. 25. § 1. ff. ad Leg. Jul. de vi public. lib. 48. Tit. 6.*

5. SOME time after King *Agrippa*, who succeeded *Herod* in the Tetrarchate of *Galilee*, and his Sister *Bernice* came to *Cæsarea*, to make a visit to the new-come Governour. To him *Festus* gave an account of *S. Paul*, and the

the great stir and trouble that had been made about him, and how for his safety and vindication he had immediately appealed to *Cæsar*. *Agrippa* was very desirous to see and hear him, and accordingly the next day the King and his Sister accompanied with *Festus* the Governour, and other persons of Quality, came into the Court with a pompous and magnificent retinue, where the Prisoner was brought forth before him. *Festus* having acquainted the King and the Assembly, how much he had been solicited by the *Jews* both at *Cæsarea* and *Jerusalem*, concerning the Prisoner at the Bar, that as a notorious Malefactor he might be put to death, but that having found him guilty of no capital crime, and the Prisoner himself having appealed to *Cæsar*, he was resolved to send him to *Rome*, but yet was willing to have his case again discussed before *Agrippa*, that so he might be furnished with some material instructions to send along with him, since it was very absurd to send a Prisoner, without signifying what crimes were charged upon him.

Acts 26. 1.

6. HEREUPON *Agrippa* told the Apostle, he had liberty to make his own defence. To whom, after silence made, he particularly addressed his speech; he tells him in the first place what a happiness he had, that he was to plead before one so exactly versed in all the rites and customs, the questions and the controversies of the *Jewish* Law, that the *Jews* themselves knew what had been the course and manner of his life, how he had been educated under the Institutions of the *Pharisees*, the strictest Sect of the whole *Jewish* Religion, and had been particularly disquieted and arraigned for what had been the constant belief of all their Fathers, what was sufficiently credible in it self, and plainly enough revealed in the Scripture, the Resurrection of the dead. He next gave him an account with what a bitter and implacable zeal he had formerly persecuted Christianity, told him the whole story and method of his conversion, and that in compliance with a particular Vision from Heaven, he had preached repentance and reformation of life first to the *Jews*, and then after to the *Gentiles*: That it was for no other things than these that the *Jews* apprehended him in the Temple, and designed to murder him; but being rescued and upheld by a Divine power, he continued in this testimony to this day, asserting nothing but what was perfectly agreeable to *Moses* and the Prophets, who had plainly foretold that the *Messiah* should both be put to death, and rise again, and by his doctrine enlighten both the *Jewish* and the *Gentile* World. While he was thus discoursing, *Festus* openly cried out, that he talked like a mad-man, that his over-much study had put him besides himself. The Apostle calmly replied, he was far from being transported with idle and distracted humours, that he spake nothing but what was most true and real in it self, and what very well became that grave sober Auditor. And then again addressing himself to *Agrippa*, told him, that these things having been open and publick, he could not but be acquainted with them, that he was confident that he believed the Prophets, and must needs therefore know that those Prophecies were fulfilled in Christ. Hereat *Agrippa* replied, That he had in some degree persuaded him to embrace the Christian Faith. To which the Apostle returned, that he heartily prayed, that not only he, but the whole Auditor were, not only in some measure, but altogether, though not Prisoners, yet as much Christians as he himself was. This done, the King and the Governour, and the rest of the Council withdrew a-while, to confer privately about this matter. And finding by the accusations brought against him, that he was not guilty by the *Roman* Laws of any capital offence, nor of any that deserved so much as imprisonment, *Agrippa* told *Festus*, that he might have been released, if he had not appealed unto *Cæsar*. For the Appeal

Appeal being once made, the Judge had then no power either to absolve or condemn, the cause being intirely reserved to the cognizance of that Superior, to whom the Criminal had appealed.

7. IT was now finally resolved that *S. Paul* should be sent to *Rome*: in order whereunto he was, with some other Prisoners of remarque, committed to the charge of *Julius*, Commander of a Company belonging to the Legion of *Augustus*; accompanied in this Voyage by *S. Luke*, *Aristarchus*, *Trophimus*, and some others. In September, Ann. Chr. LVI. or as others, LVII. they went on board a Ship of *Adramyttium*, and sailed to *Sidon*, where the Captain civilly gave the Apostle leave to go a-shore to visit his Friends, and refresh himself: Hence to *Cyprus*, till they came to the *Fair-Havens*, a place near *Myra*, a City of *Lydia*. Here, Winter growing on, and *S. Paul* foreseeing it would be a dangerous Voyage, persuaded them to put in, and winter. But the Captain preferring the judgment of the Master of the Ship, and especially because of the incommodiousness of the Harbour, resolved, if possible, to reach *Phœnice*, a Port of *Crete*, and to winter there. But it was not long before they found themselves disappointed of their hopes: For the calm southerly Gale that blew before, suddenly changed into a stormy and blustering North-East Wind, which so bore down all before it, that they were forced to let the Ship drive at the pleasure of the Wind; but as much as might be, to prevent splitting, or running a-ground, they threw out a great part of their Lading, and the Tackle of the Ship. Fourteen Days they remained in this desperate and uncomfortable condition, neither Sun nor Stars appearing for a great part of the time; the Apostle putting them in mind how ill-advised they were in not taking his counsel: Howbeit they should be of good cheer, for that that God whom he served and worshipped, had the last Night purposely sent an Angel from Heaven, to let him know, that notwithstanding the present danger they were in, yet that he should be brought safe before *Nero*; that they should be shipwreck'd indeed, and cast upon an Island, but that for his sake God had spared all in the Ship, not one whereof should miscarry, and that he did not doubt, but that it would accordingly come to pass. On the Fourteenth Night upon sounding they found themselves nigh some Coast; and therefore to avoid Rocks, thought good to come to an Anchor, till the Morning might give them better information. In the mean time the Sea-men (who best understood the danger) were preparing to get into the Skiff, to save themselves: which *S. Paul* espying, told the Captain, that unless they all staid in the Ship, none could be safe: whereupon the Souldiers cut the Ropes, and let the Skiff fall off into the Sea. Between this and Day-break the Apostle advised them to eat and refresh themselves, having all this time kept no ordinary and regular Meals, assuring them they should all escape. Himself first taking Bread, and having blessed God for it before them all, the rest followed his example, and cheerfully fell to their Meat: which done, they lightened the Ship of what remained, and endeavoured to put into a Creek, which they discovered not far off. But falling into a place where two Seas met, the fore-part of the Ship ran a-ground, while the hinder-part was beaten in pieces with the violence of the Waves. Awakened with the danger they were in, the Souldiers cried out to kill the Prisoners, to prevent their escape: which the Captain, desirous to save *S. Paul*, and probably in confidence of what he had told them, refused to do; commanding, that every one should shift for himself: the issue was, that part by swimming, part on planks, part on pieces of the broken Ship, they all, to the number of two hundred threescore and sixteen (the whole number in the Ship) got safe to shore.

Acts 28. 1.

Annot. in loc.

\* Bar. ad An.  
LVIII. n. 173.  
vid. Adon. mar-  
tyr. ad xii. Kal.  
Feb. Martyr.  
Rom. ad diem  
21. Jan. Euseb.  
l. 4. c. 23. p. 143.

8. THE Island upon which they were cast was *Melita* (now *Malta*) situate in the *Libyan Sea* between *Syracuse* and *Africk*. Here they found civility among *Barbarians*, and the plain acknowledgments of a Divine justice written among the naked and untutored notions of Mens minds. The People treated them with great humanity, entertaining them with all necessary accommodations; but while *S. Paul* was throwing sticks upon the Fire, a Viper dislodged by the heat, came out of the Wood, and fastned on his Hand. This the People no sooner espyed, but presently concluded, that surely he was some notorious Murderer, whom though the Divine vengeance had suffered to escape the Hue-and-Cry of the Sea, yet had it only reserved him for a more publick and solemn execution. But when they saw him shake it off into the Fire, and not presently swell, and drop down, they changed their opinions, and concluded him to be some God. So easily are light and credulous minds transported from one extreme to another. Not far off lived *Publius*, a Man of great Estate and Authority, and (as we may probably guess from an Inscription found there, and set down by *Grotius*, wherein the ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ is reckoned amongst the Roman Offices) Governor of the Island, by him they were courteously entertained three Days at his own charge, and his Father lying at that time sick of a Feaver and a Dyentery, *S. Paul* went in, and having prayed, and laid his hands upon him, healed him; as he did also many of the Inhabitants, who by this Miracle were encouraged to bring their diseased to him: whereby great honours were heaped upon him, and both he and his company furnished with provisions necessary for the rest of their Voyage. Nay *Publius* himself is said by \* some to have been hereby converted to the Faith, and by *S. Paul* to have been constituted Bishop of the Island, and that this was he that succeeded *S. Denys* the *Areopagite* in the See of *Athens*, and was afterwards crowned with Martyrdom.

9. AFTER three Months stay in this Island, they went a-board the *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, a Ship of *Alexandria*, bound for *Italy*. At *Syracuse* they put in, and staid three Days; thence sailed to *Rhegium*, and so to *Puteoli*, where they landed, and finding some Christians there, staid a Week with them, and then set forward in their Journey to *Rome*. The Christians at *Rome* having heard of their arrival, several of them came part of the way to meet them, some as far as the *Three Taverns*, a place thirty three Miles from *Rome*, others as far as *Appii Forum*, fifty one Miles distant thence. Great was their mutual salutation, and the encouragement which the Apostle received by it, glad no doubt to see that Christians found so much liberty at *Rome*. By them he was conducted in a kind of triumph into the City, where when they were arrived, the rest of the Prisoners were delivered over to the Captain of the Guard, and by him disposed in the common Gaol, while *S. Paul* (probably at *Julius* his request and recommendation) was permitted to stay in a private House, only with a Souldier to secure and guard him.

SECT.

## SECT. VII.

## S. Paul's Acts, from his coming to Rome, till his Martyrdom.

*S. Paul's summoning the chief of the Jews at Rome, and his discourse to them. Their refractoriness and infidelity. His first hearing before Nero. The success of his Preaching. Poppæa Sabina Nero's Concubine one of his Converts. Tacitus his character of her. Onesimus converted by S. Paul at Rome, and sent back with an Epistle to Philemon his Master. The great obligation which Christianity lays upon Servants to diligence and fidelity in their duty. The rigorous and arbitrary power of Masters over Servants by the Roman Laws. This mitigated by the Laws of the Gospel. S. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, upon what occasion sent. His Epistle to the Ephesians, and another to the Colossians. His second Epistle to Timothy written (probably) at his first being at Rome. The Epistle to the Hebrews by whom written; and in what Language. The aim and design of it. S. Paul's Preaching the Gospel in the West, and in what parts of it. His return to Rome, when. His imprisonment under Nero, and why. His being beheaded. Milk instead of blood said to flow from his body. Different Accounts of the time of his suffering. His burial where, and the great Church erected to his memory.*

1. THE first thing *S. Paul* did after he came to *Rome*, was to summon the Heads of the *Jewish Consistory* there, whom he acquainted with the cause and manner of his coming, that though he had been guilty of no violation of the Law of their Religion, yet had he been delivered by the *Jews* into the hands of the *Roman Governours*, who would have acquitted him once and again as innocent of any capital offence, but by the perverseness of the *Jews* he was forced, not with an intention to charge his own Nation (already sufficiently odious to the *Romans*) but only to vindicate and clear himself, to make his Appeal to *Cæsar*; that being come, he had sent for them, to let them know, that it was for his constant asserting the *Resurrection*, the hope of all true *Israelites*, that he was bound with that *Chain* which they saw upon him. The *Jews* replied, that they had received no advice concerning him, nor had any of the Nation that came from *Judæa*, brought any Charge against him: only for the Religion which he had espoused, they desired to be a little better informed about it, it being every where decried both by *Jew* and *Gentile*. Accordingly upon a day appointed he discoursed to them from morning to night concerning the Religion and Doctrine of the Holy *Jesus*, proving from the promises and predictions of the Old Testament, that he was the true *Messiah*. His discourse succeeded not with all alike, some being convinced, others persisted in their infidelity: And as they were departing in some discontent at each other, the Apostle told them, it was now too plain, God had accomplished upon them the Prophetical curse, of being left to their own wilful hardness and impenitency, to be blind at noon-day, and to run themselves against all means and methods into irrecoverable ruine: That since the case was thus with them, they must expect, that henceforth he should turn his Preaching to the *Gentiles*, who would be most ready to entertain, what they had so scornfully rejected, the glad tidings of the Gospel.

2. IT

2. IT was not, probably, long after this, that he was brought to his first hearing before the Emperor, where those friends, whom he most expected should stand by him, plainly deserted him, afraid it seems of appearing in so ticklish a cause before so unreasonable a Judge, who governed himself by no other measures, than the brutish and extravagant pleasure of his lust or humour. But God stood by him, and encouraged him; as indeed Divine consolations are many times then nearest to us, when humane assistances are farthest from us. This cowardice of theirs the Apostle had a charity large enough to cover, heartily praying, that it might not be brought in against them in the Accounts of the great Day. Two Years he dwelt at Rome in an House which he hired for his own use, wherein he constantly employed himself in preaching and writing for the good of the Church. He preached daily, without interruption, to all that came to him, and with good success, yea, even upon some of the better rank and quality, and those belonging to the Court it self. Among which the Roman \* Martyrologie reckons *Torpes*, an Officer of prime note in Nero's Palace, and afterwards a Martyr for the Faith; and *Chrysostom* (if || *Baronius* cite him right) tells us of Nero's Cup-bearer, and one of his Concubines, supposed by some to have been *Poppæa Sabina*, of whom \* *Tacitus* gives this character, that she wanted nothing to render her one of the most accomplished Ladies in the World, but a chaste and a virtuous mind: And I know not how far it may seem to countenance her conversion, at least inclination to a better Religion than that of Paganism, that || *Josephus* styles her a pious Woman, and tells us that she effectually solicited the cause of the Jews with her Husband Nero; and what favours *Josephus* himself received from her at Rome, he relates in his own life.

3. AMONGST others of our Apostle's Converts at Rome was *Onesimus*, who had formerly been servant to *Philemon*, a person of eminency in *Colosse*; but had run away from his Master, and taken things of some value with him. Having rambled as far as Rome, he was now converted by S. Paul, and by him returned with recommendatory Letters to *Philemon* his Master, to beg his pardon, and that he might be received into favour, being now of a much better temper, more faithful and diligent, and useful to his Master than he had been before: As indeed Christianity where 'tis heartily entertained, makes men good in all relations, no Laws being so wisely contrived for the peace and happiness of the World, as the Laws of the Gospel, as may appear by this particular case of servants; what admirable rules, what severe Laws does it lay upon them for the discharge of their duties! it commands them to honour their Masters as their Superiors, and to take heed of making their authority light and cheap by familiar and contemptible thoughts and carriages, to obey them in all honest and lawful things, and that *not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart as unto God*; that they be faithful to the trust committed to them, and manage their Masters interest with as much care and conscience as if it were their own; that they entertain their reproofs, counsels, corrections with all silence and sobriety, not returning any rude surly answers; and this carriage to be observed, not only to Masters of a mild and gentle, but of a cross and peevish disposition, that *whatever they do, they do it heartily, not as to men only, but to the Lord*; knowing that of the Lord they shall receive the reward of the inheritance, for that they serve the Lord Christ. Imbued with these excellent principles, *Onesimus* is again returned unto his Master; for Christian Religion, though it improve mens tempers, does not cancel their relations, it teaches them to abide in their callings, and *not to despise their Masters, because they are Brethren,*

*Brethren, but rather do them service, because they are faithful.* And being thus improved S. Paul the more confidently begg'd his pardon. And indeed had not *Philemon* been a Christian, and by the principles of his Religion both disposed and obliged to mildness and mercy, there had been great reason why S. Paul should be thus importunate with him for *Onesimus* his pardon, the case of servants in those days being very hard, for all Masters were looked upon as having an unlimited power over their Servants, and that not only by the \* Roman, but by the Laws of all Nations, whereby without asking the Magistrate's leave, or any publick and formal trial, they might adjudge and condemn them to what work or punishment they pleased, even to the taking away of life it self. But the severity and exorbitancy of this power was afterwards somewhat curb'd by the Laws of succeeding Emperors, especially after the Empire submitted it self to Christianity, which makes better provision for persons in that capacity and relation, and in case of unjust and over-rigorous usage, enables them to appeal to a more righteous and impartial Tribunal, where Master and Servant shall both stand upon even ground, *where he that doth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done; and there is no respect of persons.*

4. THE Christians at *Philippi* having heard of S. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, and not knowing what straits he might be reduced to, raised a contribution for him, and sent it by *Epaphroditus* their Bishop, who was now come to Rome, where he shortly after fell dangerously sick: But being recovered, and upon the point to return, by him S. Paul sent his Epistle to the *Philippians*, wherein he gives them some account of the state of affairs at Rome, gratefully acknowledges their kindness to him, and warns them of those dangerous opinions, which the Judaizing Teachers began to vent among them. The Apostle had heretofore for some Years liv'd at *Ephesus*, and perfectly understood the state and condition of that place; and therefore now by *Tychicus* writes his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, endeavouring to countermin the principles and practices both of Jews and Gentiles, to confirm them in the belief and obedience of the Christian doctrine, to represent the infinite riches of the Divine goodness in admitting the Gentile-World to the unsearchable Treasures of Christianity, especially pressing them to express the life and spirit of it in the general duties of Religion, and in the duties of their particular relations. Much about the same time, or a little after, he wrote his Epistle to the *Colossians*, where he had never been, and sent it by *Epaphras*, who for some time had been his fellow-prisoner at Rome. The design of it is for the greatest part the same with that to the *Ephesians*, to settle and confirm them in the faith of the Gospel, against the errors both of Judaism, and the superstitious observances of the Heathen World, some whereof had taken root amongst them.

5. IT is not improbable but that about this, or rather some considerable time before, S. Paul wrote his second Epistle to *Timothy*. I know *Eusebius*, and the Ancients, and most Moderns after them, will have it written a little before his Martyrdom, induced thereunto by that passage in it, that he was then ready to be offered, and that the time of his departure was at hand. But surely it's most reasonable to think, that it was written at his first being at Rome, and that at his first coming thither, presently after his Trial before Nero. Accordingly the passage before mentioned may import no more, than that he was in imminent danger of his life, and had received the sentence of death in himself, not hoping to escape out of the paws of Nero: But that God had delivered him out of the mouth of the Lion, i. e. the great danger he was in at his coming thither: Which exactly agrees to his case

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at

i Tim. 4. 16.

\* Ad diem  
XVII. Maii  
p. 308.  
i Ad An. 59. n.  
9. vid. Chrysost.  
adv. vituper.  
vit. monist. lib.  
1. c. 4. p. 361.  
Tom. iv.  
\* Annal. l. 13.  
c. 45. p. 263.  
i Antiq. Jud.  
lib. 20. cap. 7.  
p. 697.  
De vit. sua,  
p. 999.

\* L. 1. § 2. ff.  
de his, qui sui  
vel alieni juris  
sunt, lib. 1. Tit.  
6. vid. Instit.  
lib. 1. Tit. 8.

at his first being at *Rome*, but cannot be reconciled with his last coming thither; together with many more circumstances in this Epistle, which render it next door to certain. In it he appoints *Timothy* shortly to come to him, who accordingly came, whose name is joyned together with his in the front of several Epistles, to the *Philippians*, *Colossians*, and to *Philemon*. The only thing that can be levelled against this is, that in this Epistle to *Timothy*, he tells him, that he had sent *Tychicus* to *Ephesus*, by whom 'tis plain that the Epistles to the *Ephesians* and *Philippians* were dispatched, and that therefore this to *Timothy* must be written after them. But I see no inconvenience to affirm, that *Tychicus* might come to *Rome* presently after *S. Paul's* arrival there, be by him immediately sent back to *Ephesus* upon some emergent affair of that Church; and after his return to *Rome* be sent with those two Epistles. The design of the Epistle was to excite the holy man to a mighty zeal and diligence, care and fidelity in his office, and to antidote the People against those poisonous principles that in those parts especially began to debauch the minds of men.

6. AS for the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, 'tis very uncertain when, or whence, and (for some Ages doubted) by whom 'twas written. \* *Eusebius* tells us, 'twas not received by many, because rejected by the Church of *Rome*, as none of *S. Paul's* genuine Epistles. || *Origen* affirms the style and phrase of it to be more fine and elegant, and to contain in it a richer vein of purer Greek, than is usually found in *S. Paul's* Epistles; as every one that is able to judge of a style, must needs confess: That the sentences indeed are grave and weighty, and such as breath the Spirit and Majesty of an Apostle: That therefore 'twas his judgment, that the matter contained in it had been dictated by some Apostle, but that it had been put into phrase, form, and order by some other person that did attend upon him: That if any Church owned it for *S. Paul's*, they were not to be condemned, it not being without reason by the Ancients ascribed to him; though God only knew who was the true Author of it. He further tells us, that report had handed it down to his time, that it had been composed partly by *Clemens* of *Rome*, partly by *Luke* the Evangelist. \* *Tertullian* adds, that it was writ by *Bar-nabas*. What seems most likely in such variety of opinions is, that *S. Paul* originally wrote it in *Hebrew*, it being to be sent to the *Jews* his Countrymen, and by some other person, probably *S. Luke*, or *Clemens Romanus* translated into Greek: Especially since both || *Eusebius* and \* *S. Hierom* observed of old such a great affinity both in style and sense between this and *Clement's* Epistle to the *Corinthians*, as thence positively to conclude him to be the Translator of it. 'Twas written, as we may conjecture, a little after he was restored to his liberty, and probably while he was yet in some parts of *Italy*, whence he dates his salutations. The main design of it is to magnifie *Christ* and the Religion of the Gospel, above *Moses* and the *Jewish* Oeconomy and Ministrations, that by this means he might the better establish and confirm the Convert-*Jews* in the firm belief and profession of Christianity, notwithstanding those sufferings and persecutions that came upon them, endeavouring throughout to arm and fortifie them against Apostasie from that noble and excellent Religion, wherein they had so happily engaged themselves. And great need there was for the Apostle severely to urge them to it, heavy persecutions both from *Jews* and *Gentiles* pressing in upon them on every side, besides those trains of specious and plausible insinuations that were laid to reduce them to their Ancient Institutions. Hence the Apostle calls Apostasie the sin which did so easily beset them, to which there were such frequent temptations, and into which they were so prone to be betrayed.

in those suffering times. And the more to deter them from it, he once and again sets before them the dreadful state and condition of Apostates, those who having been once enlightened, and baptized into the Christian Faith, tasted the promises of the Gospel, and been made partakers of the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, those powers which in the world to come, or this new state of things were to be conferred upon the Church, if after all this these men fall away, and renounce Christianity, it's very hard, and even impossible to renew them again unto repentance. For by this means they trod under foot, and crucified the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame, prophaned the blood of the Covenant, and did despite to the Spirit of Grace. So that to sin thus wilfully after they had received the knowledge of the truth, there could remain for them no more sacrifice for sins, nothing but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation which should devour these adversaries. And a fearful thing it was in such circumstances to fall into the hands of the living God, who had particularly said of this sort of sinners, that if any man drew back, his soul should have no pleasure in him. Hence it is, that every where in this Epistle he mixes exhortations to this purpose, that they would give earnest heed to the things which they had heard, lest at any time they should let them slip; that they would hold fast the confidence, and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end, and beware lest by an evil heart of unbelief they departed from the living God; that they would labour to enter into his rest, lest any man fall after the example of unbelief; that leaving the first principles of the doctrine of *Christ*, they would go on to perfection, shewing diligence to the full assurance of hope unto the end, not being slothful, but followers of them, who through faith and patience inherit the promises; that they would hold fast the profession of the faith without wavering, not forsaking the assembling of themselves together (as the manner of some was) nor cast away their confidence, which had great recompence of reward; that they had need of patience, that after they had done the will of God, they might receive the promise; that they would not be of them who drew back unto perdition, but of them that believed to the saving of the Soul; that being encompassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, who with the most unconquerable constancy and resolution had all holden on in the way to Heaven, they would lay aside every weight, and the sin which did so easily beset them, and run with patience the race that was set before them, especially looking unto *Jesus* the author and finisher of their faith, who endured the cross, and despised the shame, that therefore they should consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest they should be wearied and faint in their minds, for that they had not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin; looking diligently lest any man should fail of the grace of God, lest any root of bitterness springing up should trouble them, and thereby many be defiled. By all which, and much more that might be observed to this purpose, it is evident, what our Apostles great design was in this excellent Epistle.

7. OUR Apostle being now after two Years custody perfectly restored to liberty, remembered that he was the Apostle of the Gentiles, and had therefore a larger Diocese than *Rome*, and accordingly prepared himself for a greater Circuit, though which way he directed his course, is not absolutely certain. By some he is said to have returned back into Greece, and the parts of Asia, upon no other ground that I know of, than a few intimations in some of his Epistles that he intended to do so. By others he is thought to have preached both in the Eastern and Western parts, which is not inconsistent with the time he had after his departure from *Rome*. But of the latter we have better evidence. Sure I am an Author beyond all exception,

\* Κύριε γινόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀναπλῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει. δικαιοσύνην διδίδας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν. Ep. ad Corinth. p. 8.

|| L. Capell. Append. ad Hist. App. p. 33.

One (otherwise a Man of great parts and learning) who so peremptorily denies that ever our Apostle preached in the *West*, merely because there are no Monuments left in Primitive Antiquity of any particular Churches there founded by him. As if all the particular passages of his life, done at so vast a distance must needs have been recorded, or those records have come down to us, when it is so notoriously known, that almost all the Writings and Monuments of those first Ages of Christianity are long since perished: or as if we were not sufficiently assured of the thing in general, though not of what particularly he did there. Probable it is, that he went into *Spain*, a thing which himself tells us he had formerly once and again resolved on.

Certain it is that the \* Ancients do generally assert it, without seeming in the least to doubt of it. *Theodore* and others tell us, that he preached not only in *Spain*, but that he went to other Nations, and brought the Gospel into the *Isles of the Sea*, by which he undoubtedly means *Britain*, and therefore elsewhere reckons the *Gauls* and *Britains* among the Nations, which the Apostles, and particularly the *Tent-maker* persuaded to embrace the Law of *Christ*.

Nor is he the only Man that has said it, || others

having given in their testimony and suffrage in this case.

8. TO what other parts of the World *S. Paul* preached the Gospel, we find no certain foot-steps in Antiquity, nor any further mention of him, till his return to *Rome*, which probably was about the Eighth or Ninth Year of *Nero's* Reign. Here he met with *Peter*, and was together with him thrown into Prison, no doubt in the general Persecution raised against the Christians, under the pretence that they had fir'd the City. Besides the general, we may reasonably suppose there were particular causes of his Imprisonment. Some of the Ancients make him engaged with *Peter* in procuring the fall of *Simon Magus*, and that that derived the Emperor's fury and rage upon him.

\* Adv. vit. Monast. vituperat. lib. 1. c. 4. p. 361. Tim. 4. \* *S. Chrysostom* gives us this account; that having converted one of *Nero's* Concubines, a Woman of whom he was infinitely fond, and reduced her to a life of great strictness and chastity, so that now she wholly refused to comply with his wanton and impure embraces; the Emperor stormed hereat, calling the Apostle a Villain and Impostor, a wretched perverter and debaucher of others, giving order that he should be cast into Prison, and when he still persisted to persuade the Lady to continue her chaste and pious resolutions, commanding him to be put to death.

9. HOW long he remained in Prison is not certainly known; at last his Execution was resolved on; what his preparatory treatment was, whether scourged as Malefactors were wont to be in order to their death, we find not. As a *Roman* Citizen by the *Valerian* and the *Porcian* Law he was exempted from it: Though by the Law of the XII. Tables notorious Malefactors, condemned by the *Centuriate* Assemblies, were first to be scourged, and then put to death: and *Baronius* tells us that in the Church of *S. Mary beyond the Bridge in Rome*, the Pillars are yet extant, to which both *Peter* and *Paul* are said to have been bound and scourged. As he was led to Execution,

execution, he is said to have converted three of the Souldiers that were sent to conduct and guard him, who within few days after by the Emperours command became Martyrs for the Faith. Being come to the place, which was the *Aqua Salvæ*, three Miles from *Rome*, after some solemn preparation, he cheerfully gave his Neck to the fatal stroke. As a *Roman* he might not be put upon the *Cross*, too infamous a Death for any but the worst of Slaves and Malefactors, and therefore was beheaded, accounted a more noble kind of Death among the *Romans*, fit for Persons of better Quality, and more ingenuous Education: And from this Instrument of his Execution the custom, no doubt, first arose, that in all Pictures and Images of this Apostle, he is constantly represented with a Sword in his right hand. Tradition reports (justified herein by the suffrage of many of the \* Fathers) that when he was beheaded, a Liquor more like Milk than Blood flowed from his Veins, and spirted upon the Clothes of his Executioner; and had I list or leisure for such things, I might entertain the Reader with the little glosses that are made upon it. *S. Chrysostom* adds, that it became a means of converting his Executioner, and many more to the Faith; and that the Apostle suffered in the sixty eighth Year of his Age. Some question there is whether he suffered at

the same time with *Peter*; many of the \* Ancients positively affirm, that both suffered on the same day, and Year: but || others though allowing the same Day, tell us that *S. Paul* suffered not till the Year after; nay some interpose the distance of several Years. A Manuscript \* writer of the Lives and Travels of *Peter* and *Paul*, brought amongst other venerable Monuments of Antiquity out of *Greece*, will have *Paul* to have suffered no less than five Years after *Peter*, which he justifies by the authority of no less than *Justin Martyr*, and *Irenæus*. But what credit is to be given to this nameless Author, I see not, and therefore lay no weight upon it, nor think it fit to be put into the balance with the testimonies of the Ancients. Certainly if he suffered not at the very same time with *Peter*, it could not be long after not above a Year at most. The best is, which of them soever started first, they both came at last to the same end of the race, to those Palms and Crowns, which are reserved for all good Men in Heaven, but most eminently for the Martyrs of the Christian Faith.

10. HE was buried in the *Via Ostiensis*, about two Miles from *Rome*, over whose Grave about the Year CCCXVIII. \* *Constantine the Great*, at the instance of Pope *Sylvester*, built a stately Church, within a Farm which *Lucina* a noble Christian Matron of *Rome* had long before settled upon that Church. He adorned it with an hundred of the best Marble columns, and beautified it with the most exquisite workmanship; the many rich gifts and endowments which he bestowed upon it being particularly set down in the Life of *Sylvester*. This Church as too narrow and little for the honour of so great an Apostle, *Valentinian*, or rather *Theodosius* the Emperor (the one but finishing what the other began) by a \* Rescript directed to *Sallustius Præfect* of the City, caused to be taken down, and a larger and more noble Church to be built in the room of it: Further beautified (as appears from an ancient \* Inscription) by *Placidia* the Empress, at the persuasion of *Leo*, Bishop of *Rome*. What other additions of Wealth, Honour, or stateliness it has received since, concerns not me to enquire.

\* Dion. Corinth. ap. Euseb. l. 2. c. 25. p. 68. Ambros. ib. Sermon. 66. p. 291. Max. Taur. Hom. 5. de Petr. & Paul. p. 231.

|| Prudent. Peristepb. in Pass. Petr. & Paul. Hymn. 12. p. 518. Arat. Ad. App. lib. 2. in fin. p. 700. Aug. de Saxt. Sermon. 28. Tom. 10. col. 1225. Greg. Turon. de glor. Martyr. lib. 1. c. 29. p. 35.

\* Λέγουσι δὲ πῶς ἀπελευθέρωσεν Πέτρον ἐν αὐτῷ ἔτει, καὶ τὸ μακάριον ἐκείνο δεξιὰ καὶ δεξιὰ πάλαι, καὶ ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀποδομένη. ἀποδομένη καὶ τῷ πάλαι, καὶ τῷ πάλαι. Ἀπὸ τοῦ Παύλου, ὡς ἰεσὶν καὶ ἐβρίμηναι οὐσὶν ἐφ' ὅλοις ἐπὶ πάντε. Καὶ τῷ πάλαι, καὶ τῷ πάλαι. Ἀπὸ τοῦ Π. Fun. not. in Clem. Ep. ad Cor. ad p. 8. forsan. ex S. Metaphr. qui eisdem verbis eadem habet ap. Sur. ad 29. Fun. n. 23. p. 357.

\* Ambros. de nat. Petr. & Paul. Sermon. 68. p. 291. T. 3. Chrys. Sermon. in Petr. & Paul. Tom. 6. p. 267.

\* Damas. Pontif. in vit. Sylvest. 1. vid. O. nuphr. de 7. Urb. Basil. p. 87.

\* Apud. Bar. ad An. 386. p. 527. ex Cod. Vatic. || Ibid. in Ad-Inscription) by Placidia the Empress, at the persuasion of Leo, Bishop of Rome. dend. ad Tom. 4. p. 12.

## S E C T. VIII.

The Description of his *Person* and *Temper*, together with an Account of his *Writings*.

*The Person of S. Paul described. His infirm constitution. His natural endowments. His ingenious Education, and admirable skill in humane Learning and Sciences. The Divine temper of his mind. His singular humility and condescension. His temperance and sobriety, and contempt of the World. Whether he lived a married or a single life. His great kindness and compassion. His charity to mens Bodies and Souls. His mighty Zeal for Religion. His admirable industry and diligence in his Office. His unconquerable Patience: The many great troubles he underwent. His constancy and fidelity in the profession of Christianity. His Writings. His style and way of Writing, what. S. Hierom's bold censure of it. The perplexedness and obscurity of his Discourses, whence. The account given of it by the Ancients. The Order of his Epistles, what. Placed not according to the time when, but the dignity of Persons or Places to which they were written. The Subscriptions at the end of them, of what value. The writings fathered upon S. Paul. His Gospel. A third Epistle to the Corinthians. The Epistle to the Laodiceans. His Apocalypse. His Acts. The Epistles between him and Seneca.*

1. **T**HOUGH we have drawn S. Paul at large, in the account we have given of his Life, yet may it be of use, to represent him in little, in a brief account of his Person, Parts, and those Graces and Virtues, for which he was more peculiarly eminent and remarkable. For his Person, we find it thus \* described. He was low and little of stature, and somewhat stooping, his complexion fair, his countenance grave, his head small, his eyes carrying a kind of beauty and sweetness in them, his eye-brows a little hanging over, his nose long, but gracefully bending, his beard thick, and like the hair on his head, mixed with grey hairs. Somewhat of this description may be learnt from || *Lucian*, when in the person of *Trypho*, one of S. Paul's disciples, he calls him by way of derision, *the high-nosed bald-pated Galilean*, that was caught up through the Air unto the third Heaven, where he learnt great and excellent things. That he was very low, himself plainly intimates, when he tells us, they were wont to say of him, that *his bodily presence was weak, and his speech contemptible*; in which respect he is styled by \* *Chrysostom*, ὁ τετράπυχος ἄνθρωπος, a man three cubits [or a little more than four foot] high, and yet tall enough to reach Heaven. He seems to have enjoyed no very firm and athletick constitution, being often subject to distempers; || *S. Hierom* particularly reports, that he was frequently afflicted with the head-ach, and that this was thought by many to have been *the thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan sent to buffet him*, and that probably he intended some such thing by *the temptation in his flesh*, which he elsewhere speaks of: Which however it may in general signify those afflictions that came upon him, yet does it primarily denote those diseases and infirmities that he was obnoxious to.

\* *Niceph. H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 37. p. 196.*

|| *Philopatr. Tom. 2. p. 999.*

1 *Cor. 10. 10.*

\* *Serm. in Petr. & Paul. p. 265 Tom. 6.*

|| *Com. in Gal. 4. p. 182. Tom. 9.*

*Gal. 4. 14.*

2. BUT

2. BUT how mean soever the Cabinet was, there was a treasure within more precious and valuable, as will appear, if we survey the accomplishments of his mind. For as to his natural abilities and endowments, he seems to have had a clear and solid judgment, quick invention, a prompt and ready memory; all which were abundantly improved by Art, and the advantages of a more liberal Education. The Schools of *Tarsum* had sharpened his discursive faculty by *Logick*, and the Arts of reasoning, instructed him in the Institutions of Philosophy, and enriched him with the furniture of all kinds of humane Learning. This gave him great advantage above others, and ever raised him to a mighty reputation for Parts and Learning; infomuch that \* *S. Chrysostom* tells us of a dispute between a *Christian* and a *Heathen*, wherein the *Christian* endeavoured to prove against the *Gentile*, that S. Paul was more Learned and Eloquent than *Plato* himself. How well he was versed, not only in the Law of *Moses*, and the writings of the Prophets, but even in *Classick* and *Foreign* writers, he has left us sufficient ground to conclude, from those excellent sayings, which here and there he quotes out of *Heathen* Authors. Which as at once it shews, that 'tis not unlawful to bring the spoils of *Egypt* into the service of the *sanctuary*, and to make use of the advantages of *Foreign* studies and humane literature to *Divine* and excellent purposes, so does it argue his being greatly conversant in the paths of humane Learning, which upon every occasion he could so readily command. Indeed he seemed to have been furnished out on purpose to be the *Doctor of the Gentiles*, to contend with, and confute the grave and the wise, the acute and the subtil, the sage and the learned of the *Heathen* World, and to wound them (as *Julian's* word was) with arrows drawn out of their own Quiver. Though we do not find, that in his disputes with the *Gentiles* he made much use of Learning and Philosophy; it being more agreeable to the designs of the Gospel, to confound the wisdom and learning of the World by the plain doctrine of the *Cross*.

3. THESE were great accomplishments, and yet but a shadow to that Divine temper of mind that was in him, which discovered it self through the whole course and method of his life. He was humble to the lowest step of abasement and condescension, none ever thinking better of others, or more meanly of himself. And though when he had to deal with envious and malicious adversaries, who by vilifying his person, sought to obstruct his Ministry, he knew how to magnify his office, and to let them know, that he was no whit inferior to the very chiefest Apostles; yet out of this case he constantly declared to all the World, that he looked upon himself as an *Abortion*, and an untimely Birth, as the least of the Apostles, not meet to be called an Apostle; and as if this were not enough, he makes a word on purpose to express his humility, styling himself ἑλαχιστότερον, less than the least of all saints, yea, the very chief of sinners. How freely, and that at every turn does he confess what he was before his conversion, a *Blasphemer*, a *Persecutor*, and *Injurious* both to God and Men? Though honoured with peculiar Acts of the highest grace and favour, taken up to an immediate converse with God in Heaven, yet did not this swell him with a supercilious loftiness over the rest of his brethren: Intrusted he was with great power and authority in the Church, but never affected dominion over men's Faith, nor any other place, than to be an helper of their joy, nor ever made use of his power, but to the edification, not destruction of any. How studiously did he decline all honours and commendations that were heaped upon him? When some in the Church of *Corinth* cried him up beyond all measures, and under the patronage of his name began to set up for a party, he severely rebuked them, told

\* *In 1. ad Cor. c. 1. Item. 3. p. 349.*

Ὁσῶς ὁ πτωχὸν καὶ τοὺς ἑλλήνων πατριῶν τοὺς διδασκῆταις ἀλλοθιῶν, καὶ ἂν ἐπαυροῖτο, καὶ πρὸς τὴν οὐκ ἐκδοχὴν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐνδοχὴν διαλεγόμενος πᾶσι, ἑλλήνοισι συναχθεῖς ποιήμασι. *Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 299.*

told them, that it was *Christ*, not he, that was crucified for them, that they had *not been baptized into his name*, which he was so far from, that he did not remember that he had baptized above three or four of them, and was heartily glad he had baptized no more, lest a foundation might have been laid for that suspicion; that this *Paul*, whom they so much extolled, was no more than a *minister of Christ*, whom our Lord had appointed to plant and build up his Church.

4. GREAT was his temperance and sobriety, so far from going beyond the bounds of regularity, that he abridged himself of the conveniences of lawful and necessary accommodations; frequent his hungriings and thirstings, not constrained only, but voluntary; it's probably thought that he very rarely drank any Wine; certain, that by abstinence and mortification he kept under and subdued his body, reducing the extravagancy of the sensual appetites to a perfect subjection to the laws of Reason. By this means he easily got above the World, and its charms and frowns, had his mind continually conversant in Heaven, his thoughts were fixed there, his desires always ascending thither, what he taught others, he practised himself, his conversation was in Heaven, and his desires were to depart, and to be with Christ; this World did neither arrest his affections, nor disturb his fears, he was not taken with its applause, nor frightened with its threatenings; he studied not to please men, nor valued the censures and judgments which they passed upon him; he was not greedy of a great estate, or titles of honour, or rich presents from men, not seeking theirs, but them; food and raiment was his bill of fare, and more than this he never cared for; accounting, that the less he was clogged with these things, the lighter he should march to Heaven, especially travelling through a World over-run with troubles and persecutions. Upon this account it's probable he kept himself always within a single life, though there want not some of the Ancients who expressly reckon him in the number of the married Apostles, as \*Clement Alexandrinus, || Ignatius, and some others. 'Tis true that passage is not to be found in the genuine Epistle of Ignatius, but yet is extant in all those that are owned and published by the Church of Rome, though they have not been wanting to banish it out of the World, having expunged S. Paul's name out of some ancient Manuscripts, as the learned Bishop \*Usher has to their shame sufficiently discovered to the World. But for the main of the question we can readily grant it, the Scripture seeming most to favour it, that though he asserted his power and liberty to marry as well as the rest, yet that he lived always a single life.

5. HIS kindness and charity was truly admirable, he had a compassionate tenderness for the poor, and a quick sense of the wants of others: To what Church soever he came, it was one of his first cares, to make provision for the poor, and to stir up the bounty of the rich and the wealthy, nay, himself worked often with his own hands, not only to maintain himself, but to help and relieve them. But infinitely greater was his charity to the Souls of men, fearing no dangers, refusing no labours, going through good and evil report, that he might gain men over to the knowledge of the truth, reduce them out of the crooked paths of vice and idolatry, and set them in the right way to eternal life. Nay, so insatiable his thirst after the good of Souls, that he affirms, that rather than his Country-men the Jews should miscarry by not believing and entertaining the Gospel, he could be content, nay wished, that himself might be accursed from Christ for their sake, i. e. that he might be anathematized and cut off from the Church of Christ, and not only lose the honour of the Apostolate, but be reckoned in the number of the abject and execrable persons, such as those are who are separated from the communion

\* Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 3. p. 448.  
|| Ignat. Ep. ad Philadelph. in Bibl. Pp. Gr. L. T. 1. p. 23. Euseb. l. 3. c. 30.  
\* Usher. Not. in Ignat. Epist. ad Philadelph. vid. James his corrupt. of the Faith. Part. II. p. 48. 57.

communion of the Church. An instance of so large and passionate a charity, that lest it might not find room in mens belief, he uttered it in with this solemn appeal and attestation, that he said the truth in Christ, and lied not, his conscience bearing him witness in the Holy Ghost. And as he was infinitely solicitous to gain men over to the best Religion in the World, so was he not less careful to keep them from being seduced from it, ready to suspect every thing that might corrupt their minds from the simplicity that is in Christ. I am jealous over you with a godly jealousy, as he told the Church of Corinth: An affection of all others the most active and vigilant, and which is wont to inspire men with the most passionate care and concernment for the good of those, for whom we have the highest measures of love and kindness. Nor was his charity to men greater than his zeal for God, endeavouring with all his might to promote the honour of his Master. Indeed zeal seems to have had a deep foundation in the natural forwardness of his temper. How exceedingly zealous was he, while in the Jews Religion, of the Traditions of his Fathers, how earnest to vindicate and assert the Divinity of the Mosaic dispensation, and to persecute all of a contrary way, even to rage and madness. And when afterwards turned into a right chanel, it ran with as swift a current; carrying him out against all opposition to ruine the kingdom and the powers of darkness, to beat down idolatry, and to plant the World with right apprehensions of God, and the true notions of Religion. When at Athens he saw them so much over-grown with the grossest superstition and idolatry, giving the honour that was alone due to God to Statues and Images, his zeal began to ferment, and to boil up into Paroxysms of indignation, and he could not but let them know the resentments of his mind, and how much herein they dishonoured God, the great Parent and Maker of the World.

6. THIS zeal must needs put him upon a mighty diligence and industry in the execution of his office, warning, reproof, entreating, persuading, preaching in season, and out of season, by night, and by day, by Sea and Land; no pains too much to be taken, no dangers too great to be overcome. For five and thirty years after his Conversion, he seldom staid long in one place, from Jerusalem, through Arabia, Asia, Greece, round about to Illyricum, to Rome, and even to the utmost bounds of the Western-world, fully preaching the Gospel of Christ: Running (says S. Hierom) from Ocean to Ocean, like the Sun in the Heavens, of which 'tis said, His going forth is from the end of the Heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it; sooner wanting ground to tread on, than a desire to propagate the Faith of Christ. \* Nicc- phorus compares him to a Bird in the Air, that in a few years flew round the World: Isidore the \* Pelusiot to a winged husbandman, that flew from place to place to cultivate the World with the most excellent rules and institutions of life. And while the other Apostles did as 'twere chuse this or that particular Province, as the main sphere of their ministry, S. Paul over-ran the whole World to its utmost bounds and corners, planting all places where he came with the Divine doctrines of the Gospel. Nor in this course was he tired out with the dangers and difficulties that he met with, the troubles and oppositions that were raised against him. All which did but reflect the greater lustre upon his patience, whereof indeed (as \* Clement observes) he became μέγας & ὑπογεγραμμένος, a most eminent

2 Cor. 11. 2.

Οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὁ πόθος τὸ εἶναι σε δεσφύμενον ἡν, πίζουσι. Ζηλοῦντες γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ αἱ σε δεύρα ἡν ἐραυμένων ἀναιμολογῶν, καὶ ἐκ αὐτῶν ἀλλας πηχθὲν ζήλον τιμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἡ δὲ σε δεύρας φιλίας. Chrysost. Homil. 23. in 2. ad Corinth. p. 899.

\*\* Εἰς αὐτὸν ἦν ἡ Ἀποστολὴν, ὡς ἐπὶ αὐτὸν εἰπὲν, ἵνα ἀπολαβὼν χώραν, ταύτην ἐρύθμισεν. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ὡς ἀπὸ πτεροῦ γενομένος, πᾶσαν γῆδον ἐπέδραμε, ὡς οἰκευμένην, καὶ ὡς αὐτὴς ἐφοίτησεν ὁ γῆς πᾶς ἐραυτὸς, καὶ τὰ ἀναιμολογῶν θυμίζων, καὶ τοὺς ἀναιμολογῶν ἐπαπείραν τὸ θεῖον κήρυγμα. Lib. 3. Epist. 176. ad Isid. Diac. p. 285.

\* Epist. ad Cor. p. 8.

2 Cor. 11. 23.  
& sequ.

nent pattern and exemplar, enduring the biggest troubles and persecutions with a patience triumphant and unconquerable. As will easily appear, if we take but a survey of what trials and sufferings he underwent, some part whereof are briefly summed up by himself: *In labours abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons frequent, in deaths oft; thrice beaten with rods, once stoned, thrice suffered shipwreck, a night and a day in the deep: In journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own Country-men, in perils by the Heathen, in perils in the City, in perils in the Wilderness, in perils in the Sea, in perils among false Brethren; in weariness, in painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst; in fastings often, in cold and nakedness: And besides these things that were without, that which daily came upon him, the*

\* Εὐκρίνον αὐτὴς τῇ ζωῇ μνηστικὸς καὶ θεωροῦν-  
τα ἰδόντες· ὁ μαρτυρῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποθνήσκει, ὁ δὲ μα-  
ρτυροῦντος ἐκείνου ἐν τῇ σήμερι καὶ μετὰ ψυχῇ πο-  
τεῖς κινδύνους ὑπέμεινε, καὶ ἀδύνατον ἵκανός  
δορυβήσαι ψυχῇ. καὶ ἅπαντες ἐν ποσὶ τοῖς  
σώματι οἱ ἄλλοι ἔπαθον, ταῦτα αὐτὸς ἐν ἐνὶ πᾶσι  
ταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ νύκτας εἰς τὸν θάνατον εἰσέλ-  
θων, καὶ πάντα ἀποδυναμώσας, ἵνα ἵστα ἡμῶν  
αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὸ διὰ θανάτου, ὅτι πᾶσι ταῖς πό-  
λεσι, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, σφόδρα μετεῴχευεν ἡδονήν. καὶ  
πῶς μνηστικὸς βίβλους ἐνέπλησεν αὐτὸν, εἰς τὴν ἐπι-  
μνήσιν ἡμῶν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου, &c. ἀλλ' ἐκ ἡδονῆς.  
Chrysost. Homil. 25. in 2 ad Cor. p. 921.

of sufferings to contend with. All which he generously underwent with a Soul as calm and serene as the morning-Sun, no spite or rage, no fury or storms could ruffle and discompose his spirit: Nay, those sufferings, which would have broken the back of an ordinary patience, did but make him rise up with the greater eagerness and resolution for the doing of his duty.

7. HIS patience will yet further appear from the consideration of another, the last of those virtues we shall take notice of in him, his constancy and fidelity in the discharge of his place, and in the profession of Religion. Could the powers and policies of Men and Devils, spite and oppositions, torments and threatnings have been able to baffle him out of that Religion wherein he had engaged himself, he must have sunk under them, and left his station. But his Soul was steel'd with a courage and resolution that was impenetrable, and which no temptation either from hopes or fears could make any more impression upon, than an arrow can, that's shot against a wall of marble. He wanted not solicitation on either hand, both from *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and questionless might in some degree have made his own terms, would he have been false to his trust, and have quitted that way, that was then every-where spoken against. But alas! these things weighed little with our Apostle, who counted not his life to be dear unto him, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus. And therefore when under the sentence of death in his own apprehension, could triumphingly say, *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the Faith*: and so indeed he did, kept it inviolably, undauntedly to the last minute of his life. The sum is, He was a man, in whom the Divine life did eminently manifest and display it self; he lived piously and devoutly, soberly and temperately, justly and righteously, careful always to keep a conscience void of offence both towards God and Man. This he tells us was his support under suffering, this the foundation of his confidence towards God, and his firm hopes of happiness in another World; *This is our rejoicing, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity we have had our conversation in the World.*

2 Cor. 1. 12.

8. IT

8. IT is not the least instance of his care and fidelity in his office, that he did not only preach and plant Christianity in all places whither he came, but what he could not personally do, he supplied by writing. XIV Epistles he left upon record, by which he was not only instrumental in propagating Christian Religion at first, but has been useful to the World ever since in all Ages of the Church. We have all along in the History of his Life taken particular notice of them in their due place and order: We shall here only make some general observations and remarks upon them, and that as to the stile and way wherein they are written, their Order, and the Subscriptions that are added to them. For the Apostle's stile and manner of writing it is plain and simple, and though not set off with the elaborate artifices, and affected additionals of humane eloquence, yet grave and majestic, and that by the confession of his very enemies, *his Letters* (say they) *are weighty and powerful*. Nor are there wanting in them some strains of Rhetorick, which sufficiently testify his ability that way, had he made it any part of his study and design. Indeed \* S. Hierom is sometimes too rude and bold in his censures of S. Paul's stile and character. He tells us, that being an *Hebrew of the Hebrews*, and admirably skill'd in the Language of his Nation, he was greatly defective in the *Greek* Tongue, (though a late great Critick is of another mind, affirming him to have been as well, or better skill'd in *Greek*, than in *Hebrew*, or in *Syriack*) wherein he could not sufficiently express his conceptions in a way becoming the majesty of his sense and the matter he delivered, nor transmit the elegancy of his Native Tongue into another Language: that hence he became obscure and intricate in his expressions, guilty many times of *solecisms*, and scarce tolerable *syntax*, and that therefore 'twas not his humility, but the truth of the thing that made him say, that *he came not with the excellency of speech, but in the power of God*. A censure from any other than S. Hierom that would have been justly wondred at; but we know the liberty that he takes to censure any, though the reverence due to so great an Apostle might, one would think, have challenged a more modest censure at his hands. However \* elsewhere he cries him up as a great Master of composition, that as oft as he heard him, he seemed to hear not words, but *thunder*, that in all his citations he made use of the most prudent artifices, using simple words, and which seemed to carry nothing but plainness along with them, but which way soever a Man turned, breathed force and thunder: He seems entangled in his cause, but catches all that comes near him; turns his back, as if intending to fly, when 'tis only that he may overcome.

9. SAINT Peter long since observed, that in Paul's Epistles there were *δυσνόητα τινα*, some things hard to be understood: which surely is not altogether owing to the profoundness of his sense, and the mysteriousness of the subject that he treats of, but in some degree to his manner of expression; his frequent *Hebraisms*, (common to him with all the Holy Writers of the New Testament) his peculiar forms and ways of speech, his often inserting *Jewish* Opinions, and yet but tacitly touching them, his using some words in a new and uncommon sense; but above all, his frequent and abrupt transitions, suddenly starting aside from one thing to another, whereby his Reader is left at a loss, not knowing which way to follow him, not a little contributing to the perplex'd obscurity of his discourses. \* Irenæus took notice of old, that S. Paul makes frequent use of these *Hyperbata*, by reason of the swiftness of his arguings, and the great fervour and impetus that was in him, leaving many times the designed frame and texture of his discourse, not bringing in what should have immediately connected the sense and order,

2 Cor. 10. 10.

\* Ad Algas.  
Quaest. 1. 1.  
p. 169. T. 2.  
Quaest. 1. 1. ad  
Hedib. p. 151.  
ibid. in Eph. 3.  
Tom. 9. p. 216.  
com. in Gal. 3.  
p. 170. ibid.  
S. Irenæus de  
Hellenist. Part.  
1. Quaest. 6.

\* Apol. adv.  
Fovin. T. 2.  
p. 106.

2 Pet. 3. 16.

\* Adv. Hæc.  
lib. 3. c. 7. p. 248

der, till some distance after: which indeed to Men of a more nice and delicate temper, and who will not give themselves leave patiently to trace out his reasonings, must needs create some obscurity. *Origen* and *S. Hierom* sometimes observe, that besides this he uses many of his Native phrases of the *Cilician* dialect, which being in a great measure foreign and exotick to the ordinary *Greek*, introduces a kind of strangeness into his discourse, and renders it less intelligible. *Epiphanius* tells us, that by these methods he acted like a skilful Archer, hitting the mark, before his adversaries were aware of it; by words misplaced making the frame of his discourse seem obscure and entangled, while in it self it was not only most true, but elaborate, and not difficult to be understood; that to careless and trifling Readers it might sometimes seem dissonant and incoherent, but to them that are diligent, and will take their reason along with them, it would appear full of truth, and to be disposed with great care and order.

10. AS for the order of these Epistles, we have already given a particular account of the times when, and the places whence they were written. That which is here considerable, is the Order according to which they are disposed in the sacred Canon. Certain it is that they are not plac'd according to the just order of time, wherein they were written, the two Epistles to the *Thessalonians* being on all hands agreed to have been first written, though set almost last in order. Most probable therefore it is, that they were plac'd according to the dignity of those to whom they were sent: the reason, why those to whole Churches have the precedency of those to particular persons: and among those to Churches, that to the *Romans* had the first place and rank assigned to it, because of the majesty of the Imperial City, and the eminency and honourable respect which that Church derived thence: and whether the same reason do not hold in others, though I will not positively assert, yet I think none will over-confidently deny. The last enquiry concerns the *subscriptions* added to the end of these Epistles; which, were they authentick, would determine some doubts concerning the time and place of their writing. But alas, they are of no just value and authority, not the same in all Copies, different in the *Syriack* and *Arabick* Versions, nay wholly wanting in some ancient *Greek* Copies of the New Testament; and were doubtless at first added at best upon probable conjectures. When at any time they truly represent the place whence, or the Person by whom the Epistle was sent, 'tis not that they are to be relied upon in it, but because the thing is either intimated or expressed in the body of the Epistle. I shall add no more but this observation, that *S. Paul* was wont to subscribe every Epistle with his own hand, *which is my token in every Epistle; so I write*. Which was done (says \* one of the *Ancients*) to prevent impostures, that his Epistles might not be interpolated and corrupted, and that if any vented Epistles under his name, the cheat might be discovered by the Apostles own hand not being to them: and this brings me to the last consideration that shall conclude this Chapter.

11. THAT there were some even in the most early Ages of Christianity, who took upon them (for what ends I stand not now to enquire) to write Books, and publish them under the name of some Apostle, is notoriously known to any, though but never so little conversant in Church-Antiquities. Herein *S. Paul* had his part and share, several supposititious Writings being fathered and thrust upon him. We find a *Gospel* ascribed by some of the *Ancients* to him, which surely arose from no other cause, than that in some of his Epistles he makes mention of *my Gospel*. Which as \* *S. Hierom* observes, can be meant of no other than the Gospel of *S. Luke*, his

*¶ Hieron. 64.  
p. 239.*

*2 Thess. 3. 17.*

*\* Ambr. in loc.  
T. 5. p. 397.*

*\* De Script.  
Eccl. in Luc.*

his constant Attendant, and from whom he chiefly derived his intelligence. If he wrote another Epistle to the *Corinthians*, precedent to those two extant at this Day, as he seems to imply in a passage in his first Epistle. *I have wrote unto you in an Epistle, not to keep company, &c.* a passage not conveniently applicable to any part either in that or the other Epistle, nay a Verse or two after the first Epistle is directly opposed to it; all that can be said in the case is, that it long since perished, the Divine providence not seeing it necessary to be preserved for the service of the Church. Frequent mention there is also of an Epistle of his to the *Laodiceans*, grounded upon a mistaken passage in the Epistle to the *Colossians*: but besides that the Apostle does not there speak of an Epistle written to the *Laodiceans*, but of one from them, \* *Tertullian* tells us, that by the Epistle to the *Laodiceans* is meant that to the *Ephesians*, and that *Marcion* the Heretick was the first that changed the title, and therefore in his enumeration of *S. Paul's* Epistles he omits that to the *Ephesians*, for no other reason doubtless but that according to *Marcion's* opinion he had reckoned it up under the title of that to the *Laodiceans*. Which yet is more clear, if we consider that *Epiphanius* citing a place quoted by *Marcion* out of the Epistle to the *Laodiceans*, it is in the very same words found in that to the *Ephesians* at this Day. However such an Epistle is still extant, forged no doubt before *S. Hierom's* time, \* who tells us, that it was read by some, but yet exploded and rejected by all. Besides these there was his *Revelation*, call'd also *Ἀποκάλυψις* or his *Ascension*, grounded on his ecstatic or rapture into Heaven, first forged by the *Cainian* Hereticks, and in great use and estimation among the *Gnosticks*. \* *Sozomen* tells us, that this *Apocalypse* was owned by none of the *Ancients*, though much commended by some Monks in his time: and he further adds, that in the time of the Emperor *Theodosius*, it was said to have been found in an underground Chest of Marble in *S. Paul's* house at *Tarsus*, and that by a particular revelation. A story which upon enquiry he found to be as false, as the Book it self was forged and spurious. The *Acts* of *S. Paul* are mentioned both by *Origen* and \* *Eusebius*, but not as Writings of approved and unquestionable credit and authority. The Epistles that are said to have passed between *S. Paul* and *Seneca*, how early soever they started in the Church, yet the falshood and fabulousness of them is now too notoriously known, to need any further account or description of them.

*1 Cor. 5. 9.  
Ver. 11.*

*Col. 4. 16.*

*\* Adv. Marc.  
l. 5. c. 11. p. 476  
ib. c. 17. p. 481.*

*¶ Hieron. 42.  
adv. Marcion.  
p. 142.*

*\* De Script.  
Eccl. in Paulo.  
¶ Epiph. Hares.  
38. p. 124.  
August. in Fo-  
an. Tract. 98.  
col. 488.  
\* H. Eccl. l. 7.  
c. 19. p. 735.*

*¶ Orig. Reg.  
'Αρχ. l. 1. c. 2.  
fol. 114 p. 2.  
\* Euseb. lib. 3.  
c. 3 p. 72.*

## S E C T. IX.

The principal *Controversies* that exercised the Church in his time.

Simon Magus the Father of Hereticks. *The wretched principles and practices of him and his followers. Their asserting Angel-worship; and how countermin'd by S. Paul. Their holding it lawful to sacrifice to Idols, and abjure the Faith in times of persecution, discovered and opposed by S. Paul. Their maintaining an universal licence to sin. Their manners and opinions herein described by S. Paul in his Epistles. The great controversy of those times about the obligation of the Law of Moses upon the Gentile Converts. The Original of it, whence. The mighty veneration which the Jews had for the Law of Moses. The true state of the Controversie, what. The Determination made in it by the Apostolick Synod at Jerusalem. Meats offered to Idols, what. Abstinence from Bloud, why enjoined of old. Things strangled, why forbidden. Fornication commonly practised and accounted lawful among the Gentiles. The hire of the Harlot, what. How dedicated to their Deities among the Heathens. The main passages in S. Paul's Epistles concerning Justification and Salvation shewed to have respect to this Controversie. What meant by Law, and what by Faith in S. Paul's Epistles. The Persons whom he has to deal with in this Controversie, who. The Jew's strange doting upon Circumcision. The way and manner of the Apostles Reasoning in this Controversie considered. His chief Arguments shewed immediately to respect the case of the Jewish and Gentile Converts. No other controversy in those times, which his discourses could refer to. Two Consecrations from this Discourse. I. That works of Evangelical Obedience are not opposed to Faith in Justification. What meant by works of Evangelical Obedience. This method of Justification excludes boasting, and entirely gives the glory to God. II. That the doctrines of S. Paul and S. James about Justification are fairly consistent with each other. These two Apostles shewed to pursue the same design. S. James his excellent Reasonings to that purpose.*

I. **T**HOUGH our Lord and his Apostles delivered the Christian Religion, especially as to the main and essential parts of it, in words as plain as words could express it, yet were there men of perverse and corrupt minds, and reprobate concerning the Faith, who from different causes, some ignorantly or wilfully mistaking the doctrines of Christianity, others to serve ill purposes and designs, began to introduce errors and unsound opinions into the Church, and to debauch the minds of men from the simplicity of the Gospel, hereby disquieting the thoughts, and alienating the affections of men, and disturbing the peace and order of the Church. The first Ring-leader of this Heretical crue was *Simon Magus*, who not being able to attain his ends of the Apostles, by getting a power to confer miraculous gifts, whereby he designed to greatness and enrich himself, resolved to be revenged of them, scattering the most poisonous tares among the good wheat that they had sown, bringing in the most pernicious principles, and as the natural consequent of that, patronizing the most debauched villainous practices, and

and this under a pretence of still being Christians. To enumerate the several *Dogmata* and damnable Heresies, first broached by *Simon*, and then vented and propagated by his disciples and followers, who though passing under different Titles, yet all centred at last in the name of *Gnosticks*, (a term which we shall sometimes use for convenience, though it took not place till after S. Paul's time) were as endless, as 'tis alien to my purpose. I shall only take notice of a few of more signal remark, and such as S. Paul in his Epistles does eminently reflect upon.

2. AMONGST the opinions and principles of *Simon* and his followers this was \* one, That God did not create the World, that it was made by Angels, that Divine honours were due to them, and they to be adored as subordinate mediators between God and us. This our Apostle saw growing up apace, and struck betimes at the root, in that early caution he gave to the *Colossians*, to let no man beguile them in a voluntary humility, and worshipping of Angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffing up by his fleshly mind; and not holding the head, i. e. hereby disclaiming Christ, the head of the Church. But notwithstanding this warning, this error still continued and spread it self in those parts for several Ages, till expressly condemned by the \* *Laodicean Council*. Nay, || *Theodoret* tells us, that in his time there were still *Oratories* erected to the *Archangel Michael* in those places, wherein they were wont to meet and pray to Angels. Another *Gnostick* principle was, \* that men might freely and indifferently eat what had been offered in sacrifice to Idols, yea, sacrifice to the Idol it self, it being lawful confidently to abjure the Faith in time of persecution. The first part whereof S. Paul does largely and frequently discuss up and down his Epistles; the latter, wherein the sting and poison was more immediately couched, was craftily adapted to those times of suffering, and greedily swallowed by many, hereby drawn into Apostasy. Against this our Apostle antidotes the Christians, especially the Jewish Converts, among whom the *Gnosticks* had mixed themselves, that they would not suffer themselves to be drawn aside by an evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God: That notwithstanding sufferings and persecutions they would hold fast the profession of the Faith without wavering, not forsaking the assembling of themselves together, as the manner of some is (the *Gnostick Hereticks*) remembering how severely God has threatened Apostates, that if any man draw back, his soul shall have no pleasure in him, and what a fearful thing it is thus to fall into the hands of the living God.

3. BUT besides this, *Simon* and his followers made the gate yet wider, maintaining an universal licence to sin, \* that men were free to do whatever they had a mind to, that to press the observance of good works was a bondage inconsistent with the liberty of the Gospel; that so men did but believe in him, and his dear *Helen*, they had no reason to regard Law or Prophets, but might do what they pleased, they should be saved by his grace, and not according to good works. *Irenaeus* adds (what a man would easily have inferred, had he never been told it) that they lived in all lust and filthiness; as indeed whoever will take the pains to peruse the account that is given of them, will find that they wallowed in the most horrible and unheard of bestialities. These persons S. Paul does as particularly describe, as if he had named them, having once and again with tears warned the *Philippians* of them, that they were enemies of the Cross of Christ, whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things. And elsewhere to the same effect, that they would mark them that caused divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which they had learned,

Eph. 5. 3, 4.  
&c.

and avoid them; for they that were such, served not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, by good words and fair speeches deceiving the hearts of the simple. This I doubt not he had in his eye, when he gave those Caveats to the Ephesians, that fornication, and all uncleanness, and inordinate desires should not be once named amongst them, as became Saints, nor filthiness, nor unclean talking; being assured by the Christian doctrine, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, &c. could be saved: that therefore they should let no man deceive them with vain words; these being the very things for which the wrath of God came upon the children of disobedience, and accordingly it concerned them not to be partakers with them. Plainly intimating, that this impure Gnostick-cruel (whose doctrines and practices he does here no less truly than lively represent) had begun by crafty and insinuating arts to screw it self into the Church of Ephesus, cheating the people with subtil and flattering insinuations, probably persuading them that these things were but indifferent, and a part of that Christian liberty, wherein the Gospel had instated them. By these and such like principles and practices (many whereof might be reckoned up) they corrupted the Faith of Christians, distracted the peace of the Church, stained and defiled the honour and purity of the best Religion in the World.

4. BUT the greatest and most famous Controversie that of all others in those times exercised the Christian Church, was concerning the obligation that Christians were under to observe the Law of Moses as necessary to their Justification and Salvation. Which because a matter of so much importance, and which takes up so great a part of S. Paul's Epistles, and the clearing whereof will reflect a great light upon them, we shall consider more at large: In order whereunto three things especially are to be enquired after, the true state of the Controversie, what the Apostles determined in this matter, and what respect the most material passages in S. Paul's Epistles about Justification and Salvation bear to this Controversie. First we shall enquire into the true state and nature of the Controversie; and for this we are to know, that when Christianity was published to the World, it mainly prevailed among the Jews, they being generally the first Converts to the Faith. But having been brought up in a mighty reverence and veneration for the Mosaic Institutions, and looking upon that Oeconomy as immediately contrived by God himself, delivered by Angels, settled by their great Master Moses, received with the most solemn and sensible appearances of Divine power and majesty, ratified by miracles, and entertained by all their forefathers as the peculiar prerogative of that Nation for so many Ages and Generations, they could not easily be brought off from it, or behold the Gospel but with an evil eye, as an enemy that came to supplant and undermine this ancient and excellent Institution. Nay, those of them that were prevailed upon by the convictive power and evidence of the Gospel, to embrace the Christian Religion, yet could not get over the prejudice of education, but must still continue their observance of those legal rites and customs, wherein they had been brought up. And not content with this, they began magisterially to impose them upon others, even all the Gentile Converts, as that without which they could never be accepted by God in this, or rewarded by him in another World. This controversie was first started at Antioch, a place not more remarkable for its own greatness, than the vast numbers of Jews that dwelt there, enjoying great immunities granted them by the Kings of Syria. For after that Antiochus Epiphanes had destroyed Jerusalem, and laid waste the Temple, the Jews generally flocked thither, where they were courteously entertained by his successors, the spoils of the Temple restored to them for the enriching and adorning of their Synagogue, and

Joseph. de Bell.  
Jud. 1. 7. c. 21.  
p. 973.

and they made equally with the Greeks free-men of that City. By which means their numbers encreased daily, partly by the resort of others from Judaea, partly by a numerous conversion of Proselytes, whom they gained over to their Religion. Accordingly Christianity at its first setting out found a very successful entertainment in this place. And hither it was that some of the Jewish Converts being come down from Jerusalem, taught the Christians, that unless they observed Circumcision, and the whole Law of Moses, they could not be saved. Paul and Barnabas then at Antioch, observing the ill influence that this had upon the minds of men (disturbing many at present, and causing the Apostasy of some afterwards) began vigorously to oppose this growing error; but not able to conjure down this Spirit, that had been raised up, they were dispatched by the Church at Antioch to consult the Apostles and Governours at Jerusalem about this matter: Whither being come, they found the quarrel espoused among others by some Converts of the Sect of the Pharisees (of all others the most zealous assertors of the Mosaic rites) still maintaining, that besides the Gospel or the Christian Religion, it was necessary for all Converts, whether Jews or Gentiles, to keep to Circumcision, and the Law of Moses. So that the state of the controversie between the Orthodox, and these Judaizing Christians was plainly this,

*Whether Circumcision and the observation of the Mosaic Law, or, only the belief and practice of Christianity be necessary to Salvation?*

The latter part of the question was maintained by the Apostles, the former asserted by the Judaizing Zelots, making the Law of Moses equally necessary with the Law of Christ; and no doubt pretending that whatever these men might preach at Antioch, yet the Apostles were of another mind; whose sentence and resolution it was therefore thought necessary should be immediately known.

5. WE are then next to consider what determination the Apostolick Synod at Jerusalem made of this matter. For a Council of the Apostles and Rulers being immediately convened, and the question by Paul and Barnabas brought before them, the case was canvassed and debated on all hands, and at last it was resolved upon by their unanimous sentence and suffrage, that the Gentile Converts were under no obligation to the Jewish Law, that God had abundantly declared his acceptance of them, though strangers to the Mosaic Oeconomy, that they were sufficiently secured of their happiness and salvation by the grace of the Gospel, wherein they might be justified and saved without Circumcision or legal Ceremonies, a yoke from which Christ had now set us free. But because the Apostles did not think it prudent in these circumstances, too much to stir the exasperated humour of the Jews (lest by straining the string too high at first, they should endanger their revolting from the Faith) therefore they thought of some indulgence in the case, S. James then Bishop of Jerusalem, and probably President of the Council, propounding this expedient, that for the present the Gentile Converts should so far only comply with the humour of the Jews, as to abstain from meats offered to Idols, from blood, from things strangled, and from fornication. Let us a little more distinctly survey the ingredients of this imposition. Meats offered to Idols, or as S. James in his discourse styles them αἰσχρογέματα τῶν εἰδώλων, the pollution of Idols, the word αἰσχρογέματα properly denoting the meats that were polluted by being consecrated to the Idol. Thus we read of ἄρτος ὁπρὸς ἁγίου. ἡλισγημένος. (as the LXX render it) polluted bread upon God's Altar, i. e. such probably as had been before offered to Idols. So that these meats offered to the Idols were parts of those Sacrifices which

Acts 15. 1.

Mat. 1. 7.

the Heathens offered to their Gods, of the remaining portions whereof they usually made a Feast in the *Idol-Temple*, inviting their friends thither, and sometimes their Christian friends to come along with them. This God had particularly forbidden the *Jews* by the Law of *Moses*, *Thou shalt worship no other God: lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and go a whoring after their Gods, and do sacrifice unto their Gods, and one call thee, and thou eat of his sacrifice.* And the not observing this prohibition cost the *Jews* dear, when invited by the *Moabites* to the Sacrifices of their Gods, *they did eat with them, and bowed down to their Gods.* Sometimes these remaining portions were sold for common use in the *Shambles*, and bought by Christians. Both which gave great offence to the zealous *Jews*, who looked upon it as a participation in the Idolatries of the Heathen: Of both which our Apostle discourages elsewhere at large, pressing Christians to *abstain from Idolatry*, both as to the *Idol-feasts*, and the remainders of the Sacrifice: From the former as more immediately unlawful, from the latter, the Sacrificial meats sold in the *Shambles*, as giving offence to weak and undiscerning Christians. For though in it self an *Idol was nothing in the world*, and consequently no honour could be done it by eating what was offered to it, yet was it more prudent and reasonable to abstain, partly because flesh-meats have no peculiar excellency in them to commend us to God; partly because all men were not alike instructed in the knowledge of their liberty, their minds easily puzzled, and their consciences entangled, the *Gentiles* by this means hardened in their idolatrous practices, weak brethren offended; besides, though these things were in their own nature indifferent, and in a mans own power to do, or to let alone, yet was it not convenient to make our liberty a snare to others, and to venture upon what was lawful, when it was plainly unedifying and inexpedient. *From bloud*: This God forbade of old, and that some time before the giving of the Law by *Moses*, that *they should not eat the flesh with the bloud, which was the life thereof.* The mystery of which prohibition was, to instruct men in the duties of mercy and tenderness even to brute beasts, but (as appears from what follows after) primarily designed by God as a solemn fence and bar against murder, and the effusion of humane blood. A Law afterwards renewed upon the *Jews*, and inserted into the body of the *Mosaic* precepts. *From things strangled*: that is, that they should abstain from eating of those Beasts that died without letting blood, where the blood was not thoroughly drained from them; a prohibition grounded upon the reason of the former, and indeed was greatly abominable to the *Jews*, being so expressly forbidden in their Law. But it was not more offensive to the *Jews*, than acceptable to the \* *Gentiles*, who were wont with great art and care to strangle living Creatures, that they might stew or dress them with their blood in them, as a point of curious and exquisite delicacy. This and the foregoing prohibition, abstinence from bloud, died not

with the Apostles, nor were buried with other *Jewish* rites, but were inviolably observed for several Ages in the Christian Church, as we have elsewhere observed from the Writers of those times, Lastly, *From Fornication*: This was a thing commonly practised in the Heathen World, who generally beheld *simple* Fornication as no \* *sin*, and that it was lawful for persons, not engaged in wedlock, to make use of women that exposed themselves. A custom justly offensive to the *Jews*, and therefore to cure two evils at once, the Apostles

here

here solemnly declare against it. Not that they thought it a thing indifferent, as the rest of the prohibited rites were, for it is forbidden by the natural Law (as contrary to that chasteness and modesty, that order and comeliness which God has planted in the minds of men) but they joyned it in the same class with them, because the *Gentiles* looked upon it as a thing lawful and indifferent. It had been expressly forbidden by the *Mosaic* Law, *There shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel*; and because the Heathens had generally thrown down this fence and bar set by the Law of nature, it was here again repaired by the first planters of Christianity, as by *S. Paul* elsewhere, *Ye know what commandments we gave you by the Lord Jesus; for this is the will of God, even your Sanctification, that you should abstain from fornication: That every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour, not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the Gentiles which know not God.* Though after all I must confess my self inclinable to embrace *Heinsius* his ingenious conjecture, that by *πορνεία*, fornication, we are here to understand *πόρνη μισθωμά*, the harlots hire, or the *πορνική δωρεά*, the offering which those persons were wont to make. For among the *Gentiles* nothing was more usual, than for the common women, that prostituted themselves to lewd embraces (those especially that attended at the Temples of *Venus*) to dedicate some part of their gain, and present it to the Gods. \* *Athanasius* has a passage very express to this purpose. *Γυναῖκες γὰρ ἐν εἰδωλείοις τὸ Φοινίκης πάλαι περικαθίζουσαι, ἀπαχόμεναι τοῖς ἐκεῖ θεοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἢ τῷ σώματι μισθωρίαν, κομιζέσθαι τῇ πορνείᾳ τὸ θεὸν ἑαυτῶν ἰδωσκεῖσθαι, καὶ εἰς εὐδωρίαν ἀγεῖν αὐτὴν διὰ τούτων.* The women of old were wont to sit in the *Idol-Temples* of *Phœnicia*, and to dedicate the gain which they got by the prostitution of their bodies as a kind of first-fruits to the Deities of the place; supposing that by fornication they should pacify their Goddess, and by this means render her favourable and propitious to them. Where'tis plain he uses *πορνεία*, or fornication, in this very sense, for that gain or reward of it, which they consecrated to their Gods. Some such thing *Solomon* had in his eye, when he brings in the Harlot thus courting the young man, *I have peace-offerings with me, this day have I paid my Vows.* These presents were either made in *specie*, the very money thus unrighteously gotten, or in Sacrifices bought with it, and offered at the Temple, the remainders whereof were taken and sold among the ordinary sacrificial portions. This as it holds the nearest correspondence with the rest of the rites here forbidden, so could it not chuse but be a mighty scandal to the *Jews*, it being so particularly prohibited in their Law, *Thou shalt not bring the hire of an Whore into the house of the Lord thy God for any Vow, for it is an abomination to the Lord.*

6. THESE prohibitions here laid upon the *Gentiles*, were by the Apostles intended only for a temporary compliance with the *Jewish* Converts, till they could by degrees be brought off from their stiffness and obstinacy, and then the reason of the thing ceasing, the obligation to it must needs cease and fail. Nay, we may observe that even while the Apostolical decree lasted in its greatest force and power, in those places where there were few or no *Jewish* Converts, the Apostle did not stick to give leave, that except in case of scandal, any kind of meats, even the portions of the *Idol-sacrifices* might be indifferently bought and taken by Christians as well as Heathens. These were all which in order to the satisfaction of the *Jews*, and for the present peace of the Church the Apostles thought necessary to require of the Converted *Gentiles*, but that for all the rest they were perfectly free from legal observances, obliged only to the commands of Christianity. So that the Apostolical decision that was made of this matter was this,

That

Exod. 34. 14, 15.

Num. 25. 2-4.

Gen. 9. 4.

1 Cor. 12. 10, 11, 12, &c.  
\* Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. 2. c. 24. p. 65 ubi vid. Cajaub. in loc.

† Prim. Christ. Part. 2. c. 1. p. 230.  
\* Vid. Cicero, pro Caelio Orat. 34. p. 503. Tom. 2.  
Tercet. A. C. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 166.  
Σὺ δ' εἰς ἀσπίδας ἐξέες οὐ θρόνον, Σέλιον.  
Σὺ δ' ἀσπίδας οὐ τὸ ἰδίον πρῶτον.  
Δημιουργὸν δ' εἰς πρῶτον καὶ συνέλειον.  
Καὶ μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἐστὶν ἀμεσὸν Σέλιον.  
Νέστιν ὁρῶντι τὸ πάλιν νεατέρων.  
Τέρας τ' ἐχρυσὸς τὸ ἀσπίδας φέρον.  
Ἀμαρτάνων ἢ τ' εἰς οὐκ ἀσπίδας φέρον.  
Σπῆσαι σπῆσαι δὲ τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον.  
Κοινὰ δ' ἀπασιν καὶ κατεσκευασμέναις.  
\* Vid. in Comment. in Delph. an. Athen. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 569. Vid. Leg. Attic. l. 6. Tit. 5 p. 41. & Petit. Comment. p. 471.

Deut. 23. 17.

1 Thess. 4. 2, 3, 4, 5.

\* Orat. adv. Gent. pag. 27. Tom. 1.

Prov. 7. 14.

Deut. 23. 18.

*That (besides the temporary observation of those few indifferent rites before mentioned) the belief and practice of the Christian Religion was perfectly sufficient to Salvation, without Circumcision, and the observation of the Mosaic Law.*

This Synodical determination allayed the controversy for a while, being joyfully received by the Gentile-Christians. But alas, the Jewish zeal began again to ferment and spread it self, they could not with any patience endure to see their beloved Moses deserted, and those venerable Institutions trodden down, and therefore laboured to keep up their credit, and still to assert them as necessary to Salvation. Than which nothing created *S. Paul* greater trouble at every turn, being forced to contend against these Judaizing teachers almost in every Church where he came, as appears by that great part that they bear in all his Epistles, especially that to the *Romans*, and *Galatians*, where this leaven had most diffused it self, whom the better to undeceive, he discourses at large of the nature and institution, the end and design, the antiquating and abolishing of that *Mosaic* Covenant, which these men laid so much stress and weight upon.

7. HENCE then we pass to the third thing considerable for the clearing of this matter, which is to shew, that the main passages in *S. Paul's* Epistles, concerning Justification and Salvation, have an immediate reference to this controversy. But before we enter upon that, something must necessarily be premised for the explicating some terms and phrases frequently used by our Apostle in this question, these two especially, what he means by *Law*, and what by *Faith*. By *Law* then 'tis plain he usually understands the Jewish Law, which was a complex body of Laws, containing *Moral*, *Ceremonial* and *Judicial* precepts, each of which had its use and office as a great instrument of duty: The *Judicial* Laws being peculiar Statutes accommodated to the state of the Jew's Commonwealth, as all civil constitutions, restrained men from the external acts of sin: The *Ceremonial* Laws came somewhat nearer, and besides their *Typical* relation to the *Evangelical* state, by external and symbolical representations signified and exhibited that spiritual impurity, from which men were to abstain: The *Moral* Laws, founded in the natural notions of mens minds concerning good and evil, directly urged men to duty, and prohibited their prevarications. These three made up the intire *Code* and *Pandects* of the Jewish Statutes; all which our Apostle comprehends under the general notion of *the Law*, and not the moral Law singly and separately considered, in which sense it never appears that the Jews expected justification and salvation by it, nay rather, that they looked for it merely from the observance of the ritual and ceremonial Law: so that the moral Law is no further considered by him in this question, than as it made up a part of the *Mosaic* constitution, of that National and *Political* Covenant, which God made with the Jews at Mount *Sinai*. Hence the Apostle all along in his discourses constantly opposes the *Law* and the *Gospel*, and the observation of the one to the belief and practice of the other, which surely he would not have done, had he simply intended the moral Law, it being more expressly incorporated into the *Gospel*, than ever it was into the Law of *Moses*. And that the Apostle does thus oppose the *Law* and *Gospel*, might be made evident from the continued series of his discourses; but a few places shall suffice. By what *Law* (says the Apostle) is boasting excluded? by the *Law* of works: i. e. by the *Mosaic* Law, in whose peculiar privileges and prerogatives the Jews did strangely flatter and pride themselves? Nay, but by the *Law* of *Faith*: i. e. by the *Gospel*, or the *Evangelical* way of God's dealing with us. And elsewhere giving an account of this very controversy between

Epist. 3. 27.

Gal. 3. 15, 16.

between the Jewish and Gentile Converts, he first opposes their Persons, Jews by nature, and sinners of the Gentiles, and then infers, that a man is not justified by the works of the Law, by those legal observances, whereby the Jews expected to be justified, but by the faith of Christ, by a hearty belief of, and compliance with that way, which Christ has introduced, for by the works of the Law, by legal obedience, no flesh, neither Jew, nor Gentile, shall now be justified. I ain would I learn, whether you received the spirit by the works of the Law, or by the hearing of Faith? that is, whether you became partakers of the miraculous powers of the Holy Ghost, while you continued under the legal dispensation, or since you embraced the Gospel, and the faith of Christ: and speaking afterwards of the state of the Jews before the revelation of the Gospel, says he, before faith came, we were kept under the Law, i. e. before the Gospel came, we were kept under the Discipline of the legal Oeconomy, shut up unto the faith, reserved for the discovery of the Evangelical dispensation, which should afterwards [in its due time] be revealed to the World. This in the following Chapter he discourses more at large. Tell me ye that desire to be under the Law, i. e. Ye Jews that so fondly dote upon the legal state, Do ye not hear the Law? i. e. Understand what your own Law does so clearly intimate? and then goes on to unriddle what was wrapt up in the famous Allegory of Abraham's two Sons by his two Wives. The one, *Ismael*, born of *Hagar*, the Bond-woman, who denoted the Jewish Covenant made at Mount *Sinai*, which according to the representation of her condition was a servile state: The other *Isaac*, born of *Sarah*, the Free-woman, was the Son of the promise, denoting *Jerusalem* that is above, and is free, the mother of us all; i. e. The state and covenant of the Gospel, whereby all Christians, as the spiritual children of Abraham, are set free from the bondage of the *Mosaic* dispensation. By all which it is evident, that by Law and the works of the Law in this controversy, the Apostle understands the Law of *Moses*, and that obedience which the legal dispensation required at their hands.

Gal. 3. 2-4.

v. 23.

Gal. 4. 21. & seq.

8. WE are secondly to enquire, what the Apostle means by *Faith*; and he commonly uses it two ways. 1. More generally for the Gospel, or that Evangelical way of justification and salvation, which Christ has brought in, in opposition to Circumcision, and the observance of those Rites, by which the Jews expected to be justified: and this is plain from the preceding opposition, where *Faith*, as denoting the Gospel, is frequently opposed to the Law of *Moses*. 2. Faith is taken more particularly for a practical belief, or such an assent to the Evangelical revelation as produces a sincere obedience to the Laws of it, and indeed as concerned in this matter is usually taken not for this or that single virtue, but for the intire condition of the New Covenant, as comprehending all that duty that it requires of us: than which nothing can be more plain and evident; In Christ Jesus, i. e. under the Gospel, neither Circumcision availeth any thing, nor Uncircumcision; 'tis all one to Justification whether a Man be circumcised or no; What then? but Faith, which worketh by love; which afterwards he explains thus, In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature, a renewed and divine temper of mind, and a new course and state of life. And lest all this should not be thought plain enough, he elsewhere tells us, that circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping the Commandments of God. From which places there needs no skill to infer, that that Faith whereby we are justified, contains in it a new disposition and state both of heart and life, and an observance of the Laws of Christ; in which respect the Apostle does in the very same Verse expound believing, by obeying of the Gospel. Such he assures us was that very Faith by which Abraham was

Gal. 4. 6.

Gal. 6. 15.

1 Cor. 7. 19.

Rom. 10. 16.

was

was justified, who against all probabilities of reason believed in God's promise, *he staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief, but was strong, &c.* that is, he so firmly believed what God had promised, that he gave him the glory of his truth and faithfulness, his infinite power and ability to do all things. And how did he that? by acting suitably in a way of intire resignation, and sincere obedience to the divine will and pleasure: so the Apostle elsewhere more expressly, *by Faith he obeyed, and went out, not knowing whither he went.* This Faith (he tells us) *was imputed to Abraham for righteousness*, that is, God by virtue of the New Covenant made in *Christ* was graciously pleased to look upon this obedience (though in it self imperfect) as that for which he accounted him, and would deal with him as a just and a righteous Man. And upon this account we find *Abraham's* faith opposed to a perfect and unfinning obedience, for thus the Apostle tells us, that *Abraham* was justified by faith, in opposition to his being justified by such an absolute and compleat obedience, as might have enabled him to challenge the reward by the strict Laws of Justice: whereas now his being pardoned and accepted by God in the way of a mean and imperfect obedience, it could not claim impunity, much less a reward, but must be intirely owing to the Divine grace and favour.

9. HAVING thus cleared our way, by restoring these words to their genuine and native sense, we come to shew, how the Apostle in his discourses does all along refer to the Original controversy between the *Jewish* and *Gentile*-Converts, whether Justification was by the observation of the *Mosaic* Law, or by the belief and practice of the Gospel: and this will appear, if we consider the persons that he has to deal with, the way and manner of his arguing, and that there was then no other controversy on foot, to which these passages could refer. The Persons whom he had to deal with, were chiefly of two sorts, pure *Jews*, and *Jewish* Converts. Pure *Jews* were those that kept themselves wholly to the Legal Oeconomy, and expected to be justified and saved in no other way, than the observation of the Law of *Moses*. Indeed they laid a more peculiar stress upon *Circumcision*, because this having been added as the Seal of that Covenant which God made with *Abraham*, and the discriminating badge whereby they were to be distinguished from all other Nations, they looked upon it as having a special efficacy in it to recommend them to the Divine acceptance. Accordingly we find in their Writings that they make this the main Basis and Foundation of their hope and confidence towards God. For they tell us, that the Precept of *Circumcision* is greater than all the rest, and equivalent to the whole Law; that the reason why God hears the Prayers of the *Israelites*, but not הגוים of the *Gentiles* or *Christians*, is במצות בשרית for the virtue and merit of *Circumcision*; yea that *so great is the power and efficacy of the Law of Circumcision, that no man that is circumcised shall go to \* Hell.* Nay, according to the idle and trifling humour of these || Men, they fetch down *Abraham* from the Seat of the Blessed, and place him as Porter at the Gates of Hell, upon no other errand than to keep circumcised Persons from entering into that miserable place. However nothing is more evident, than that *Circumcision* was the Fort and Sanctuary wherein they ordinarily placed their security, and accordingly we find *S. Paul* frequently disputing against *Circumcision*, as virtually comprizing, in their notion, the keeping of the whole *Jewish* Law. Besides, to these literal impositions of the Law of *Moses*, the *Pharisees* had added many vain *Traditions* and several superstitious usages of their own contrivance, in the observance whereof the People plac'd not a little confidence, as to that righteousness upon which they hoped to stand

stand clear with Heaven. Against all these our Apostle argues, and sometimes by arguments peculiar to them alone. *Jewish* Converts were those; who having embraced the Christian Religion, did yet out of a veneration to their ancient Rites, make the observance of them equally necessary with the belief and practice of Christianity both to themselves and others. These last were the Persons, who as they first started the controversy, so were those against whom the Apostle mainly oppos'd himself, endeavouring to dismount their pretences, and to beat down their Opinions level with the ground.

10. THIS will yet further appear from the way and manner of the Apostles arguing, which plainly respects this controversy, and will be best seen in some particular instances of his reasonings. And first, he argues, that this way of justification urged by *Jews* and *Jewish* Converts was inconsistent with the goodness of God, and his universal kindness to Mankind, being so narrow and limited, that it excluded the far greatest part of the World. Thus in the three first Chapters of his Epistle to the *Romans* having proved at large that *the whole World*, both *Jew* and *Gentile* were under a state of guilt, and consequently liable to the Divine sentence and condemnation, he comes next to enquire by what means they may be delivered from this state of vengeance, and shews that it could not be by legal observances, but that now there was a way of righteousness or justification declared by *Christ* in the Gospel (intimated also in the Old Testament) extending to all, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, whereby God with respect to the satisfaction and expiation of *Christ* is ready freely to pardon and justify all penitent believers: That therefore there was a way revealed in the Gospel, whereby a man might be justified, without being beholden to the rites of the *Jewish* Law, otherwise it would argue that God had very little care of the greatest part of men. *Is he God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also: Seeing it is one God, which shall justify the Circumcision by Faith, and the uncircumcision through Faith, Jew and Gentile in the same Evangelical way.* The force of which argument lies in this, That that cannot be necessary to our Justification, which excludes the greatest part of Mankind from all possibility of being justified (and this justification by the *Mosaic* Law plainly does) a thing by no means consistent with God's universal love and kindness to his Creatures. Hence the Apostle magnifies the grace of the Gospel, that it has broken down the partition-wall, and made way for all Nations to come in, that *now there is neither Greek nor Jew, Circumcision nor uncircumcision, Gal. 3. 28. Barbarian nor Scythian*, no difference in this respect, but *all one in Christ Jesus, Col. 3. 11.* all equally admitted to terms of pardon and justification, *in every Nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness being accepted with him.* Act. 10. 35.

11. SECONDLY, He argues, that this *Jewish* way of Justification could not be indispensibly necessary, in that it had not been the constant way whereby good men in all Ages had been justified and accepted with Heaven. This he eminently proves from the instance of *Abraham*, whom the Scripture sets forth as *the Father of the faithful*, and the great Exemplar of that way, wherein all his spiritual seed, all true Believers were to be justified. Now of him 'tis evident, that he was justified and accepted with God upon his practical belief of God's power and promise, before ever *Circumcision*, and much more before the rest of the *Mosaic* Institution was in being. *Cometh this blessedness then upon the Circumcision only, or upon the uncircumcision also? For we say that Faith was reckoned unto Abraham for righteousness. How was it then reckoned, when he was in Circumcision, or in uncircumcision? Not in Circumcision, but in uncircumcision. And he received the sign of Circumcision,* Rom. 4. 9, 10, 11, &c.

Heb. 11. 8.  
Rom. 4. 22.

Rom. 4. 2, 3,  
&c.

Rom. 3. 20,  
21, &c.

Gal. 3. 28.  
Col. 3. 11.

Act. 10. 35.

גדול כוח  
מצות מילה  
שכל מי  
שהוא  
מהול אינו  
יורד  
לגהנום  
Cal. Hakkem.  
ap. Buxtorf. F.  
pr. cf. ad Syn.  
Jud.  
|| Synag. Jud.  
c. 4. p. 87.

a seal of the righteousness of the faith, which he had being yet uncircumcised, &c. The meaning whereof is plainly this, That pardon of sin cannot be entailed upon the way of the Mosaic Law, it being evident, that Abraham was justified and approved of God, before he was Circumcised, which was only added as a seal of the Covenant between God and him, and a testimony of that acceptance with God, which he had obtained before. And this way of God's dealing with Abraham, and in him with all his spiritual children, the legal Institution could not make void, it being impossible that that dispensation which came so long after should disannul the Covenant which God had made with Abraham and his spiritual seed CCCCXXX. Years before. Upon this account, as the Apostle observes, the Scripture sets forth Abraham as the great type and pattern of Justification, as the Father of all them that believe, though they be not Circumcised, that righteousness might be imputed to them also, and the father of Circumcision, to them who are not of the Circumcision only, but also walk in the steps of that Faith of our Father Abraham, which he had being yet uncircumcised. They therefore that are of Faith, the same are the children of Abraham: And the Scripture foreseeing that God would justify the Heathen through Faith, preached before the Gospel (this Evangelical way of justifying) unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all Nations be blessed, So then they which be of Faith, who believe and obey, as Abraham did, shall be blessed, pardoned and saved, with faithful Abraham. It might further be demonstrated that this has ever been God's method of dealing with Mankind, our Apostle in the eleventh Chapter to the Hebrews, proving all along by particular instances, that it was by such a Faith as this, without any relation to the Law of Moses, that good men were justified and accepted with God in all Ages of the World.

12. THIRDLY, He argues against this Jewish way of Justification from the deficiency and imperfection of the Mosaic Oeconomy, not able to justify and save sinners. Deficient, as not able to assist those that were under it with sufficient aids to perform what it required of them, *This the Law could not do, for that it was weak through the flesh, till God sent his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, to enable us, that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.* And indeed could the Law have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the Law: But alas! the Scripture having concluded all Mankind, Jew and Gentile, under sin, and consequently incapable of being justified upon terms of perfect and intire obedience, there is now no other way but this, That the promise by the Faith of Christ be given to all them that believe, i. e. this Evangelical method of justifying sincere believers. Besides, the Jewish Oeconomy was deficient in pardoning sin, and procuring the grace and favour of God, it could only awaken the knowledge of sin, not remove the guilt of it: *It was not possible that the blood of Bulls and Goats should take away sin; all the sacrifices of the Mosaic Law were no further available for the pardon of sin, than merely as they were founded in, and had respect to that great sacrifice and expiation, which was to be made for the sins of Mankind by the death of the Son of God. The Priests, though they daily ministered, and oftentimes offered the same sacrifices, yet could they never take away sins: No, that was reserved for a better and a higher sacrifice, even that of our Lord himself, who after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God, having completed that, which the repeated sacrifices of the Law could never effect. So that all Men being under guilt, and no justification, where there was no remission, the Jewish Oeconomy being in it self unable to pardon, was incapable to justify. This S. Paul elsewhere declared*

Gal. 3. 17.

Rom. 4. 11, 12.

Gal. 3. 7, 8, 9.

Rom. 8. 3, 4.

Gal. 3. 21.

Heb. 10. 4.

Ibid. v. 11, 12.

clared in an open Assembly before Jews and Gentiles; *Be it known unto you, men and brethren, that through this man [Christ Jesus] is preached unto you forgiveness of sins: And by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the Law of Moses.* Act. 13. 38, 39.

13. FOURTHLY, He proves that Justification by the Mosaic Law could not stand with the death of Christ, the necessity of whose death and sufferings it did plainly evacuate and take away. For if righteousness come by the Law, then Christ is dead in vain: If the Mosaic performances be still necessary to our Justification, then certainly it was to very little purpose, and altogether unbecoming the wisdom and goodness of God, to send his own Son into the World, to do so much for us, and to suffer such exquisite pains and tortures. Nay, he tells them, that while they persisted in this fond obstinate opinion, all that Christ had done and suffered could be of no advantage to them. *Stand fast in the liberty, wherewith Christ has made us free, and be not again intangled in the yoke of bondage, the bondage and servitude of the Mosaic rites; Behold I Paul solemnly say unto you, That if you be Circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing: For I testify again to every man that is Circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole Law; Christ is become of none effect to you; whosoever of you are justified by the Law, ye are fallen from grace.* The sum of which argument is, That whoever lay the stress of their Justification upon Circumcision, and the observances of the Law, do thereby declare themselves to be under an obligation of perfect obedience to all that the Law requires of them, and accordingly supersede the virtue and efficacy of Christ's death, and disclaim all right and title to the grace and favour of the Gospel. For since Christ's death is abundantly sufficient to attain its ends, whoever takes in another, plainly renounces that, and rests upon that of his own chusing. By these ways of reasoning 'tis evident what the Apostle drives at in all his discourses about this matter. More might have been observed, had I not thought, that these are sufficient to render his design, especially to the unprejudiced and impartial, obvious and plain enough.

Gal. 2. 21.

Gal. 5. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6.

14. LASTLY, That S. Paul's discourses about Justification and Salvation do immediately refer to the controversy between the Orthodox and Judaizing Christians, appears hence, that there was no other controversy then on foot, but concerning the way of Justification, whether it was by the observation of the Law of Moses, or only of the Gospel and the Law of Christ. For we must needs suppose, that the Apostle wrote with a primary respect to the present state of things, and so as they whom he had to deal with, might, and could not but understand him: Which yet would have been impossible for them to have done, had he intended them for the controversies which have since been bandied with so much zeal and fierceness, and to give countenance to those many nice and subtil propositions, those curious and elaborate schemes which some Men in these later Ages have drawn of these matters.

15. FROM the whole discourse two *Conseſſaries* especially plainly follow. I. *Conseſſ.* That works of Evangelical obedience are not opposed to Faith in Justification. By works of Evangelical obedience, I mean such Christian duties, as are the fruits, not of our own power and strength, but God's Spirit, done by the assistance of his grace. And that these are not opposed to Faith, is undeniably evident, in that (as we observed before) Faith as including the new nature, and the keeping God's commands, is made the usual condition of Justification. Nor can it be otherwise, when other graces and virtues of the Christian life are made the terms of pardon and acceptance

Acts 2. 38.  
 Acts 3. 17.  
 Mark 11. 25, 26.  
 Matth. 6. 14, 15.  
 Acts 10. 34, 35.  
 1 Joh. 1. 7.  
 1 Cor. 7. 19.  
 Rom. 3. 27.  
 1 Cor. 13. 2.

ceptance with Heaven, and of our title to the merits of *Christ's* death, and the great promise of eternal life. Thus Repentance, which is not so much a single Act, as a complex body of Christian duties, *Repent and be baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost; Repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out.* So Charity and forgiveness of others, *Forgive, if ye have ought against any, that your Father also which is in Heaven may forgive you your trespasses: For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father also will forgive you: But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive yours.* Sometimes Evangelical obedience in general; *God is no respecter of persons, but in every Nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness is accepted with him.* If we walk in the light, as God is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanses us from all sin. What privilege then has Faith above other graces in this matter? are we justified by Faith? We are pardoned and accepted with God upon our repentance, charity, and other acts of Evangelical obedience. Is Faith opposed to the works of the *Mosaick Law* in Justification? so are works of Evangelical obedience; *Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the Commandments of God.* Does Faith give glory to God, and set the crown upon his head? Works of Evangelical obedience are equally the effects of Divine grace, both preventing and assisting of us, and indeed are not so much our works, as his: So that the glory of all must needs be intirely resolved into the grace of God, nor can any man in such circumstances with the least pretence of reason lay claim to merit, or boast of his own achievements. Hence the Apostle magnifies the Evangelical method of Justification above that of the Law, that it wholly excludes all proud reflections upon our selves; *Where is boasting then? it is excluded. By what Law? of works? Nay, but by the Law of Faith.* The *Mosaical* Oeconomy fostered men up in proud and high thoughts of themselves, they looked upon themselves as a peculiar People, honoured above all other Nations of the World, the seed of *Abraham*, invested with mighty privileges, &c. whereas the Gospel proceeding upon other principles, takes away all foundations of pride, by acknowledging our acceptance with God, and the power whereby we are enabled to make good the terms and conditions of it, to be the mere result of the Divine grace and mercy, and that the whole scheme of our Salvation, as it was the contrivance of the Divine wisdom, so is the purchase of the merit and satisfaction of our crucified Saviour. Nor is Faith it self less than other graces an act of Evangelical obedience, and if separated from them, is of no moment or value in the accounts of Heaven: *Though I have all Faith, and have no Charity, I am nothing.* All Faith, be it of what kind soever. To this may be added, that no tolerable account can be given, why that which is on all hands granted to be the condition of our Salvation (such is Evangelical obedience) should not be the condition of our Justification: And at the great Day Christians shall be acquitted or condemned according as in this World they have fulfilled or neglected the conditions of the Gospel: The decretory sentence of absolution that shall then be passed upon good men, shall be nothing but a publick and solemn declaration of that private sentence of Justification that was passed upon them in this World; so that upon the same terms that they are justified now, they shall be justified and acquitted then, and upon the same terms that they shall then be judged and acquitted, they are justified now, viz. an hearty belief, and a sincere obedience to the Gospel. From all which, I hope, 'tis evident, that when *S. Paul* denies men to be justified by the works of the Law; by works he either means works done

done before conversion, and by the strength of Mens natural powers, such as enabled them to pride and boast themselves, and lay claim to merit, or (which most what includes the other) the works of the *Mosaick Law*. And indeed though the controversies on foot in those times did not plainly determine his reasonings that way, yet the considerations which we have now suggested, sufficiently shew that they could not be meant of any other sense.

16. CONJECT. II. That the doctrines of *S. Paul* and *S. James* about Justification are fairly consistent with each other. For seeing *S. Paul's* design in excluding works from Justification, was only to deny the works of the Jewish Law, or those that were meritorious, as being wrought by our own strength, and in asserting that in opposition to such works we are justified by Faith, he meant no more than that either we are justified in an Evangelical way, or more particularly by Faith intended a practical belief, including Evangelical obedience: And seeing on the other hand *S. James* in affirming that we are justified by Works, and not by Faith only; by works, means no more than Evangelical obedience, in opposition to a naked and an empty Faith; these two are so far from quarrelling, that they mutually embrace each other, and both in the main pursue the same design. And indeed if any disagreement seem between them, 'tis most reasonable that *S. Paul* should be expounded by *S. James*, not only because his propositions are so express and positive, and not justly liable to ambiguity, but because he wrote some competent time after the other, and consequently as he perfectly understood his meaning, so he was capable to countermince those ill principles, which some men had built upon *S. Paul's* assertions. For 'tis evident from several passages in *S. Paul's* Epistles, that even then many began to mistake his doctrine, and from his assertions about Justification by Faith, and not by works, to infer propositions that might serve the purposes of a bad life; *They slanderously reported him to say, that we might do evil, that good might come; that we might continue in sin, that the grace of the Gospel might the more abound.* They thought that so long as they did but believe the Gospel in the naked notion and speculation of it, it was enough to recommend them to the favour of God, and to serve all the purposes of Justification and Salvation, however they shaped and steered their lives. Against these men 'tis beyond all question plain, that *S. James* levels his Epistle, to batter down the growing doctrines of Libertinism and Prophaneness, to shew the insufficiency of a naked Faith, and an empty profession of Religion, that 'tis not enough to recommend us to the Divine acceptance, and to justify us in the sight of Heaven, barely to believe the Gospel, unless we really obey and practise it; that a Faith destitute of this Evangelical obedience is fruitless and unprofitable to Salvation; that 'tis by these works that Faith must appear to be vital and sincere; that not only *Rahab*, but *Abraham* the Father of the faithful, was justified not by a bare belief of God's promise, but an hearty obedience to God's command, in the ready offer of his Son, whereby it appears that his Faith and Obedience did co-operate and conspire together, to render him capable of God's favour and approbation, and that herein the Scripture was fulfilled, which saith, *That Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness,* (whence by the way nothing can be clearer, than that both these Apostles intend the same thing by Faith in the case of *Abraham's* Justification, and its being imputed to him for righteousness, viz. a practical belief and obedience to the commands of God) that it follows hence, that Faith is not of it self sufficient to justify and make us acceptable to God, unless a proportionable Obedience be joyned with it; without

which Faith serves no more to these ends and purposes, than a Body destitute of the Soul to animate and enliven it, is capable to exercise the functions and offices of the natural life. His meaning in short being nothing else, than that good works, or Evangelical obedience is, according to the Divine appointment, the condition of the Gospel-Covenant, without which 'tis in vain for any to hope for that pardon which *Christ* hath purchased, and the favour of God, which is necessary to Eternal Life.

### *The End of S. Paul's Life.*

## THE LIFE OF S. ANDREW.

S. ANDREW.



He was fastened to a Cross since distinguished by his name, by the Proconsul at Patræ a City of Achaia, from which he preached several days to the Spectators. Hieron. Baron. Nov. 29.

St. Andrew's Crucifixion.



Math. 23. 34. Behold I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes, & some of them ye shall kill and crucify, & some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from City to City.

The Sacred History sparing in the Acts of the succeeding Apostles, and why. S. Andrew's Birth-place, Kindred, and way of Life. John the Baptist's Ministry and Discipline. S. Andrew educated under his Institution. His coming to Christ, and Call to be a Disciple. His Election to the Apostolate. The Province assigned for his Ministry. In what places he chiefly preached. His barbarous usage at Sinope. His planting Christianity at Byzantium, and ordaining Stachys Bishop there. His travels in Greece, and preaching at Patræ in Achaia. His Arraignment before the Proconsul, and resolute defence of the Christian Religion. The Proconsul's displeasure against him, whence. An account of his Martyrdom. His preparatory Sufferings, and Crucifixion. On what kind of Cross he suffered. The Miracles reported to be done

by his Body. Its translation to Constantinople. The great Encomium given of him by one of the Ancients.

1. **T**HE Sacred Story, which has hitherto been very large and copious in describing the Acts of the two first Apostles, is henceforward very sparing in its accounts, giving us only now and then a few oblique and accidental remarks concerning the rest, and some of them no further mentioned, than the mere recording of their Names. For what reasons it pleased the Divine wisdom and providence, that no more of their Acts should be consigned to Writing by the Pen-men of the Holy story, is to us unknown. Probably, it might be thought convenient, that no more account should be given of the first plantations of Christianity in the World, than what concerned *Judæa*, and the Neighbour-countries, at least the most eminent places of the *Roman Empire*, that so the truth of the Prophetical Predictions might appear, which had foretold, that the *Law of the Messiah should come forth from Zion, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem*. Besides, that a particular relation of the Acts of so many Apostles, done in so many several Countries, might have swell'd the Holy Volumes into too great a bulk, and rendred them less serviceable and accommodate to the ordinary use of Christians. Among the Apostles that succeed we first take notice of *S. Andrew*. He was born at *Ethsaïda*, a City of *Galilee*, standing upon the banks of the Lake of *Gennesareth*, Son to *John* or *Jonas* a Fisherman of that Town; Brother he was to *Simon Peter*, but whether Elder or Younger, the Ancients do not clearly decide, though the major part intimate him to have been the younger Brother, there being only the single authority of *Epiphanius* on the other side, as we have formerly noted. He was brought up to his Father's Trade, whereat he laboured, till our Lord called him from catching Fish, to be a *Fisher of men*, for which he was fitted by some preparatory Institutions, even before his coming unto *Christ*.

2. **J**OHN the Baptist was lately risen in the Jewish Church, a Person whom for the efficacy and impartiality of his Doctrine, and the extraordinary strictness and austerities of his Life, the Jews generally had in great veneration. He trained up his *Profelytes* under the Discipline of Repentance, and by urging upon them a severe change and reformation of life, prepared them to entertain the Doctrine of the *Messiah*, whose approach, he told them, was now near at hand, representing to them the greatness of his Person, and the importance of the design that he was come upon. Beside the multitudes that promiscuously flock'd to the *Baptists* discourses, he had according to the manner of the Jewish Masters some peculiar and select Disciples, who more constantly attended upon his Lectures, and for the most part waited upon his Person. In the number of these was our Apostle, who was then with him about *Jordan*, when our Saviour, who some time since had been baptized, came that way: upon whose approach the Baptist told them, that this was the *Messiah*, the great Person whom he had so often spoken of, to usher in whose appearing his whole Ministry was but subservient, that this was the *Lamb of God*, the true Sacrifice that was to expiate the sins of Mankind. Upon this testimony *Andrew* and another Disciple (probably *S. John*) follow our Saviour to the place of his abode. Upon which account

ὅτι παρ' αὐτὸν  
καλῶν πάντων  
τῶν μαθητῶν  
καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν  
ἑσθίων καὶ σπαρ-  
τῶν. Ἀνδρέαν  
καὶ ἄλλον τινα  
ἀκολουθεῖν. *Men. in Græcor. h. 1. c. 1. Not. 1. c. 1. sub lit. d.*

till

till afterwards. After some converse with him; *Andrew* goes to acquaint his Brother *Simon*, and both together came to *Christ*. Long they stayed not with him, but returned to their own home, and to the exercise of their calling, wherein they were employed, when somewhat more than a Year after our Lord passing through *Galilee*, found them fishing upon the Sea of *Tiberias*, where he fully satisfied them of the Greatness and Divinity of his Person by the convictive evidence of that miraculous draught of Fishes, which they took at his command. And now he told them he had other work for them to do, that they should no longer deal in Fish, but with Men, whom they should catch with the efficacy and influence of that Doctrine, that he was come to deliver to the World; commanding them to follow him, as his immediate Disciples and Attendants, who accordingly left all and followed him. Shortly after *S. Andrew* together with the rest was called to the Office and Honour of the Apostolate, made choice of to be one of those that were to be *Christ's* immediate Vicegerents for planting and propagating the Christian Church. Little else is particularly recorded of him in the Sacred story, being comprehended in the general account of the rest of the Apostles.

3. **A**FTER our Lord's Ascension into Heaven, and that the Holy Ghost had in its miraculous powers been plentifully shed upon the Apostles, to fit them for the great errand they were to go upon, to root out prophaneness and idolatry, and to subdue the World to the Doctrine of the Gospel, it is generally affirmed by the Ancients, that the Apostles agreed among themselves (by lot, say \* some) probably not without the special guidance and direction of the Holy Ghost, what parts of the World they should severally take. In this division *S. Andrew* had *Scythia*, and the Neighbouring Countries primarily allotted him for his Province. First then he travelled through *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Bithynia*, and instructed them in the Faith of *Christ*, passing all along the *Euxine Sea* (formerly called \* *Axenus*, from the barbarous and inhospitable temper of the People thereabouts, who were wont to sacrifice strangers, and of their skulls to make Cups to drink in at their Feasts and Banquets) and so into the solitudes of *Scythia*. An ancient Author (though whence deriving his intelligence I know not) gives us a more particular account of his travels and transactions in these parts. He tells us, that he first came to *Amynsus*, where being entertained by a Jew, he went into the Synagogue; discoursed to them concerning *Christ*, and from the prophecies of the Old Testament proved him to be the *Messiah*, and the Saviour of the World. Having here converted and baptized many, ordered their publick Meeting, and ordained them Priests, he went next to *Trapezus*, a maritime City upon the *Euxine Sea*, whence after many other places he came to *Nice*, where he staid two Years, Preaching and working Miracles with great success: thence to *Nicomedia*, and so to *Chalcedon*, whence sailing through the *Propontis* he came by the *Euxine Sea* to *Heraclea*, and from thence to *Amastria*: in all which places he met with great difficulties and discouragements, but overcame all with an invincible patience and resolution. He next came to *Sinope*, a City situate upon the same Sea, a place famous both for the birth and burial of the great King *Mithridates*; here, as my Author reports from the Ancients (ὡς φασὶ λόγοι παλαιοὶ) he met with his Brother *Peter*, with whom he staid a considerable time at this place: as a Monument whereof he tells us, that the Chairs made of white stone wherein they were wont to sit while they taught the People, were still extant, and commonly shewed in his time. The Inhabitants of this City were most Jews, who partly through zeal for their Religion, partly through the barbarousness of their manners, were quickly exasperated against the Apostle,

\* Socr. H. Eccl. l. 1. c. 19. p. 50.

|| Orig. in Gen. l. 3. ap. Euseb. l. 3. c. 1. p. 71.

Niceph. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 39. p. 199.

\* Strab. Geogr. l. 7. p. 206.

|| Commentar. de S. Andr. A. post. ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ καλῶν, extat Græc. in Ale. n. 1. c. 1. p. 199. sub lit. π.

Apostle, and contriving together attempted to burn the House, wherein he sojourned: however they treated him with all the instances of savage cruelty, throwing him to the ground, stamping upon him with their Feet, pulling and dragging him from place to place, some beating him with Clubs, others pelting him with stones, and some the better to satisfy their revenge, biting off his Flesh with their Teeth; till apprehending they had fully dispatched him, they cast him out of the City. But he miraculously recovered, and publicly returned into the City, whereby and by some other Miracles, which he wrought amongst them, he reduced many to a better mind, converting them to the Faith. Departing hence, he went again to *Amyntus*, and then to *Trapezus*, thence to *Neocaesarea*; and to *Samosata* (the birth-place of the witty but impious *Lucian*) where having baffled the acute and wise Philosophers, he purposed to return to *Jerusalem*. Whence after some time he betook himself to his former Provinces, travelling to the Country of the *Abasgi*, where at *Sebastople*, situate upon the Eastern shore of the *Euxine* Sea, between the influx of the Rivers *Phasis* and *Apfarnus*, he successfully Preached the Gospel to the Inhabitants of that City. Hence he removed into the Country of the *Zecchi*, and the *Bosphorani*, part of the *Asiatick* *Scythia* or *Sarmatia*, but finding the Inhabitants very barbarous and intractable, he staid not long among them, only at *Cherson*, or *Chersonesus*, a great and populous City within the *Bosphorus*, he continued some time, instructing and confirming them in the Faith. Hence taking Ship he sailed cross the Sea to *Sinope*, to encourage and confirm the Churches which he had lately planted in those parts, and here he ordained *Philologus*, formerly one of *S. Paul's* Disciples, Bishop of that City.

4. HENCE he came to *Byzantium* (since called *Constantinople*) where he instructed them in the knowledge of the Christian Religion, founded a Church for Divine worship, and ordained *Stachys* (whom *S. Paul* calls his beloved *Stachys*) first Bishop of that place. \* *Baronius* indeed is unwilling to believe this, desirous to engross the honour of it to *S. Peter*, whom he will have to have been the first Planter of Christianity in these parts. But besides that *Baronius* his authority is very slight and insignificant in this case

(as we have before noted in *S. Peter's* Life) this matter is expressly asserted not only by *Nicephorus* || *Callistus*, but by another \* *Nicephorus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and who therefore may be presumed knowing in his Predecessors in that See. Banished out of the City by him, who at that time usurped the Government, he fled to *Aegyropolis*, a place near at hand, where he preached the

Gospel for two Years together with good success, converting great Numbers to the Faith. After this he travelled over *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, *Achaia*: || *Nazianzen* adds *Epirus*, in all which places for many Years he preached and propagated Christianity, and confirmed the Doctrine that he taught with great signs and miracles: at last he came to *Patrae* a City of *Achaia*, where he gave his last and great testimony to it, I mean, laid down his own Life to ratify and ensure it, in describing whose Martyrdom, we shall for the main follow the account that is given us in the *Acts of his* \* *Passion*, pretended to have been written by the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* of *Achaia*, present at his Martyrdom; which, though I dare not with some assert to be the genuine work of those persons, yet can it not be denied to be of considerable antiquity, being mentioned by || *Philastrius*, who flourished *Ann.* 380. and were no doubt written long before his time. The summ of it is this.

5. *ÆGEAS*,

5. *ÆGEAS* Proconsul of *Achaia*, came at this time to *Patrae*, where observing that multitudes were fallen off from Paganism, and had embraced Christianity, he endeavoured by all arts both of favour and cruelty to reduce the people to their old Idolatries. To him the Apostle resolutely makes his address, calmly puts him in mind, that he being but a judge of men should own and revere him, who was the supreme and impartial Judge of all, that he should give him that Divine honour that was due to him, and leave off the impieties of his false Heathen-worship. The Proconsul derided him as an Innovator in Religion, a propagator of that superstition, whose Author the *Jews* had infamously put to death upon a Cross. Hereat the Apostle took occasion to discourse to him of the infinite love and kindness of our Lord, who came into the World to purchase the Salvation of mankind, and for that end did not disdain to die upon the Cross. To whom the Proconsul answered, that he might persuade them so, that would believe him; for his part, if he did not comply with him in doing sacrifice to the Gods, he would cause him to suffer upon that Cross, which he had so much extolled and magnified. *S. Andrew* replied, That he did sacrifice every day to God, the only true and omnipotent Being, not with fumes and bloody offerings, but in the sacrifice of the immaculate Lamb of God. The issue was, the Apostle was committed to prison, whereat the people were so enraged, that it had broken out into a mutiny, had not the Apostle restrained them, persuading them to imitate the mildness and patience of our meek humble Saviour, and not to hinder him from that crown of Martyrdom that now waited for him.

6. THE next day he was again brought before the Proconsul, who persuaded him that he would not foolishly destroy himself, but live and enjoy with him the pleasures of this life. The Apostle told him, that he should have with him eternal joys, if renouncing his execrable idolatries, he would heartily entertain Christianity, which he had hitherto so successfully preached amongst them. That, answered the Proconsul, is the very reason, why I am so earnest with you to sacrifice to the Gods, that those whom you have every where seduced, may by your example be brought to return back to that ancient Religion, which they have forsaken: Otherwise I'll cause you with exquisite tortures to be crucified. The Apostle replied, That now he saw it was in vain any longer to deal with him, a person incapable of sober counsels, and hardened in his own blindness and folly; that as for himself, he might do his worst, and if he had one torment greater than another, he might heap that upon him: The greater constancy he shewed in his sufferings for *Christ*, the more acceptable he should be to his Lord and Master. *Ægeas* could now hold no longer, but passed the sentence of death upon him; and \* *Nicephorus* gives us some more particular account of the Proconsul's displeasure and rage against him, which was, that amongst others he had converted his wife *Maximilla*, and his brother *Stratocles* to the Christian Faith, having cured them of desperate distempers that had seized upon them.

7. THE Proconsul first commanded him to be scourged, seven *Lictors* successively whipping his naked body; and seeing his invincible patience and constancy, commanded him to be crucified, but not to be fastened to the Cross with Nails, but Cords, that so his death might be more lingering and tedious. As he was led to execution, to which he went with a cheerful and composed mind, the people cried out, that he was an innocent and good man, and unjustly condemned to die. Being come within sight of the Cross, *Bern. Serm. 2. de S. Andr. p. 327.*

\* Ad An. 44.  
N. 31. vid. ad  
An. 314. m. 94.  
95, &c.

|| H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 39. l. 5. c. 6. p. 540.  
\* Ἀνδρέας ὁ Ἀπὸστολος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸ ἔργον  
κηρύξας ἐκλήρεον οἶκον πύραν ἐν Ἀργυροπόλει  
δεδάμηνον χρεώσιν ἐπισκοπὴν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει  
αὐτὸς ἐτίχθη, ὃ μέγα μυστήριον ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει  
Ῥωμανίας ἐπιστάλη. Niceph. C. P. in Chronogr.  
2. Scal. ed. n. p. 309. vid. etiam Men. Græc. ubi  
supr.

Orat. 25.  
p. 438.

\* Extant apud  
Surv. ad diem  
30. Novemb.  
p. 653.

† De Hæres.  
c. 89.

\* Lib. 2. c. 39.  
p. 200. vid.  
Menæa Græc.  
ad diem 30.  
Novemb. ubi  
eadem habent.

Bern. Serm. 2.  
de S. Andr.  
p. 327.

Cross, he saluted it with this kind of address, That he had long desired and expected this happy hour, that the Cross had been consecrated by the body of *Christ* hanging on it, and adorned with his members as with so many inestimable Jewels, that he came joyful and triumphing to it, that it might receive him as a disciple and follower of him, who once hung upon it, and be the means to carry him safe unto his Master, having been the instrument upon which his Master had redeemed him. Having prayed, and exhorted the people to constancy and perseverance in that Religion which he had delivered to them, he was fastned to the Cross, whereon he hung two days, teaching and instructing the people all the time, and when great importunities in the mean while were used to the *Proconsul* to spare his life, he earnestly begged of our Lord, that he might at this time depart and seal the truth of his Religion with his blood. God heard his prayer, and he immediately expired on the last of *November*, though in what year no certain account can be recovered.

8. THERE seems to have been something peculiar in that Cross that was the instrument of his Martyrdom, commonly affirmed to have been a Cross decussate, two pieces of Timber crossing each other in the middle, in the form of the letter X, hence usually known by the name of *S. Andrew's Cross*; though there want not \* those, who affirm him to have been crucified upon an Olive Tree. His body being taken down and embalmed, was decently and honourably interred by *Maximilla*, a Lady of great quality and estate, and whom *Nicephorus*, I know not upon what ground, makes wife to the *Proconsul*. As for that report of *Gregory Bishop of Tours*, that on the Anniversary day of his Martyrdom, there was wont to flow from *S. Andrew's Tomb* a most fragrant and precious Oil, which according to its quantity denoted the scarceness or plenty of the following year; and that the sick being anointed with this Oil, were restored to their former health, I leave to the Readers discretion, to believe what he please of it. For my part, if any ground of truth in the story, I believe it no more, than that it was an exhalation and sweating forth at some times of those rich costly perfumes and ointments, wherewith his Body was embalmed after his crucifixion. Though I must confess this conjecture to be impossible, if it be true what my *Author* adds, that some years the Oil burst out in such plenty, that the stream arose to the middle of the Church. His Body was afterwards, by *Constantine the Great*, solemnly removed to *Constantinople*, and buried in the great Church, which he had built to the honour of the Apostles: Which being taken down some hundred years after by *Justinian the Emperor*, in order to its reparation, the Body was found in a wooden-Coffin, and again reposed in its proper place.

9. I SHALL conclude the History of this Apostle with that Encomiastick Character, which one of the \* Ancients gives of him. " *S. Andrew* " was the first-born of the Apostolick Quire, the main and prime pillar of " the Church, a rock before the rock (ὁ πρὸς Πέτρον Πέτρος) the foundation of " that foundation, the first-fruits of the beginning, a caller of others before " he was called himself; he preached that Gospel that was not yet believed " or entertained, revealed and made known that life to his brother, which " he had not yet perfectly learn'd himself. So great treasures did that one " question bring him, *Master where dwellest thou?* which he soon perceived " by the answer given him, and which he deeply pondered in his mind, " *Come and see.* How art thou become a Prophet? whence thus Divinely " skilful? what is it that thou thus foundest in *Peter's* ears? [We have " found

\* Chrysost. in  
S. And. Sermon.  
133. p. 120.  
Hippol. Com-  
ment. MS. Gr.  
ap. Bar. Not. in  
Martyr. ad 30.  
Novemb.  
De Glor.  
Martyr. lib. 1.  
c. 31. pag. 37.

\* Hieron. adv.  
Vigil. p. 122.  
T. 2.  
Procop. de  
edif. Justin.  
lib. 1.

\* Euseb. Presb.  
Hierosolym.  
apud Phot. Cod.  
CCLXX.  
Col. 1488.

" found him, &c.] why dost thou attempt to compass him, whom thou " canst not comprehend? how can he be found, who is Omnipresent? But " he knew well what he said: We have found him, whom *Adam* lost, " whom *Eve* injured, whom the clouds of sin have hidden from us, and " whom our transgressions had hitherto made a stranger to us, &c. So that of all our Lord's Apostles *S. Andrew* had thus far the honour to be the first Preacher of the Gospel.

### The End of S. Andrew's Life.

# THE LIFE OF S. JAMES the Great.

S<sup>t</sup> James Major

He being the Son of Zebedee was at the Command of Herod beheaded at Hierusalem.

S<sup>t</sup> James the Great his Martyrdom.

Act. 12. 1. 2. About that time Herod the King stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the Church. And he killed James the brother of John with a sword.

S. James, why surnamed the Great. His Country and Kindred. His alliance to Christ. His Trade and way of Life. Our Lord brought up to a Manual Trade. The quick repartee of a Christian Schoolmaster to Libanius. His being called to be a Disciple, and great readiness to follow Christ. His election to the Apostolick Office, and peculiar favours from Christ. Why our Lord chose some few of the Apostles to be witnesses of the more private passages of his life. The imposition of a new name at his election to the Apostleship. He and his Brother stiled Boanerges, and why. The zeal and activity of their temper. Their ambition to sit on Christ's right and left hand in his Kingdom, and confident promise of suffering. This ill resented by the rest. Our Lord's discourse concerning the nature of the Evangelical state. Where he preached after Christ's Ascension. The story of his going into Spain exploded. Herod Agrippa

*Agrippa in favour with the Roman Emperors. The character of his temper. His Zeal for the Law of Moles. His condemning S. James to death. The sudden conversion of his accuser, as he was led to Martyrdom. Their being beheaded. The Divine Justice that pursued Herod. His grandeur and arrogance at Cæsarea. His miserable death. The story of the Translation of S. James his Corps to Compoltella in Spain, and the Miracles said to be done there.*

1. **S**AINTE *James* surnamed the *Great*, either because of his Age, being much elder than the other, or for some peculiar honours and favours which our Lord conferred upon him, was by Country a *Galilean*, born, probably, either at *Capernaum*, or *Bethsaida*, being one of *Simon Peter's* Partners in the Trade of Fishing. He was the Son of *Zebdai*, or *Zebedee*, ( and probably the same whom the *Jews* mention in their *Talmud*, רבי יעקב בר זבדי *Rabbi James, or Jacob the Son of Zebedee* ) a Fisherman, and the many servants which he kept for that employment ( a circumstance not taken notice of in any other ) speak him a man of some more considerable note in that Trade and way of life ; ὁπισθε τοῦ ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ μετακινήτων ἀνδρῶν, as *Nicephorus* notes. His Mother's name was *Mary*, surnamed *Salome*, called first *Taviphilja*, says an ancient *Arabic* \* writer, the Daughter, as is most probable, not Wife of *Cleopas*, Sister to *Mary* the Mother of our Lord ; not her own Sister properly so called ( the Blessed Virgin being in all likelihood an only Daughter ) but Cousin-german, stiled her Sister, according to the mode and custom of the *Jews*, who were wont to call all such near relations by the names of *Brothers* and *Sisters*. ; and in this respect he had the honour of a near relation to our Lord himself. His education was in the Trade of Fishing ; no employment is base, that's honest and industrious, nor can it be thought mean and dishonourable to him, when it is remembered, that our Lord himself, the Son of God, stoop'd so low, as not only to become the [ reputed ] Son of a *Carpenter*, but during the retirements of his private life, to work himself at his Father's Trade, not devoting himself merely to contemplations, nor withdrawing from all useful society with the World, and hiding himself in the solitudes of an *Anchoret*, but busying himself in an active course of life, working at the Trade of a *Carpenter*, and particularly ( as one of the \* *Ancients* tells us ) making *Ploughs* and *Yokes*. And this the sacred History does not only plainly intimate, but it is generally asserted by the Ancient writers of the Church : A thing so notorious, that the Heathens used to object it as a reproach to Christianity. Thence that smart and acute \* *repartee* which a Christian School master made to *Libanius* the famous Orator at *Antioch*, when upon *Julian's* expedition into *Persia* ( where he was killed ) he asked in scorn, what the *Carpenter's* Son was now a doing. The Christian replied with salt enough, That the great *Artificer* of the World, whom he scoffingly called the *Carpenter's* son, was making a *Coffin* for his Master *Julian* ; the news of whose death was brought soon after. But this only by the way.

2. *S. JAMES* applied himself to his Father's Trade, not discouraged with the meanneſs, not ſinking under the difficulties of it; and, as uſually  
the

the blessings of Heaven meet men in the way of an honest and industrious diligence, it was in the exercise of this calling, when our Saviour passing by the Sea of *Galilee*, saw him and his brother in the Ship, and called them to be his Disciples. A Divine power went along with the word, which they no sooner heard, but cheerfully complied with it, immediately leaving all to follow him. They did not stay to dispute his commands, to argue the probability of his promise, solicitously to enquire into the minute consequences of the undertaking, what troubles and hazards might attend this new employment, but readily delivered up themselves to whatever services he should appoint them. And the cheerfulness of their obedience is yet further considerable, that they left their aged Father in the Ship behind them. *Luk. 9. 59-61.* For elsewhere we find others excusing themselves from an immediate attendance upon Christ, upon pretence that they must go bury their Father, or take their leave of their kindred at home. No such slight and trivial pretences could stop the resolution of our Apostles, who broke through these considerations, and quitted their present interests and relations. Say not it was unnaturally done of them to desert their Father, an aged person, and in some measure unable to help himself. For, besides that they left servants with him to attend him, it is not cruelty to our Earthly, but obedience to our Heavenly Father, to leave the one, that we may comply with the call and summons of the other. It was the triumph of *Abraham's* Faith, when God called him to leave his kindred and his Father's house, *to go out*, and sojourn in a foreign Country, *not knowing whither he went*. Nor can we doubt but that *Zebedee* himself would have gone along with them, had not his Age given him a *Superseas* from such an active and ambulatory course of life. But though they left him at this time, it's very reasonable to suppose, that they took care to instruct him in the doctrine of the *Messiah*, and to acquaint him with the glad tidings of Salvation, especially since we find their Mother *Salome* to be a hearty friend to, so constant a follower of our Saviour: But this (if we may believe the account which one gives of it) was after her Husbands decease, who probably lived not long after, dying before the time of our Saviour's Passion.

*Zachar. Chry-  
sopol. Comm. in  
Concord.  
Evang. p. 111.*

3. IT was not long after this, that he was called from the station of an ordinary Disciple, to the Apostolical Office, and not only so, but honoured with some peculiar acts of favour beyond most of the Apostles, being one of the three, whom our Lord usually made choice of to admit to the more intimate transactions of his life, from which the others were excluded. Thus with *Peter* and his Brother *John* he was taken to the miraculous raising of *Jairus* his Daughter; admitted to *Christ's* glorious transfiguration upon the Mount, and the discourses that there passed between him and the two great Ministers of Heaven; taken along with him into the Garden, to be a Spectator of those bitter Agonies, which the Holy *Jesus* was to undergo as the preparatory sufferings to his Passion. What were the reasons of our Lord's admitting these three Apostles to these more special acts of favour than the rest, is not easy to determine: though surely our Lord, who governed all his actions by Principles of the highest prudence and reason, did it for wise and proper ends; whether it was that he designed these three to be more solemn and peculiar witnesses of some particular passages of his life, than the other Apostles, or that they would be more eminently useful and serviceable in some parts of the Apostolick Office, or that hereby he would the better prepare and encourage them against suffering, as intending them for some more eminent kinds of Martyrdom or suffering, than the rest were to undergo.

4. NOR was it the least instance of that particular honour which our Lord conferr'd upon these three Apostles, that at his calling them to the *Apostolate* he gave them the addition of a new Name and Title. A thing not unusual of old, for God to impose a new Name upon Persons, when design- ing them for some great and peculiar services and employments; thus he did to *Abraham* and *Jacob*. Nay, the thing was customary among the *Gentiles*, as had we no other instances, might appear from those which the Scripture gives us, of *Pharaoh's* giving a new name to *Joseph*, when advancing him to be *Vice-Roy of Egypt*, *Nebuchadnezzar* to *Daniel*, &c. Thus did our Lord in the Election of these three Apostles, *Simon* he surnamed *Peter*, *James* the *Son of Zebedee*, and *John* his Brother he surnamed *Boanerges*, which is, the *Sons of Thunder*. What our Lord particularly intended in this Title, is easier to conjecture, than certainly to determine; some think it was given them upon the account of their being present in the Mount, when a voice came out of the Cloud, and said, *This is my beloved Son, &c.* The like where- to when the People heard at another time, they cried out, *that it Thundred*. But besides that this account is in it self very slender and inconsiderable, if so, then the title must equally have belonged to *Peter*, who was then present with them. Others think it was upon the account

of their loud, bold and resolute preaching Christi- anity to the World, fearing no threatnings, daunt- ed with no oppositions, but going on to *thunder* in the Ears of the secure sleepy World, rousing and

awakening the consciences of Men with the earnestness and vehemency of their Preaching, as *Thunder*, which is called *God's Voice*, powerfully shakes the natural World, and breaks in pieces the *Cedars of Lebanon*: Or, if it re- late to the Doctrines they delivered, it may signify their teaching the great mysteries and speculations of the Gospel in a profounder strain than the rest; *ὡς ὁ βροντῆς ὁνομάζει τὰς τρεῖς Ζηβεδαῖν, ὡς μεγαλοκτύνας καὶ θεολογικώτατος*, as *Theophylact* notes; which how true it might be of our *S. James*, the Scri- pture is wholly silent; but was certainly verified of his Brother *John*, whose Gospel is so full of the more sublime notions and mysteries of the Gospel, con- cerning *Christ's* Deity, eternal pre-existence, &c. that he is generally affirm- ed by the Ancients, not so much to *speak*, as *thunder*. Probably the expres- sion may denote no more, than that in general they were to be prime and eminent Ministers in this new scene and state of things, the introducing of the Gospel or Evangelical dispensation, being called a *Voice shaking the Hea- vens and the Earth*, and so is exactly correspondent to the native importance of the Word, signifying an *Earth-quake*, or a vehement commotion that makes a noise like to *Thunder*.

5. HOWEVER it was, our Lord, I doubt not, herein had respect to the furious and resolute disposition of those two Brothers, who seem to have been of a more fierce and fiery temper than the rest of the Apostles: whereof we have this memorable instance. Our Lord being resolved upon his Jour- ny to *Jerusalem*, sent some of his Disciples as Harbingers to prepare his way, who coming to a Village of *Samaria*, were uncivilly rejected, and refused entertainment; probably, because of that old and inveterate quarrel that was between the *Samaritans* and the *Jews*, and more especially at this time, because that our Saviour seemed to slight Mount *Gerizim* (where was their staple and solemn place of worship) by passing it by, to go worship at *Jeru- salem*; the reason in all likelihood why they denied him those common cour- tesies and conveniences due to all Travellers. This piece of rudeness and in- humanity was presently so deeply repented by *S. James*, and his Brother, that they

Mark 3. 16, 17.  
Hieron. Comm.  
in Marc. c. 3.  
p. 92. T. 9. Gau-  
dent. Brix.  
Trall. 1. de Leil.  
Evangel. in  
ordine, 8.  
Matth. 17. 5.  
John 12. 29.

Filius Zebedæi Boanerges, hoc est, filius tonitrui  
vocat, siquidem divina eorum prædicatio mugnum  
quendam & illustrem sonitum per terrarum orbem  
datura erat. Vict. Antioch. comment. in Marc.  
cap. 2.

Comment. in  
Marc. 3. p. 205.

Heb. 12. 26.  
Hagg. 2. 7. ubi  
כורעש  
troucre faciam.  
כני רעש  
Fili commoti-  
onis seu magna  
concussio.

they came to their Master to know, whether as *Elias* did of old, they might <sup>Luke 9. 54.</sup> not pray down Fire from Heaven to consume these barbarous and inhospita- ble People. So apt are Men for every trifle to call upon Heaven, to Mini- ster to the extravagances of their own impotent and unreasonable passions. But our Lord rebukes their zeal, tells them they quite mistook the case, that this was not the frame and temper of his Disciples and Followers, the na- ture and design of that Evangelical dispensation, that he was come to set on foot in the World, which was a more pure and perfect, a more mild and gentle Institution, than what was under the Old Testament in the times of *Moses* and *Elias*, the Son of Man being come not to destroy mens lives, but to save them.

6. THE Holy *Jesus* not long after set forwards in his Journey to *Jerusalem* in order to his crucifixion, and the better to prepare the minds of his Apostles for his death and departure from them, he told them what he was to suffer, and yet that after all he should rise again. They, whose minds were yet big with expectations of a temporal power and monarchy, understood not well the meaning of his discourses to them. However *S. James* and his Brother supposing the Resurrection that he spoke of, would be the time, when his Power and Greatness would commence, prompted their Mother *Salome* to put up a Petition for them. She, presuming probably on her relation to *Christ*, and knowing that our Saviour had promised his Apostles, *that when he was come into his Kingdom, they should sit upon twelve Thrones judging the twelve Tribes of Israel*; and that he had already honoured her two Sons with an in- timate familiarity, after leave modestly asked for her address, begg'd of him, that when he took possession of his Kingdom, her two Sons *James* and *John* might have the principal places of honour and dignity next his own Person, the one sitting on his *right hand*, and the other on his *left*, as the Heads of *Ju- dah* and *Joseph* had the first places among the *Rulers* of the Tribes in the *Jewish* Nation. Our Lord directing his discourse to the two Apostles, at whose sug- gestion he knew their Mother had made this address, told them, they quite mistook the nature of his Kingdom, which consisted not in external grandeur and sovereignty, but in an inward life and power, wherein the highest place would be to take the greatest pains, and to undergo the heaviest troubles and sufferings; that they should do well to consider, whether they were able to endure, what he was to undergo, to drink of that bitter *Cup* which he was to drink of, and to go through that *Baptism*, wherein he was shortly to be baptized in his own blood. Our Apostles were not yet cured of their ambi- tious humour, but either not understanding the force of our Saviour's reason- ings, or too confidently presuming upon their own strength, answered, that they could do all this. But he, the goodness of whose nature ever made him put the best and most candid interpretation upon mens words and actions, yea even those of his greatest enemies, did not take the advantage of their hasty and inconsiderate reply, to treat them with sharp and quick reproofs, but mildly owning their forwardness to suffer, told them, that as for suffer- ings, they should indeed suffer as well as he (and so we accordingly find they did, *S. James* after all dying a violent death, *S. John* enduring great miseries and torments, and might we believe *Chrysostom* and *Theophylact*, Martyrdom it self, though others nearer to those times assure us, he died a natural death) but for any peculiar honour or dignity he would not by an absolute and pe- remptory favour of his own dispose it any otherwise, than according to those rules and instructions which he had received of his Father. The rest of the Apostles were offended with this ambitious request of the *Sons of Ze- bedee*; but our Lord to calm their passions, discoursed to them of the nature

Matth. 20. 20.

of the Evangelick state, that it was not here, as in the Kingdoms and seignories of this World, where the great ones receive homage and fealty from those that are under them, but that in his service humility was the way to honour, that who ever took most pains, and did most good, would be the greatest Person, pre-eminence being here to be measured by industry and diligence, and a ready condescension to the meanest offices that might be subservient to the Souls of Men, and that this was no more than what he sufficiently taught them by his own Example, being come into the World, not to be served himself with any pompous circumstances of state and splendor, but to serve others, and to lay down his life for the redemption of Mankind. With which discourse the storm blew over, and their exorbitant passions began on all hands to be allayed and pacified.

\* Apud Hieron.  
de Script. Ec-  
cles. in Jacob.

\* Pseudo-  
Dextr. Chron.  
nic. Vincent.  
Bellovic. Spec.  
Historial. l. 8.  
c. 7.

\* De vit. & obit. SS. utriusque Test. c. 72.  
|| Brev. Tol. Instit. S. Isidori.

\* Apud Marian. de adv. Jac. in Hispan. c. 7.  
p. 11. selecte file aliorum.

|| In Not. ad Martyrol. ad 25. Jul. p. 452. vid.  
Orat. Rodcr. Archiep. Tol. in Not. G. Loys. ad decret.  
Gund. Tom. 4. Concil. p. 548, 549.

Ad Ann.  
ECCCLXVI.  
Num. 69, 70.  
Tom. 9.

\* Vid. Epist. ejus  
ad Caum Imp.  
ap. Phil. de Le-  
gat. ad Caum,  
p. 1031. & seqq.

7. WHAT became of S. James after our Saviour's Ascension, we have no certain account either from Sacred, or Ecclesiastick stories. \* *Sophronius* tells us, that he preached to the dispersed Jews, which surely he means of that dispersion that was made of the Jewish Converts after the death of Stephen. The Spanish writers generally contend, that having preached the Gospel up and down Judæa and Samaria, after the death of Stephen he came to these Western parts, and particularly into Spain (some add Britain and \* Ireland) where he planted Christianity, and appointed some select Disciples to perfect what he had begun, and then returned back to Jerusalem. Of this there are no footsteps in any Ancient Writers, earlier than the middle Ages of the Church, when 'tis mentioned by \* *Isidore*, the *Exeget* of || *Toledo*, an Arabick Book of \* *Anastasius*, Patriarch of Antioch, concerning the Passions of the Martyrs, and some others after them. Nay, || *Baronius* himself, though endeavouring to render the account as smooth and plausible as he could, and to remove

what objections lay against it; yet after all confesses, he did it only to shew, that the thing was not impossible, nor to be accounted such a monstrous and extravagant Fable, as some men made it to be, as indeed elsewhere he plainly and peremptorily both denies and disproves it. He could not but see, that the shortness of this Apostle's Life, the Apostles continuing all in one entire body at Jerusalem, even after the dispersing of the other Christians, probably not going out of the bounds of Judæa for many years after our Lord's Ascension, could not comport with so tedious and difficult a voyage, and the time which he must necessarily spend in those parts: And therefore 'tis safest to confine his ministry to Judæa, and the parts thereabouts, and to seek for him at Jerusalem, where we are sure to find him.

8. HEROD Agrippa, son of Aristobulus, and Grandchild of Herod the Great (under whom Christ was born) had been in great favour with the late Emperor Caligula, but much more with his successor Claudius, who confirmed his predecessors grant, with the addition of Judæa, Samaria, and Abylene, the remaining portions of his Grandfathers dominions. Claudius being settled in the Empire, over comes Herod from Rome to take possession, and to manage the affairs of his new acquired Kingdom. A Prince noble and generous, prudent and politick, thoroughly versed in all the arts of Courtship, able to oblige enemies, and to mollify or decline the displeasure of the Emperor, (witness his subtil and cunning insinuations to Caligula, when he commanded the Jews to account him a \* God) he was one that knew, let the wind blow which way it would, how to gain the point he aimed at; of a courteous and affable demeanour, but withall

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τὸ πάρεα καθαρός || ἐν ἡμέραις, a mighty zealot for the Jewish Religion, and a most accurate observer of the Mosaic Law, keeping himself free from all legal impurities, and suffering no day to pass over his head, in which he himself was not present at sacrifice. Being desirous in the entrance upon his sovereignty to insinuate himself into the favour of the populace, and led no less by his own zealous inclination, he saw no better way, than to fall heavy upon the Christians, a sort of men, whom he knew the Jews infinitely hated, as a novel and an upstart Sect, whose Religion proclaimed open defiance to the Mosaic Institutions. Hereupon he began to raise a persecution, but alas, the commonalty were too mean a sacrifice to fall as the only victim to his zeal and popular designs, he must have a fatter and more honourable sacrifice. It was not long before S. James his stirring and active temper, his bold reproving of the Jews, and vigorous contending for the truth and excellency of the Christian Religion, rendered him a fit object for his turn. Him he commands to be apprehended, cast into prison, and sentence of death to be passed upon him. As he was led forth to the place of \* *Martyrdom*, the Souldier or Officer that had guarded him to the Tribunal, or rather his Accuser (and so || *Suidas* expressly tells us it was) having been convinced by that mighty courage and constancy which S. James shewed at the time of his trial, repented of what he had done, came and fell down at the Apostle's feet, and heartily begged pardon for what he said against him. The holy man, after a little surprise at the thing, raised him up, embraced and kissed him, Peace (said he) my son, peace be to thee, and the pardon of thy faults. Whereupon before them all he publicly professed himself to be a Christian, and so both were beheaded at the same time. Thus fell S. James, the Apostolick Proto-Martyr, the first of that number that gained the Crown, cheerfully taking that cup, which he had long since told his Lord he was most ready to drink of.

\* Clem. Alex.  
Hypotyp. lib. 7.  
apud Euseb.  
l. 2. c. 9. p. 46.  
|| Suid. in voc.  
Hesodius.

9. BUT the Divine vengeance, that never sleeps, suffered not the death of this innocent and righteous man to pass long unrevenged; of which, though S. Luke gives us but a short account, yet \* *Josephus*, who might himself remember it, being a youth at that time of seven or eight years of age, sets down the story with its particular circumstances, agreeing almost exactly with the Sacred Historian. Shortly after S. James his Martyrdom, Herod removed to Caesarea, being resolved to make war upon the neighbouring Tyrians and Sidonians: While he was here, he proclaimed solemn fights and Festival entertainments to be held in honour of Caesar, to which there flocked a great confluence of all the Nobility thereabouts. Early in the morning on the second day he came with great state into the Theatre, to make an Oration to the people, being clothed in a Robe all over curiously wrought with silver, which encountering with the beams of the rising Sun, reflected such a lustre upon the eyes of the people (who make sensible appearances the only true measures of greatness) as begot an equal wonder and veneration in them, crying out (prompted no doubt by flatterers, who began the cry) that it was some Deity which they beheld, and that he who spake to them must be something above the ordinary standard of humanity. This impious applause Herod received without any token of dislike, or sense of that injury that was hereby done to the supreme Being of the World. But a sudden accident changed the scene, and turned the Comick part into a black fatal Tragedy. Looking up, he espied an Owl sitting upon a rope over his head (as probably also he did an Angel, for so

\* Antiquit.  
Jud. lib. 19.  
cap. 7. p. 679.

Hunc Josephi  
locum landans  
Eusebius, totam  
bubonis mentio-

nem pratermissit, ejusque loco ἀγγελον substituit: mente quidem pia, at mala fide.

S. Luke

S. Luke mentions it ) which he presently beheld as the fatal messenger of his death, as heretofore it had been of his prosperity and success. An incurable melancholy immediately seized upon his mind, as exquisite torments did upon his bowels, caused without question by those Worms S. Luke speaks of, which immediately fed and preyed upon him. Behold, said he, turning to those about him, *the Deity you admired, and your selves evidently convinced of flattery and falsehood; see me here by the Laws of Fate condemned to die, whom just now you stiled immortal.* Being removed into the Palace, his pains still increased upon him, and though the people mourned and wept, fasted and prayed for his life and health, yet his acute torments got the upper hand, and after five days put a period to his life. But to return to S. James.

\* Ο Θεός ὅντιν  
ἐγώ ἤδην κα-  
τέχευεν ἐν-  
πύθουμαι ὁ  
βίον. ὁ δὲ  
ἄνθρωπος ὁ  
μαρτυρῶν τὰς  
ἀρετὰς κατε-  
βόσκοντο  
ἐν αὐτῷ.  
Joseph ib.

Joseph ib.

10. BEING put to death, his Body is said to have taken a second voyage into *Spain*, where we are with confidence enough told it rests at this day. Indeed I meet with a very formal account of its translation thither, written (says the *Publisher*) above DC years since, by a Monk of the *Abby of La-Fleury* in \* *France*: The summ whereof is this: The Apostles at *Jerusalem* designing *Ctesiphon* for *Spain*, ordained him Bishop, and others being joyned to his assistance, they took the Body of S. James, and went on board a Ship without Oars, without a Pilot, or any to steer and conduct their voyage, trusting only to the merits of that Apostle, whose remains they carried along with them. In seven days they arrived at a Port in *Spain*, where landing, the Corps was suddenly taken from them, and with great appearances of an extraordinary light from Heaven, conveyed they knew not whither, to the place of its interment. The men you may imagine were exceedingly troubled, that so great a treasure should be ravished from them; but upon their prayers and tears they were conducted by an Angel to the place where the Apostle was buried, twelve miles from the Sea. Here they addressed themselves to a rich Noble *Matron*, called *Luparia*, who had a great Estate in those parts, but a severe Idolatress, begging of her, that they might have leave to entomb the bones of the holy Apostle within her jurisdiction. She entertained them with contempt and scorn, with curses and execrations, bidding them go and ask leave of the King of the Country. They did so, but were by him treated with all the instances of rage and fury, and pursued by him, till himself perished in the attempt. They returned back to their *Gallecian* Matron, whom by many miracles, and especially the destroying a *Dragon* that miserably infested those parts, they at last made Convert to the Faith, who thereupon commanded her Images to be broken, the Altars to be demolished, and her own *Idol-Temple*, being cleansed and purged, to be dedicated to the honour of S. James, by which means Christianity mightily prevailed, and triumphed over Idolatry in all those Countries. This is the summ of the Account, call it Romance or History, which I do not desire to impose any further upon the Readers faith, than he shall find himself disposed to believe it. I add no more, than that his Body was afterwards translated from *Iria Flavia* (the place of its first repose) to *Compostella*: Though a Learned \* person will have it to have been but one and the same place, and that after the story of S. James had gotten some footing in the belief of men, it began to be called *ad Jacobum Apostolum*, thence in after-times *Giacomo Postolo*, which was at last

\* Comment. de  
Translat.  
S. Jacobi. Apost.  
ap. Joan. d.  
Bosc. Biblioth.  
Floriac. Part.  
2. p. 183, 184.

\* If. Foss. Obser-  
vati. in Pomp.  
Mel. lib. 3.  
c. 1. p. 231.

last jumbled into *Compostella*; where it were to tire both the Reader and myself, to tell him with what solemn veneration, and incredible miracles reported to be done here, this Apostle's reliques are worshipped at this day: Whence \* *Baronius* calls it the great store-house of Miracles lying open to the whole World, and wisely confesses it one of the best arguments to prove, that his Body was translated thither. And I should not scruple to be of his mind, could I be assured that such Miracles were truly done there.

\* Ad Ann.  
816. Num. 73.

### The End of the Life of S. James the Great.

# THE LIFE OF S. JOHN.

S. JOHN Evangelist.



Having lived to a great age, he died at Ephesus 68 years after our Lord's Passion, and was Buried neere that City. Baron.

St. John put into a Cauldron of boyling oyl.



Joh. 21.21,22. Peter said, Lord, what shall this man do? Jesus saith unto him, if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?  
1 Pet. 4.12. I think it not strange concerning a fiery trial that is to try you, as though some strange thing happened to you.

*His kindred and relations ; whether eminent for Nobility. The peculiar favours conferred upon him by our Saviour. His lying in our Lord's Bosom. His attending at the crucifixion. Our Lord's committing the Blessed Virgin to his care. The great intimacy between Him and Peter. How long he resided at Jerusalem. Asia his Apostolical Province. His planting Christianity there, and in other parts of the East. His being sent prisoner to Rome, and being put into a Caldron of boiling Oil by the command of Domitian. His banishment into Patmos. Transportation, what kind of punishment. Capitis Diminutio what. His writing the Apocalypse there. The tradition of his hand wherewith he wrote it, being still kept there. His return to Ephesus, and governing the affairs of that Province. His great Age, and Death. The fancy of his being still alive, whence derived by the Ancients. The Tradition of his*

his going alive into his Grave, and sleeping there. Several counterfeits pretending themselves to be S. John. His Celibacy; whether he was ever married. His humility. His admirable love and charity; and hearty recommending it to the last. His charity to mens Souls. His endangering himself to reclaim a debauched young man. His singular vigilancy against Hereticks and Seducers. His publick disowning Cerinthus his company. Cerinthus, who; and what his principles. The Heresie of Ebion, what. Nicolaitans, who; whence their Original. An account of Nicolas the Deacon's separating from his Wife. The vile principles and practices of his pretended followers. S. John's writings. His Revelation. Dionysius Alexandrinus his judgment concerning it, and its Author. Asserted and proved to be S. John's. The ground of doubting, what. His Gospel when and where written. The solemn preparation, and causes moving him to undertake it. The subject of it sublime and mysterious. Admired and cited by Heathen Philosophers. Its Translation into Hebrew. His first Epistle, and the design of it. His two other Epistles to whom written, and why not admitted of old. His stile and way of writing considered. The great Encomium given of his writings by the ancient Fathers.

1. **S**AINTE John was a Galilean, the son of Zebedee and Salome, younger Brother to S. James, together with whom he was brought up in the Trade of Fishing. \* S. Hierom makes him remarkable upon the account of his Nobility, whereby he became acquainted with

the High-Priest, and resolutely ventured himself amongst the Jews at our Saviour's Trial, prevailed to introduce Peter into the Hall, was the only Apostle that attended our Lord at his Crucifixion, and afterwards durst own his Mother, and keep her at his own house. But the nobility of his Family, and especially that it should be such as to procure him so much respect from persons of the highest rank and quality, seems not reconcileable with the meanness of his Father's Trade, and the privacy of his fortunes. And for his acquaintance with the High-Priest, I should rather put it upon some other account, especially if it be true what \* Nicephorus relates, That he had lately sold his Estate left by his Father in Galilee to Annas the High-Priest, and had therewith purchased a fair house at Jerusalem, about Mount Sion, whence he became acquainted with him. Before his coming to Christ, he seems for some time to have been Disciple to John the Baptist, being probably that other disciple that was with Andrew, when they left the Baptist to follow our Saviour, so particularly does he relate all circumstances of that transaction, though modestly, as in other parts of his Gospel, concealing his own name. He was at the same time with his Brother called by our Lord both to the Discipleship and Apostolate, by far the youngest of all the Apostles, as the Ancients generally affirm, and his great Age seems to evince, living near LXX years after our Saviour's suffering.

2. **T**H E R E is not much said concerning him in the Sacred story, more than what is recorded of him in conjunction with his Brother James, which we have already remarked in his life. He was peculiarly dear to his Lord and Master, being the Disciple whom Jesus loved, that is, treated with more freedom and familiarity than the rest. And indeed he was not only one of the Three, whom our Saviour made partakers of the private passages

passages of his life, but had some instances of a more particular kindness and favour conferred upon him. Witness his lying in our Saviour's bosom at the Paschal Supper, it being the custom of those times to lie along at meals upon Couches, so that the second lay with his head in the bosom of him that was before him; this honourable place was not given to any of the Aged, but reserved for our Apostle: Nay, when Peter was desirous to know, which of them our Saviour meant, when he told them that one of them should betray him, and durst not himself propound the question, he made use of S. John (whose familiarity with him might best warrant such an enquiry) to ask our Lord; who thereupon made them understand, 'twas Judas whom he designed by the Traitor. This favour our Apostle endeavoured in some measure to answer by returns of particular kindness and constancy to our Saviour, staying with him, when the rest deserted him. Indeed upon our Lord's first apprehension he fled after the other Apostles, it not being without some probabilities of reason, that the Ancients conceive him to have been that young man that followed after Christ, having a linnen cloath cast about his naked body, whom when the Officers laid hold upon, he left the linnen cloath, and fled naked from them. This in all likelihood was that garment that he had cast about him at Supper (for they had peculiar Vestments for that purpose) and being extremely affected with the Treason, and our Lord's approaching Passion, had forgot to put on his other garments, but followed him into the Garden in the same habit wherewith he arose from the Table, it being then night, and so less liable to be taken notice of either by himself or others. But though he fled at present to avoid that sudden violence that was offered to him, yet he soon recovered himself, and returned back to seek his Master, confidently entred into the High-Priests Hall, and followed our Lord through the several passages of his Trial, and at last waited upon him (and for any thing we know, was the only Apostle that did so) at his Execution, owning him, as well as being own'd by him, in the midst of arms and guards, and in the thickest crowds of his most inveterate enemies. Here it was that our Lord by his last Will and Testament made upon the Cross, appointed him Guardian of his own Mother, the Blessed Virgin; When he saw his Mother, and the Disciple standing by whom he loved, he said unto his Mother, Woman, behold thy Son, see, here is one that shall supply my place, and be to thee instead of a Son, to love and honour thee, to provide and take care for thee: and to the Disciple he said, Behold thy Mother; Her, whom thou shalt henceforth deal with, treat and observe with that duty and honourable regard, which the relation of an indulgent Mother challenges from a pious and obedient Son: whereupon he took her into his own House, her Husband Joseph being some time since dead, and made her a principal part of his charge and care. And certainly the Holy Jesus could not have given a more honourable testimony of his particular respect and kindness to S. John, than to commit his own Mother, whom of all earthly Relations he held most dear and valuable, to his trust and care, and to substitute him to supply that duty which he himself paid her while he was here below.

3. **A**T the first news of our Lord's return from the dead, he, accompanied with Peter, presently hastened to the Sepulchre. Indeed there seems to have been a mutual intimacy between these two Apostles more than the rest. 'Twas to Peter that S. John gave the notice of Christ's appearing, when he came to them at the Sea of Tiberias in the habit of a stranger; and it was for John that Peter was so solicitously inquisitive to know what should become of him. After Christ's Ascension, we find these two going up to the

\* Propter generis nobilitatem notus erat Pontifici, & Judaeorum infidus non timebat, in tantum ut Petrum introduceret in Atrium, & staret solus Apostolorum ante crucem, matremque Salvatoris in sua reciperet. Hieron. Epistol. Marcell. p. 119. T. 1.

\* II. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 28. p. 104. vid. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 135. ubi habet notitiam hanc Caiphe venditam fuisse discipulo.

Mark 14. 51.

Joh. 19. 26, 27.

the Temple at the Hour of Prayer, and miraculously healing the poor impotent Cripple; both Preaching to the People, and both apprehended together by the Priests and Sadducees, and thrown into Prison, and the next Day brought forth to plead their cause before the Sanhedrim. These were the two chosen by the Apostles to send down to Samaria, to settle and confirm the Plantations which Philip had made in those Parts, where they confounded and baffled Simon the Magician, and set him in an hopeful way to repentance. To these S. Paul addressed himself, as those that seemed to be Pillars among the rest, who accordingly gave him the right hand of fellowship; and confirmed his mission to the Gentiles.

\* Euseb. l. 3.  
c. 1. p. 71.

|| H. Eccl. lib. 2.  
c. 42. p. 206.  
\* In Chron. ap.  
Bar. ad An. 48.  
N. 4.

\* Litter. Fe.  
Sunt. Ann. 1555.

4. IN the division of Provinces which the Apostles made among themselves, \* Asia fell to his share, though he did not presently enter upon his charge, otherwise we must needs have heard of him in the account which S. Luke gives of S. Paul's several Journeys into, and residence in those parts. Probable therefore it is, that he dwelt still in his own House at Jerusalem, at least till the death of the Blessed Virgin (and this is plainly asserted by || Nicephorus from the account of those Historians that were before him) whose death (says \* Eusebius) hapned Ann. Chr. XLVIII. about Fifteen Years after our Lord's Ascension. Some time (probably Years) after her death he took his Journey into Asia, and industriously applied himself to the propagating Christianity, Preaching where the Gospel had not yet taken place, and confirming it where it was already planted. Many Churches of note and eminency were of his foundation, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, and others; but his chief place of residence was at Ephesus, where S. Paul had many Years before settled a Church, and constituted Timothy Bishop of it. Nor can we suppose that he confined his Ministry merely to Asia Minor, but that he Preached in other Parts of the East; probably in Parthia, his first Epistle being anciently intitled to them; and the \* Jesuits in the relation of their success in those Parts, assure us that the Bassoræ (a People of India) constantly affirm from a Tradition received from their Ancestors, that S. John Planted the Christian Faith there.

|| Percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc Cathedre Apostolorum, &c. habes Romanam, &c. ubi Apostolus Joannes posteaquam in Oleum ignem demersus, nihil passus est, in Insulam relegatur. Tertull. de Prescript. Hæret. c. 36. p. 215.

\* Παράρτ. εἰς τὴν Εἰς. τ. 78  
"Αγ. Διογύστ.  
p. 444.  
|| Justin. lib. 1.  
Tit. 16. scil. 2.  
l. 2. & 4. ff.  
de Pen. lib. 48.  
Tit. 19. l. 3. ad  
Leg. Jul. Pecul.  
ib. Tit. 13. vid.  
l. 6. & 7. de  
Interd. & Rel.  
ib. Tit. 22.

5. HAVING spent many Years in this employment, he was at length accused to Domitian, who had begun a Persecution against the Christians, as an eminent assertor of Atheism and impiety, and a publick subverter of the Religion of the Empire. By his command the Proconsul of Asia sent him bound to Rome, where his treatment was, what might be expected from so bloody and barbarous a Prince; he was cast into a Cauldron of boiling Oyl, or rather Oyl set on Fire. But that Divine Providence that secured the three Hebrew Captives in the flames of a burning Furnace, brought this holy Man safe out of this, one would have thought, unavoidable destruction. An instance of so signal preservation, as had been enough to persuade a considering Man, that there must be a Divinity in that Religion that had such mighty and solemn attestations. But Miracles themselves will not convince him, that's fallen under an hard heart, and an injudicious mind. The cruel Emperor was not satisfied with this, but presently orders him to be banished and transported into an Island. This was accounted a kind of capital punishment, ἡ βῆσις καὶ νῆσον ἐξορία παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κεφαλικὴν τιμωρίαν ἐμμεύτο, says \* Pachymer, speaking of this very instance, where κεφαλικὴ τιμωρία is not to be understood as extending to life, but loss of privilege. Therefore this punishment in the Roman Laws is called Capitis diminutio (and it was the second

second sort of it) because the Person thus banished was disfranchised, and the City thereby lost an head. It succeeded in the room of that ancient punishment, Aqua & igni interdicere, to interdict a Person the use of Fire and Water, the two great and necessary conveniences of Man's life, whereby was tacitly implied, that he must for his own defence betake himself into banishment; it being unlawful for any to accommodate him with Lodging or Diet, or any thing necessary to the support of life. This banishing into Islands was properly called Deportatio, and was the worst and severest kind of exile, whereby the criminal forfeited his Estate, and being bound and put on Ship-board was by publick Officers transported into some certain Island (which none but the Emperor himself might assign) there to be confined to perpetual banishment. The place of our S. John's banishment was not Ephesus, as \* Chrysostome by a great mistake makes it, but Patmos, a disconsolate Island in the Archipelago, where he remained several Years, instructing the Inhabitants in the Faith of Christ. Here it was about the latter end of Domitian's Reign, (as Irenæus tells us) that he wrote his Apocalypse or Book of Revelations, wherein by frequent Visions and Prophetical representations, he had a clear Scheme and Prospect of the state and condition of Christianity in the future Periods and Ages of the Church. Which certainly was not the least instance of that kindness and favour which our Lord particularly shew'd to this Apostle; and it seemed very suitable at this time, that the goodness of God should over-power the malice of Men, and that he should be entertained with the more immediate converies of Heaven, who was now cut off from all ordinary conversation and society with Men. In a Monastery of Caloires, or Greek Monks in this Island, they shew a dead Man's hand at this \* day, the Nails of whose Fingers grow again as oft as they are paired; which the Turks will have to be the hand of one of their Prophets, while the Greeks constantly affirm it to have been the hand of S. John, wherewith he wrote the Revelations; and, probably, both true alike.

\* Argum. Epist. ad Ephes. p. 1032.

\* Adv. Hæres. lib. 5. c. 30. p. 485.

\* Bellon. Ob-servat. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 205.

6. DOMITIAN, whose prodigious wickednesses had rendred him infamous and burdensome to the World, being taken out of the way, Cocceius Nerva succeeded in the Empire, a prudent Man, and of a milder and more sober temper. He rescinded the odious Acts of his Predecessor, and by publick Edicts recalled those from banishment, whom the fury of Domitian had sent thither. S. John taking the advantage of this general Indulgence, left Patmos, and returned into Asia, his ancient charge, but chiefly fixed his Seat at Ephesus, the care and presidency whereof (Timothy their Bishop having been lately martyr'd by the People for persuading them against their Heathen-Festivals and Sports, especially one called Καταγώνιον, wherein was a mixture of debauchery and idolatry) he took upon him, and by the assistance of seven Bishops governed that large spacious Diocese; \* Nicephorus adds, that he not only managed the affairs of the Church, ordered and disposed the Clergy, but erected Churches, which surely must be meant of Oratories, and little places for their solemn conventions, building Churches in the modern notion, not being consistent with the poverty and persecution of Christians in those early times. Here at the request of the Bishops of Asia he wrote his Gospel (they are Authors of no credit and value, that make it written during his confinement in the Isle of Patmos) with very solemn preparation, whereof more when we come to consider the Writings which he left behind him.

\* Oros. lib. 7. c. 11. p. 303. fac. 2.

\* Martyr. Tit. moib. apud Phot. Cod. 254. Col. 1401. 1404. \* Lib. 2. c. 42. p. 206.

7. HE lived till the time of Trajan, about the beginning of whose Reign he departed this Life, very Aged, about the Ninety-eighth or Ninety-ninth

\* Καταλαμβάνει ἡ Ἐφεσον, καὶ αἶσεν διὰ  
 τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ ἀστυνόμου ὃν ἔτιον ἑκατὸν,  
 διακρίτας ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνων. Chrysost.  
 Sermon de S. Joani. Ap. p. 505. T. 6.  
 || Synops. de Vit. & mort. App. Bibl. Pp. Tom.  
 3. p. 147.

\* Apud Kir-  
 sten. de Vit.  
 Quat. Evang.  
 p. 52.

|| Hom. 66. in  
 Matth. c. 20.  
 p. 575.  
 \* Comm. in  
 Matth. 20.  
 p. 59. Tom. 9.

\* De Con-  
 sum. Mord.  
 & Antichr. in  
 Antiquar. Bibl.  
 Pp. Gr. Lat.  
 T. 2. p. 351.  
 || Apud Phot.  
 Cod. CCXXIX  
 Col. 797.

John 21. 21,  
 22, 23.

Matth. 16. 28.

Year of his Life, as is generally thought. \* Chryso-  
 stome is very positive, that he was an Hundred years  
 old when he wrote his Gospel, and that he liv'd full  
 Twenty years after. The same is affirmed by || Do-  
 rotheus, that he lived CXX. Years: which to me  
 seems altogether improbable, seeing by this account

he must be Fifty Years of Age when called to be an Apostle, a thing directly  
 contrary to the whole consent and testimony of Antiquity, which makes him  
 very young at the time of his calling to the Apostolick Office. He died (says  
 the \* Arabian) in the expectation of his blessedness, by which he means his quiet  
 and peaceable departure, in opposition to a violent and bloody death. Indeed  
 Theophylact, and others before him conceive him to have died a Martyr, upon  
 no other ground, than what our Saviour told him and his Brother, that they  
 should drink of the Cup, and be baptized with the Baptism wherewith he  
 was baptized, which || Chrysostom strictly understands of Martyrdom and a  
 bloody death. It was indeed literally verified of his Brother James; and  
 for him, though, as \* S. Hierom observes, he was not put to death, yet  
 may he be truly stiled a Martyr, his being put into a Vessel of boiling Oil,  
 his many Years banishment, and other sufferings in the cause of Christ, just-  
 ly challenging that honourable title, though he did not actually lay down  
 his life for the testimony of the Gospel, it being not want of good will either  
 in him or his enemies, but the Divine Providence immediately over-ruling  
 the powers of Nature, that kept the malice of his enemies from its full  
 execution.

8. OTHERS on the contrary are so far from admitting him to die a  
 Martyr, that they question, nay, peremptorily deny that he ever died at all.  
 The first Assertor, and that but obliquely, that I find of this opinion, was  
 Hippolytus Bishop of Porto, and Scholar to Clemens of Alexandria, who ranks  
 him in the same capacity with Enoch and Elias; for speaking of the twofold  
 coming of Christ, he tells \* us, that his first coming in the flesh had John  
 the Baptist for its forerunner, and his second to Judgment shall have Enoch,  
 Elias, and S. John. || Ephrem Patriarch of Antioch is more express, he tells  
 us, there are three Persons, answerable to the three dispensations of the  
 word, yet in the body, Enoch, Elias, and S. John, Enoch before the Law,  
 Elias under the Law, and S. John under the Gospel; concerning which  
 last, that he never died, he confirms both from Scripture and Tradition,  
 and quotes S. Cyrill (I suppose he means him of Alexandria) as of the same  
 opinion. The whole foundation upon which this Error is built, was that  
 discourse that passed between our Lord and Peter concerning this Apostle:  
 For Christ having told Peter what was to be his own fate, Peter enquires  
 what should become of S. John, knowing him to be the Disciple whom Jesus  
 loved? Our Lord rebukes his curiosity, by asking him, what that concern-  
 ed him, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? This the  
 Apostles misunderstood, and a report presently went out amongst them,  
 That that Disciple should not die: Though S. John, who himself records the  
 passage, inserts a caution, That Jesus did not say, he should not die, but only  
 what if I will that he tarry till I come? Which doubtless our Lord meant  
 of his coming (so often mentioned in the New Testament) in Judgment  
 upon the Jews, at the final overthrow of Jerusalem, which S. John out-  
 lived many years; and which our Lord particularly intended when else-  
 where he told them, Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here, which  
 shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his Kingdom.

9. FROM

9. FROM the same Original sprang the report, that he only lay sleep-  
 ing in his Grave. The story was current in S. Augustines days, from whom  
 we receive this account, though possibly the Reader will smile at the conceit.  
 He tells \* us, 'twas commonly reported and believed that S. John was not  
 dead, but that he rested like a Man asleep in his Grave at Ephesus, as plainly  
 appeared from the Dust sensibly boiling and bubbling up, which they ac-  
 counted to be nothing else but the continual motion of his breath. This  
 report S. Augustine seems inclinable to believe, having received it, as he  
 tells us, from very credible hands. He further adds out of some Apocryphal  
 Writings, what was generally known and reported, that when S. John,  
 then in health, had caused his Grave to be dug and prepared, he laid him-  
 self down in it as in a Bed, and as they thought, only fell asleep. \* Nice-  
 phorus relates the story more at large, from whom (if it may be any pleasure  
 to entertain the Reader with these things) we shall give this account.  
 S. John foreseeing his Translation into Heaven, took the Presbyters and Mi-  
 nisters of the Church of Ephesus, and several of the Faithful, along with  
 him out of the City, carried them unto a Cemetery near at hand, whither  
 he himself was wont to retire to Prayer, and very earnestly recommended  
 the state of the Churches to God in Prayer. Which being done, he com-  
 manded a Grave to be immediately dug, and having instructed them in the  
 more recondite mysteries of Theologie, the most excellent Precepts of a good  
 Life, concerning Faith, Hope, and especially Charity, confirmed them in  
 the practice of Religion, commended them to the care and blessing of our  
 Saviour, and solemnly taking his leave of them, he signed himself with the  
 sign of the Cross, and before them all went down into the Grave; strictly  
 charging them, to put on the Grave-stone, and to make it fast, and the next  
 day to come and open it, and take a view of it. They did so, and having  
 opened the Sepulchre, found nothing there but the Grave-clothes which  
 he had left behind him. To all which let me add, while my hand is in  
 these things, what \* Ephrem relates, that from this Grave, wherein he rest-  
 ed so short a time, a kind of Sacred Oil or Unguent was wont to be gathered.  
 Gregory of Tours says 'twas Manna, which even in his time like flour was  
 cast up from the Sepulchre, and was carried up and down the World for the  
 curing of diseases. This report of our Apostles being yet alive, some men  
 made use of to wild and phantastick purposes. \* Beza tells us of an Impostor  
 in his time (whom Postellus, who vainly boasted that he had the Soul of  
 Adam, was wont to call his Brother) who publicly professed himself to be  
 our S. John, and was afterwards burnt at Tholose in France. Nor was this  
 any more than what was done in the more early Ages of Christianity. For  
 || Sulpitius Severus giving us an account of a young Spaniard that first pro-  
 fessed himself to be Elias, and then Christ himself; adds, That there was  
 one at the same time in the East, who gave out himself to be S. John. So  
 fast will Error, like circles in the water, multiply it self, and one mistaken  
 place of Scripture give countenance to an hundred stories, that shall be built  
 upon it. I have no more to add, but what we meet with in the \* Arabick  
 writer of his life, (though it little agrees with the preceding passages) who  
 reports, that there were none present at his burial but his disciple Phogfir  
 (probably Prochor, or Prochorus, one of the seven Deacons, and generally said  
 to have been S. John's companion and assistant) whom he strictly charged  
 never to discover his Sepulchre to any; it may be for the same reason for  
 which it is thought God concealed the Body of Moses, to prevent the Ido-  
 latrous worshipping of his Reliques: And accordingly the Turks, who con-  
 ceit him to be buried in the confines of Lydia, pay great honour and veneration  
 to his Tomb.

\* Tradit. 124. in  
 Joani. Col. 569.  
 Tom. 9.

\* H. Eccl. 1.2.  
 c. 42. p. 208.

\* Apud Phot.  
 ubi sup. p. 800.

|| De Glor.  
 Martyr. lib. 1.  
 cap. 30. pag. 36.

\* Annot. in  
 Joani. c. 21.

|| In vit. Mar-  
 tin. c. 25. p. 213.

\* Apud Kir-  
 sten. de vit.  
 Quat. Evang.  
 p. 52.

Q3

10. S. JOHN

10. S. JOHN seems always to have led a single life, and so the \*Ancients tell us, nay, S. Ambrose positively affirms, that all the Apostles were married, except S. John and S. Paul. There want not indeed some, and especially the middle Writers of the \*Church, who will have our Apostle to have been married, and that it was his marriage which our Lord was at in *Cana of Galilee*, invited thither upon the account of his consanguinity and alliance: But that being convinced by the Miracle of the Water turned into Wine, he immediately quitted his conjugal relation, and became one of our Lord's Disciples. But this, as *Baronius* himself confesses, is trifling, and the issue of fabulous invention, a thing wholly unknown to the Fathers and best Writers of the Church, and which not only has no just authority to support it, but arguments enough to beat it down. As for his natural temper, he seems (as we have observed in his Brother's Life) to have been of a more eager and resolute disposition, easily apt to be inflamed and provoked, which his reduced Age brought to a more staid and a calmer temper. He was polished by no study or arts of Learning, but what was wanting in that, was abundantly made up in the excellent temper and constitution of his mind, and that furniture of Divine graces, which he was adorned withall. His humility was admirable, studiously concealing his own worth and honour, in all his Epistles (as \**Eusebius* long since observed) he never puts down the honourable Titles of *Apostle* or *Evangelist*, but only styles himself, and that too but sometimes, *Presbyter*, or *Elder*, alluding probably to his Age, as much as Office; in his Gospel, when he speaks of the *Disciple whom Jesus loved*, he constantly conceals his own name, leaving the Reader to conjecture who was meant. Love and Charity he practised himself, and affectionately pressed upon others, our Lord's great love to him seems to have inspired his Soul with a bigger and more generous charity than the rest: 'Tis the great vein that runs through his Writings, and especially his Epistles, where he urges it as the great and peculiar Law of Christianity, and without which all other pretenses to Christian Religion are vain and frivolous, useless and insignificant. And this was his constant practice to his dying day. When Age and Weakness grew upon him at \**Ephesus*, that he was no longer able to Preach to them, he used at every publick Meeting to be led to the Church, and say no more to them, than, *Little children, love one another*. And when his Auditors wearied with the constant repetition of the same thing, asked him why he always spoke the same, he answered, Because it was the command of our Lord, and that if they did nothing else, this alone was enough.

11. BUT the largest measures of his Charity he expressed in the mighty care that he shewed to the Souls of men, unweariedly spending himself in the service of the Gospel, travelling from *East* to *West* to leaven the World with the Principles of that holy Religion which he was sent to propagate, patiently enduring all torments, breaking through all difficulties and discouragements, shunning no dangers, that he might do good to Souls, redeem Mens minds from error and idolatry, and reduce them from the snares of a debauched and a vicious life. Witness one famous \*instance. In his visitation of the Churches, near to *Ephesus*, he made choice of a young man, whom with a special charge for his instruction and education he committed to the Bishop of that place. The spiritual man undertook the charge, instructed his Pupil, and baptized him: And then thinking he might a little remit the reins of discipline, the youth made an ill use of his liberty, and was quickly debauched by bad companions, making himself Captain to a company of High-way men, the most loose, cruel, and profligate wretches of

\* *Epiph. Hecres. 78. p. 440.*  
\* *Hieron. adv. Jovin. lib. 1. p. 35. T. 2.*  
\* *Ambr. Comm. in 2 Cor. 11. T. 5.*  
\* *Bed. Praef. in Joan. Rupert. Tult. Comm. in Joan. lib. 2. in fin. Cyr. in Joan. cap. 2. & alii.*

\* *Demonstr. Evangel. lib. 3. p. 120.*

\* *Hieron. Comm. in c. 6. ad Galat. Tom. 9. p. 200.*

\* *Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 23. p. 92.*

of the Country. S. John at his return understanding this, and sharply reproving the negligence and unfaithfulness of his Tutor, resolved to find him out: And without any consideration of what danger he entred upon, in venturing himself upon Persons of desperate fortunes, and forfeited consciences, he went to the Mountains, where their usual haunt was; and being here taken by the Sentinel, he desired to be brought before their Commander, who no sooner espied him coming towards him, but immediately fled. The aged Apostle followed after, but not able to overtake him, passionately entreated him to stay, promising him to undertake with God for his peace and pardon. He did so, and both melted into tears, and the Apostle having prayed with, and for him, returned him a true Penitent and Convert to the Church. This story we have elsewhere related more at large out of *Eusebius*, as he does from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, since which that Tract it self of \**Clemens* is made publick to the World.

ὁ, τὸ ὁ παλαιὸς ὁ παλαιός. in *Aulmar. Biblioth. Pp. Gr. L. 2 Fr. Combef. edit. An. 1672. Part. 1. p. 185. n. 42.*

12. NOR was it the least instance of his care of the Church, and charity to the Souls of men, that he was so infinitely vigilant against Hereticks and Seducers, countermining their artifices, antidoting against the poison of their errors, and shunning all communion and conversation with their persons. \* Going along with some of his friends at *Ephesus* to the *Bath* (whither he used frequently to resort, and the ruins whereof of *Porphyrus* not far from the place where stood the famous *Temple of Diana*, as a late eye-witness informs us, are still shewed at this day) he enquired of the servant that waited there, who was within; the servant told him, *Cerintus* (*Epiphanius* says it was *Ebion*, and 'tis not improbable that they might be both there;) which the Apostle no sooner understood, but in great abhorrence he turned back, *Let's be gone my brethren* (said he) *and make haste from this place, lest the Bath wherein there is such an Heretick as Cerintus, the great enemy of the truth, fall upon our heads*. This account *Irenaeus* delivers from *Polycarp*, S. John's own Scholar and Disciple. This *Cerintus* was a Man of loose and pernicious principles, endeavouring to corrupt Christianity with many damnable \* Errors. To make himself more considerable, he struck in with the Jewish Converts, and made a bustle in that great controversy at *Jerusalem*, about Circumcision and the observation of the Law of *Moses*. But his usual haunt was *Asia*, where amongst other things he openly denied *Christ's* Resurrection, affirmed the World to have been made by Angels, broaching unheard of *Dogmata*, and pretending them to have been communicated to him by Angels, venting Revelations composed by himself, as a great Apostle, affirming that after the Resurrection the Reign of *Christ* would commence here upon Earth, and that Men living again at *Jerusalem*, should for the space of a Thousand Years enjoy all manner of sensual pleasures and delights: hoping by this *fools Paradise* that he should tempt Men of loose and brutish minds over to his party. Much of the same stamp was \**Ebion* (though in some principles differing from him, as error agrees with it self as little as with truth) who held that the Holy *Jesus* was a mere, and a mean man, begotten by *Joseph* of *Mary* his Wife, and that the observance of the *Mosaic* Rites and Laws was necessary to Salvation: And because they saw S. Paul stand so full in their way, they reproached him as an *Apostate* from his Religion, and rejected his Epistles, owning none but S. *Matthew's* Gospel in *Hebrew*, having little or no value for the rest; the *Sabbath* and *Jewish* Rites they observed with the *Jews*, and on the Lord's day celebrated the

*Prim. Christ. Part. 3. ch. 2. p. 248.*

\* *Orat. de*

\* *Iren. adv. Hecres. 1. 3. c. 3. p. 233. Euseb. 1. 3. c. 28. p. 100.*  
\* *Epiph. Hecres. 30. p. 69.*  
\* *Th. Smith. Epist. de VII. Asiae Eccles. p. 159.*

\* *Epiph. Hecres. 28. p. 53.*  
\* *Cuius apud Euseb. 1. 3. c. 28. p. 100.*

\* *Euseb. ibi p. 99.*

the memory of our Lord's Resurrection, according to the custom and practice of the *Christians*.

Rev. 2. 15.

\* Stromat. lib. 3. p. 436. Euseb. 1. 3. c. 29. p. 101.

13. BESIDES these, there was another sort of Hereticks that infested the Church in S. John's time, the *Nicolaitans*, mentioned by him in his *Revelation*, and whose doctrine our Lord is with a particular *Emphasis* there said to hate; indeed a most wretched and brutish Sect, generally supposed to derive their original from *Nicolas*, one of the seven Deacons, whom we read of in the *Acts*, whereof *Clement* of *Alexandria* gives this probable \* account. This *Nicolas* having a beautiful Wife, and being reproved by the Apostles for being jealous of her, to shew how far he was from it, brought her forth, and gave any that would leave to marry her, affirming this to be suitable to that saying, ὅτι παροργίζουσι τὴν σαρκὶ δέ, *That we ought to abuse the flesh*. This speech, he tells us, was ascribed to S. *Matthias*, who taught, *That we must fight with the flesh and abuse it*, and not allowing it any thing for pleasure, encrease the Soul by faith and knowledge. These words and actions of his, his disciples and followers misunderstanding, and perverting things to the worst sense imaginable, began to let loose the reins, and hence-forwards to give themselves over to the greatest filthiness, the most shameless and impudent uncleanness, throwing down all inclosures, making the most promiscuous mixtures lawful, and pleasure the ultimate end and happiness of Man. Such were their principles, such their practices; whereas *Nicolas*, their pretended Patron and Founder, was (says *Clement*) a sober and a temperate Man, never making use of any but his own Wife, by whom he had one Son, and several Daughters, who all liv'd in perpetual Virginity.

\* Apud. Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 7. c. 25. p. 272, &c.

14. THE last instance that we shall remark of our Apostles care for the good of the Church, is the Writings which he left to Posterity. Whereof the first in time, though plac'd last, is his *Apocalypse* or Book of *Revelations*, written while confined in *Patmos*. It was of old not only rejected by Hereticks, but controverted by many of the Fathers themselves. *Dionysius* Bishop of \* *Alexandria* has a very large discourse concerning it; he tells us, that many plainly disowned this Book, not only for the matter, but the Author of it, as being neither Apostle, no nor any Holy or Ecclesiastical Person; that *Cerinthus* prefixed S. John's name to it, to give the more plausible title to his Dream of *Christ's* Reign upon Earth, and that sensual and carnal state that should attend it: that for his part he durst not reject it, looking upon it as containing wise and admirable mysteries, though he could not fathom and comprehend them, that he did not measure them by his own line, nor condemn, but rather admire what he could not understand; that he owned the Author to have been an holy, and *divinely-inspired* Person, but could not believe it to be S. John the Apostle and Evangelist, neither stile, matter, nor method agreeing with his other Writings; that in this he frequently names himself, which he never does in any other; that there were several *Johns* at that time, and two buried at *Ephesus*, the Apostle, and another, one of the Disciples that dwelt in *Asia*, but which the Author of this Book, he leaves uncertain. But though doubted of by some, it was entertained by the far greater part of the Ancients as the genuine work of our S. John. Nor could the setting down his Name be any reasonable exception, for whatever he might do in his other Writings, especially his Gospel, where it was less necessary, Historical matters depending not so much upon his authority, yet it was otherwise in Prophetic Revelations, where the Person of the Revealer adds great weight and moment, the reason why some of the Prophets under the Old Testament did so frequently set down their

their own Names. The diversity of the stile is of no considerable value in this case, it being no wonder, if in arguments so vastly different the same Person did not always observe the same tenor and way of writing; whereof there want not instances in some others of the Apostolick Order. The truth is, all circumstances concur to intitle our Apostle to be the Author of it, his name frequently expressed, its being written in the Island of *Patmos* (a circumstance not competent to any but S. John) his stiling himself *their Brother and Companion in Tribulation*, and in the Kingdom and patience of *Jesus Christ*, his writing particular Epistles to the seven Churches of *Asia*, all planted, or at least cultivated by him, the doctrine in it suitable to the Apostolick spirit and temper, evidently bearing witness in this case. That which seems to have given ground to doubt concerning both its Author and authority, was its being long before it was usually joyned with the other Books of the holy Canon: for containing in it some passages directly levell'd at *Rome*, the Seat of the *Roman* Empire, others which might be thought to symbolize with some Jewish dreams and figments, it might possibly seem fit to the prudence of those Times for a while to suppress it. Nor is the conjecture of a learned \* Man to be despised, who thinks that it might be entrusted in the keeping of John the Presbyter, Scholar to our Apostle, whence probably the report might arise, that he, who was only the Keeper, was the Author of it.

\* Grot. Annot. in Cap. 1. Joan.

15. HIS Gospel succeeds, written (say some) in *Patmos*, and published at *Ephesus*, but as \* *Irenaeus*, and others more truly, written by him after his return to *Ephesus*; composed at the earnest intreaty and solicitation of the *Asian* Bishops, and Ambassadors from several Churches, in order whereunto he first caused them to proclaim a general Fast, to seek the blessing of Heaven on so great and solemn an undertaking, which being done, he set about it. And if we may believe the report of *Gregory* Bishop of *Tours*, he tells us, that upon a Hill near *Ephesus* there was a *Proscencha*, or uncovered Oratory, whither our Apostle used often to retire for Prayer and Contemplation, and where he obtained of God, that it might not Rain in that Place, till he had finished his Gospel. Nay he adds, that even in his time, no shower or storm ever came upon it. Two causes especially contributed to the writing of it; the one, that he might obviate the early heresies of those times, especially of *Ebion*, *Cerinthus*, and the rest of that crew, who began openly to deny *Christ's* Divinity, and that he had any existence before his Incarnation; the reason why our Evangelist is so express and copious in that subject. The other was, that he might supply those passages of the Evangelical History, which the rest of the Sacred Writers had omitted. Collecting therefore the other three Evangelists, he first set to his Seal, ratifying the truth of them with his approbation and consent, and then added his own Gospel to the rest, principally insisting upon the *Acts* of *Christ* from the first commencing of his Ministry to the Death of John the Baptist, wherein the others are most defective, giving scarce any account of the first Year of our Saviour's Ministry, which therefore he made up in very large and particular Narrations. He largely records (as *Nazianzen* \* observes) our Saviour's discourses, but takes little notice of his Miracles, probably because so fully and particularly related by the rest. The subject of his writing

|| Dorothe. de vit. App. in B. Pp. T. 3. p. 147.  
\* Iren. adv. haeres. lib. 3. c. 1. Hieron. pr. f. in Math. Tom. 9. & de Script. Eccl. in Joan. Tyr. lib. 1. cap. 30. p. 37.

|| Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 24. p. 95.

\* Παῖσα δ' Ἰωάννης διέτεκεν ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ θαύματι, διὰ πολλὰς δὲ λόγους Χριστοῦ ἀνακτοῦ. Na. Carm. 41. p. 102.

is very sublime and mysterious, mainly designing to prove *Christ's* Divinity, eternal pre-existence, creating of the World, &c. Upon which account || *Theodoret* stiles his Gospel θεολογίαν ἀβατον ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀνυπερβάτον, a || *Comm. in Theology* which humane understandings can never fully penetrate and find out

|| Comm. in Ezech. c. 47.

\* Nemo, audco dicere, tanta sublimitate sapientie majestatem dei vidit, & nobis proprio sermone reseravit. Transcendit nubes, transcendit virtutes celorum, transcendit angelos, & verbum in principio reperit, & apud deum vidit. Ambr. pref. Comm. in Luc. Tom. 5. p. 5.

|| Καὶ ἔτι ἄρα ἦν ὁ Λόγος. καὶ ὃν ἀει ὄντα τὰ γινόμενα ἐκίνησε, ὡς αὖ καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἀξίασε, καὶ νῦν Δι' ὃν ὁ Βάσις αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ τ' ἀρχῇ τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀξιοκράτα πρὸς θεὸν εἶναι, καὶ θεὸν εἶναι δι' ἃ πάντα ἀπλῶς γινώσκοντες ἐν ᾧ τὸ γινόμενον ζῶν, καὶ ζῶν, καὶ ὁρμητικόν, καὶ οἷς τὰ σώματα πίπτειν, καὶ σάρκα ἐκδυσμύρον, φανταζέσθαι ἀνθρώπων, μετὰ καὶ τῶν πλῃκῶνται δεικνύειν τὴ φύσιν τὸ μεγαλῶν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἀναλυθέντα πάλιν ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ θεὸν εἶναι, οἷος ἦν πρὸ τῆς αἰς τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὸ σώμα, καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῶν ὄντων. Amel. apud Euseb. preparat. Evang. lib. 11. p. 540. vid. Theodor. de Cur. Græc. Affect. Serm. 2. p. 33.

\* Epiph. adv. Ebion. Hæres. XXX. p. 60.

ibid. pag. 61.

|| Lib. 7. c. 25.

p. 276.

\* Quæst. Evang.

lib. 2. c. 39.

Col. 353. vid.

Possid. Indic.

Oper. August.

\* Euseb. ut

supr. c. 26.

Hieron. de

script. Eccl. in

Joan.

out. Thence generally by the Ancients, he is resembled to an *Eagle* \*, soaring aloft within the Clouds, whither the weak eye of Man was unable to follow him; hence peculiarly honoured with the Title of *The Divine*, as if due to none but him, at least to him in a more eminent and extraordinary manner. Nay the very *Gentile-Philosophers* themselves could not but admire his Writings: Witnesses || *Amelius* the famous *Platonist*, and *Regent of Porphyries School at Alexandria*; who quoting a passage out of the beginning of *S. John's Gospel*, swore by *Jupiter*, that this *Barbarian* (so the proud *Greeks* counted and called all that differed from them) "had hit upon the right notion, "when he affirmed, that the *Word* that made all "things was in the beginning, and in place of prime

"dignity and authority with God, and was that God that created all things, "in whom every thing that was made had according to its nature its life "and being; that he was incarnate, and clothed with a body, wherein he "manifested the glory and magnificence of his nature; that after his death, "he returned to the re-possession of Divinity, and became the same God, which "he was before his assuming a body, and taking the humane nature and "flesh upon him. I have no more to observe, but that his *Gospel* was afterwards translated into \* *Hebrew*, and kept by the *Jews*, ἐν ἀποκρύφους, among their secret *Archives* and Records in their Treasury at *Tiberias*; where a Copy of it was found by one *Joseph* a *Jew*, afterwards converted, and whom *Constantine* the Great advanced to the honour of a *Count* of the Empire, who breaking open the Treasury, though he missed of money, found βιβλῆς τὰς ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, Books beyond all Treasure, *S. Matthew*, and *S. John's Gospels*, and the *Acts of the Apostles* in *Hebrew*, the reading whereof greatly contributed towards his Conversion.

16. BESIDES these, our Apostle wrote three Epistles; the first whereof is *Catholick*, calculated for all times and places, containing most excellent rules for the conduct of the Christian life, pressing to holiness and purity of manners, and not to rest in a naked and empty profession of Religion, not to be led away with the crafty insinuations of Seducers, antidoting Men against the poison of the *Gnostick*-principles and practices, to whom it is not to be doubted, but that the Apostle had a more particular respect in this Epistle. According to his wonted modesty he conceals his name, it being of more concernment with wife Men, what it is that is said, than who it is that says it. And this Epistle *Eusebius* tells || us, was universally received, and never questioned by any; anciently, as appears by \* *S. Augustin*, inscribed to the *Parthians*, though for what reason I am yet to learn, unless (as we hinted before) it was, because he himself had heretofore Preached in those Parts of the World. The other two Epistles are but short, and directed to particular Persons, the one a Lady of honourable Quality, the other the charitable and hospitable *Gaius*, so kind a friend, so courteous an entertainer of all indigent Christians. \* These Epistles indeed were not of old admitted into the *Canon*, nor are owned by the Church in *Syria* at this Day, ascribed by many to the younger *John*, Disciple to our Apostle. But there is no just cause to question who was their Father, seeing both the Doctrine, phrase, and design of them do sufficiently challenge our Apostle for their Author. These are all the Books, wherein it pleased the Holy Spirit to make

make use of *S. John* for its Pen-man and Secretary, in the composition whereof though his style and character be not florid and elegant, yet is it grave and simple, short and perspicuous. *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* tells us, that in his Gospel and first Epistle his phrase is more neat and elegant, there being an accuracy in the contexture both of words and matter, that runs through all the reasonings of his discourses; but that in the *Apocalypse* the style is nothing so pure and clear, being frequently mixed with more barbarous and improper phrases. Indeed his *Greek* generally abounds with *Syriacisms*, his discourses many times abrupt, set off with frequent *antitheses*, connected with copulatives, passages often repeated, things at first more obscurely propounded, and which he is forced to enlighten with subsequent explications, words peculiar to himself, and phrases used in an uncommon sense. All which concur to render his way of Writing less grateful, possibly, to the Masters of eloquence, and an elaborate curiosity. \* *S. Hierom* observes, that in citing places out of the Old Testament, he more immediately translates from the *Hebrew Original*, studying to render things word for word; for being an *Hebrew* of the *Hebrews*, admirably skill'd in the Language of his Country, it probably made him less exact in his *Greek* compositions, wherein he had very little advantage, besides what was immediately communicated from above. But whatever was wanting in the politeness of his style, was abundantly made up in the zeal of his temper, and the excellency and sublimity of his matter; he truly answered his Name, *Boanerges*, spake and writ like a *Son of Thunder*. Whence it is that his Writings, but especially his Gospel, have such great and honourable things spoken of them by the Ancients. *The Evangelical writings* (says || *S. Basil*) transcend the other parts of the Holy Volumes; in other parts God speaks to us by Servants, the Prophets; but in the Gospels our Lord himself speaks to us, αὐτὸς γὰρ καὶ τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν κηρύγματος ὁ μεγαλοφωνότατος, καὶ πάσης μὲν ἀκοῆς μέγιστος, πάσης δὲ διανοίας ὑψηλότερα φθεγγάμενος; Ἰωάννης ὅτι οὗτος τὸ βροντῆς, but among all the Evangelical Preachers, none like *S. John* the Son of Thunder for the sublimeness of his speech, and the height of his discourses beyond any Man's capacity duly to reach and comprehend. *S. John* as a true Son of Thunder (says \* *Epiphanius*) τῇ οἰκείᾳ μεγαλοφωνίᾳ, ὡς περ ἐν τῶν νεφελῶν, τῶν καὶ σοφίας αἰνιγμάτων τὸ εὐσεβῆ ἡμῖν ἔννοιαν τῶν ὑπὸ ἀνῆκεν, by a certain greatness of speech peculiar to himself, does as it were out of the Clouds and the dark recesses of wisdom acquaint us with Divine Doctrines concerning the Son of God. To which let me add, what *S. Cyril* of || *Alexandria* among other things says concerning him, that whoever looks εἰς τε τὸ τῶν θεωρημάτων ὑπερφερές, καὶ τὴν διανοίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν, καὶ τὴν συνεχῆ, καὶ ἀλλεπαλλήλον τῶν νοημάτων ἐπισφραγίσαν, to the sublimity of his incomprehensible notions, the acumen and sharpness of his reason, and the quick inferences of his discourses constantly succeeding and following upon one another, must needs confess, that his Gospel perfectly exceeds all admiration. \* Comm. in cap. 12. Zachar. p. 178. Tom. 6. \* Hieron. 73. adv. Semiar. p. 363. \* Comm. in Joan. p. 8.

The End of S. John's Life.

# THE LIFE OF S. PHILIP.

S<sup>t</sup> Philip

After he had converted all Scythia he was at Hierapolis a City of Asia first crucified and then stoned to death. Baron. May. 1<sup>o</sup>.

S<sup>t</sup> Philip's Martyrdom.

Act. 5. 30. Whom ye slew, & hanged on a tree. ~  
Matth. 10. 24, 25. The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his Lord. It is enough for the disciple, that he be as his master, and the servant as his Lord. ~

Galilee generally despised by the Jews, and why. The honour which our Lord put upon it. S. Andrew's birth-place. His being first called to be a Disciple, and the manner of it. An account of his ready obedience to Christ's call. What the Evangelists relate concerning him considered. The discourse between our Lord and him concerning the knowledge of the Father. His preaching the Gospel in the Upper Asia, and the happy effects of his Ministry. His coming to Hierapolis in Phrygia, and successful confutation of their Idolatry. The rage and fury of the Magistrates against him. His Martyrdom, Crucifixion, and Burial. His married condition. The confounding him with Philip the Deacon. The Gospel forged by the Gnosticks under his Name.

1. **O**F all parts of *Palestine Galilee* seems to have passed under the greatest character of ignominy and reproach. The Country it self, because bordering upon the Idolatrous uncircumcised Nations, called *Galilee of the Gentiles*; the people generally beheld as more rude and boisterous, more unpolished and barbarous than the rest, not remarkable either for Civility or Religion. *The Galileans received him, having seen all the things that he did at Jerusalem at the Feast, for they also went up unto the Feast*; as if it had been a wonder, and a matter of very strange remark, to see so much devotion in them as to attend the solemnity of the *Passover*. Indeed both *Jew and Gentile* conspired in this, that they thought they could not fix a greater title of reproach upon our Saviour and his followers, than that of *Galilean*. Can any good thing come out of Nazareth? a City in this Province, said *Nathanael* concerning *Christ*. Search and look (say the *Pharisees*) for out of *Galilee* ariseth no Prophet; as if nothing but briars and thorns could grow in that soil. But there needs no more to confute this ill-natured opinion, than that our Lord not only made choice of it as the seat of his ordinary residence and retreat, but that hence he chose those excellent persons, whom he made his Apostles, the great instruments to convert the World. Some of these we have already given an account of, and more are yet behind.

2. OF this number was *S. Philip*, born at *Bethsaida*, a Town near the Sea of *Tiberias*, the City of *Andrew and Peter*. Of his Parents and way of life the History of the Gospel takes no notice, though probably he was a Fisherman, the Trade general of that place. He had the *τα πρωτεια*, the honour of being first called to the Discipleship, which thus came to pass. Our Lord soon after his return from the wilderness having met with *Andrew* and his brother *Peter*, after some short discourse parted from them: And the very next day, as he was passing through *Galilee*, he found *Philip*, whom he presently commanded to follow him, the constant form which he used in making choice of his Disciples, and those that did inseparably attend upon him. So that the *πρωτοκλησια*, or prerogative of being first called, evidently belongs to *Philip*, he being the first-fruits of our Lord's Disciples. For though *Andrew* and *Peter* were the first that came to, and conversed with *Christ*, yet did they immediately return to their Trade again, and were not called to the Discipleship till above a whole year after, when *John* was cast into prison. \* *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, that it was *Philip*, to whom our Lord said (when he would have excused himself at present, that he must go bury his Father) *Let the dead bury their dead, but follow thou me*. But besides that he gives no account, whence he derived this intelligence, it is plainly inconsistent with the time of our Apostle's call, who was called to be a Disciple a long time before that speech and passage of our Saviour. It may seem justly strange that *Philip* should at first sight so readily comply with our Lord's command, and turn himself over into his service, having not yet seen any miracle, that might evince his *Messiah-ship*, and Divine Commission, nor probably so much as heard any tidings of his appearance; and especially being a *Galilean*, and so of a more rustick and unyielding temper. But it cannot be doubted but that he was admirably versed in the writings of *Moses* and the *Prophets*. \* *Metaphrastes* assures us (though how he came to know it otherwise than by conjecture, I cannot imagine) that from his childhood he had excellent education, that he frequently read over *Moses* his Books, and considered the Prophecies that related to our Saviour:

John 4.45.

John 1.46.

John 7.52.

John 1.44.

\* *Sivomas lib.*  
3.p.436.\* *Apud Sur.*  
ad dicm 1.  
*Maii Tom. 4.*

Saviour: And was no question awakened with the general expectations that were then on foot among the *Jews* (the date of the *Prophetick Scriptures* concerning the time of *Christ's* coming being now run out) that the *Messiah* would immediately appear. Add to this, that the Divine grace did more immediately accompany the command of *Christ*, to incline and dispose him to believe, that this person was that very *Messiah* that was to come.

3. NO sooner had Religion taken possession of his mind, but like an active principle it began to ferment, and diffuse it self. Away he goes, and finds *Nathanael*, a person of note and eminency, acquaints him with the tidings of the new-found *Messiah*, and conducts him to him. So forward is a good man to draw and direct others in the same way to happiness with himself. After his call to the Apostleship much is not recorded of him in the Holy story: 'Twas to him that our Saviour propounded the question, What they should do for so much bread in the wilderness, as would feed so vast a multitude, to which he answered, That so much was not easily to be had; not considering, that to feed two or twenty thousand are equally easie to Almighty Power, when pleased to exert it self. 'Twas to him that the *Gentile Proselytes* that came up to the *Passover* addressed themselves, when desirous to see our Saviour, a person of whom they had heard so loud a fame. 'Twas with him that our Lord had that discourse concerning himself a little before the last *Paschal Supper*. The holy and compassionate *Jesus* had been fortifying their minds with fit considerations against his departure from them, had told them, that he was going to prepare room for them in the Mansions of the Blessed, that he himself was *the way, the truth, and the life*, and that no man could come to the Father but by him, and that knowing him, they both knew and had seen the Father. *Philip* not duly understanding the force of our Saviour's reasonings, begged of him, that he would shew them the Father, and then this would abundantly convince and satisfy them. We can hardly suppose he should have such gross conceptions of the Deity, as to imagine the Father vested with a corporeal and visible nature; but *Christ* having told them that they had seen him, and he knowing that God of old was wont frequently to appear in a visible shape, he only desired that he would manifest himself to them by some such appearance. Our Lord gently reprov'd his ignorance, that after so long attendance upon his instructions, he should not know, that he was the Image of his Father, the express characters of his infinite wisdom, power and goodness appearing in him, that he said and did nothing but by his Father's appointment, which if they did not believe, his miracles were a sufficient evidence: That therefore such demands were unnecessary and impertinent, and that it argued great weakness after more than three years education under his discipline and Institution to be so unskilful in those matters. God expects improvement according to mens opportunities, to be old and ignorant in the School of *Christ*, deserves both reproach and punishment, 'tis the character of very bad persons, that they are ever learning, but never come to the knowledge of the truth.

4. IN the distribution of the several Regions of the World made by the Apostles, though no mention be made by *Origen* or *Eusebius*, what part fell to our Apostle, yet we are told by \* others, that the *Upper Asia* was his Province (the reason doubtless why he is said by many to have preached and planted Christianity in *Scythia*) where he applied himself with an indefatigable diligence and industry to recover men out of the snare of the Devil, to the embracing and acknowledgment of the truth. By the constancy of his

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preach-

\* *S. Metaphr.*  
Comm. de S.  
*Philip. apud*  
*Sur. ad 1. Maii.*  
*Niceph. H.*  
*Eccl. l. 2. c. 39.*  
p. 200.

preaching, and the efficacy of his Miracles he gained numerous Converts, whom he baptized into the Christian Faith, at once curing both Souls and Bodies, their Souls of Error and Idolatry, their Bodies of infirmities and distempers, healing diseases, dispossessing *Demons*, settling Churches, and appointing them Guides and Ministers of Religion.

5. HAVING for many years successfully managed his Apostolical Office in all those parts, he came in the last periods of his life to *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, a City rich and populous, but answering its name in its Idolatrous Devotions. Amongst the many vain and trifling Deities, to whom they payed religious adoration, was a *Serpent* or *Dragon* (in memory no doubt of that infamous Act of *Jupiter*, who in the shape of a *Dragon* insinuated himself into the embraces of *Proserpina*, his own Daughter begot of *Ceres*, and whom these *Phrygians* chiefly worshipped, as \* *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, so little reason had || *Baronius* to say that they worshipped no such God) of a more prodigious bigness than the rest, which they worshipped with great and solemn veneration. *S. Philip* was troubled to see the people so wretchedly enslaved to error, and therefore continually solicited Heaven, till by prayer and calling upon the name of *Christ*, he had procured the death, or at least vanishing of this famed and beloved *Serpent*: Which done, he told them, how unbecoming it was to give Divine honours to such odious creatures, that God alone was to be worshipped as the great Parent of the World, who had made man at first after his own glorious Image, and when fallen from that innocent and happy state, had sent his own Son into the World to redeem him, who died, and rose from the dead, and shall come again at the last day, to raise men out of their Graves, and to sentence and reward them according to their works. The success was, that the people were ashamed of their fond Idolatry, and many broke loose from their chains of darkness, and ran over to Christianity. Whereupon the great enemy of mankind betook himself to his old methods, cruelty and persecution. The Magistrates of the City seize the Apostle, and having put him into prison, caused him to be severely whipp'd and scourg'd. This preparatory cruelty passed, he was led to execution, and being bound, was hanged up by the neck against a pillar, though others tell us, that he was crucified. We are further told, that at his execution the Earth began suddenly to quake, and the ground whereon the people stood, to sink under them, which when they apprehended and bewailed as an evident act of Divine vengeance pursuing them for their sins, it as suddenly stopt, and went no further. The Apostle being dead, his body was taken down by *S. Bartholomew*, his fellow-sufferer, though not finally executed, and *Mariamne*, *S. Philip's* Sister, who is said to have been the constant companion of his travels, and decently buried, after which having confirmed the people in the Faith of *Christ*, they departed from them.

6. THAT *S. Philip* was married, is generally affirmed by the Ancients; \* *Clemens* of *Alexandria* reckons him one of the married Apostles, and that he had Daughters, whom he disposed in marriage: || *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus* tell us, that *Philip*, one of the Twelve Apostles, died at *Hierapolis*, with two of his Daughters, who persevered in their Virginity, and that he had a third which died at *Ephesus*. The truth is, the not careful distinguishing between *Philip* the *Deacon* (who lived at *Cæsarea*, and of whose four Virgin-daughters we read in the History of the Apostles *Acts*) and our Apostle, has bred some confusion among the Ancients in this matter. But the account concerning them is greatly different; for as they differed in their Persons and Offices, the one a *Deacon*, the other an Apostle, so

Metaphr. &  
Niccph. ibid.

\* Admonit. ad  
Gent. p. 11.  
Ad Ann. 54.  
n. 3.

\* Stromat. lib.  
3. p. 448.  
Ap. Euseb. II.  
Eccl. lib. 3.  
c. 31. p. 102.  
vid. Doroth.  
Synops. de vit.  
& mori. App. B.  
Pp. Tom. 3.  
p. 148.

Acts 21 8, 9.

so also in the number of their Children, four Daughters being ascribed to the one, while three only are attributed to the other. He was one of the Apostles who left no Sacred writings behind him, the greater part of the Apostles (as \* *Eusebius* observes) having little leisure to write Books, being employed in ministeries more immediately useful and subservient to the happiness of mankind: Though || *Epiphanius* tells us, that the *Gnosticks* were wont to produce a Gospel forged under *S. Philip's* name, which they abused to the patronage of their horrible principles, and more brutish practices.

\* Lib. 3. cap.  
24. p. 94.

|| Adv. Gnost.  
Hæres. 26. p. 46

### The End of S. Philip's Life.

# THE LIFE OF S. BARTHOLOMEW

S. BARTHOLOMEW



He was fle'd alive by the command of a Barbarous King. Place this to the Collect for S. Bartholomew's day.

St. Bartholomew's Martyrdom.



Rom. 8. 36, 37. For thy sake we are killed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. But in all these things we are more than conquerors.

*The silence concerning this Apostle in the History of the Gospel. That he is the same with Nathanael, proved by many probable arguments. His title of Bartholmai, whence. The School of the Tholmaeans. An objection against his being Nathanael answered. His descent and way of life. His first coming to Christ, and converse with him. In what parts of the World he planted the Christian Faith. His preaching in India, and leaving S. Matthew's Gospel there. His return to Hierapolis, and deliverance there from Crucifixion. His removal to Albanopolis in Armenia, and suffering Martyrdom there for the Faith of Christ. His being first flead alive, and then crucified. The fabulous Gospel attributed to him.*

I. THAT

1. **T**HAT S. *Bartholomew* was one of the Twelve Apostles, the Evangelical History is most express and clear, though it seems to take no further notice of him, than the bare mention of his name. Which doubtless gave the first occasion to many, both anciently and of later time, not without reason to suppose, that he lies concealed under some other name, and that this can be no other than *Nathanael*, one of the first Disciples that came to *Christ*. Accordingly we may observe, that as S. *John* never mentions *Bartholomew* in the number of the Apostles, so the other Evangelists never take notice of *Nathanael*, probably because the same person under two several names: And as in *John*, *Philip* and *Nathanael* are joyned together in their coming to *Christ*, so in the rest of the Evangelists *Philip* and *Bartholomew* are constantly put together without the least variation; for no other reason, I conceive, than because as they were jointly called to the Discipleship, so they are jointly referred in the *Apostolick* Catalogue; as afterwards we find them joint-companions in the writings of the Church. But that which renders the thing most specious and probable is, that we find *Nathanael* particularly reckoned up with the other Apostles, to whom our Lord appeared at the Sea of *Tiberias* after his Resurrection, where there were together *Simon Peter*, and *Thomas*, and *Nathanael* of *Cana* in *Galilee*, and the two sons of *Zebedee*, and two other of his Disciples, who probably were *Andrew* and *Philip*. That by *Disciples* is here meant *Apostles*, is evident, partly from the names of those that are reckoned up, partly because it is said, that *this was the third time that Jesus appeared to his Disciples*, it being plain that the two foregoing appearances were made to none but the Apostles.

2. **H**AD he been no more than an ordinary Disciple, I think no tolerable reason can be given, why in filling up the vacancy made by the death of *Judas*, he being so eminently qualified for the place, should not have been propounded as well as either *Barsabas* or *Matthias*, but that he was one of the Twelve already. Nor indeed is it reasonable to suppose, that *Bartholomew* should be his proper name, any more than *Bar-Jona* the proper name of *Peter*, importing no more than his relative capacity, either as a Son, or a Scholar. As a Son, it notes no more than his being בר תלמי the son of *Tholmai*, a name not uncommon amongst the Jews, it being customary among them for the son thus to derive his name, so *Bar-Jona*, *Bartimeus*, the son of *Yimeus*, &c. and to be usually called rather by this relative, than his own proper name, thus *Joseph* was called *Barsabas*, thus *Barnabas* constantly so stiled, though his right name was *Joses*. Or else it may relate to him as a Disciple of some particular Sect and Institution among the Jews, it being a custom for Scholars out of a great reverence for their Masters, or first Institutors of that way, to adopt their names, as *Ben-Ezra*, *Ben-Uziel*, &c. And this will be much more evident, if the observation which \* one makes be true (which yet I will not contend for) that as several Sects in the Jewish Church denominated themselves from some famous person of that Nation, the *Essenes* from *Enosh*, the *Sadducees* from *Sadock*, so there were others that called themselves *Tholmeans*, from *Tholmai*, Scholar to *Heber* the ancient Master of the Hebrews, who was of the race or institution of the *Enakim*, who flourished in *Debir* and *Hebron*, with whom *Abraham* was confederate, that is, joyned himself to their society. And of this Order and Institution, he tells us, *Nathanael* seems to have been, hence called *Bartholomew*,

John 21. 1, 2.

1b. v. 14.

\* *Bolduc. de Eccles. post. Leg. c. 7. p. 45. vid. de Ecc. ante Leg. lib. 2. c. 8.*

*tholomew*, the Son or Scholar of the *Tholmeans*; hence said to be an *Israelite* indeed, that is, one of the ancient race of the Schools and Societies of *Israel*. This, if so, would give us an account of his skill and ability in the Jewish Law, wherein he is generally supposed to have been a Doctor or Teacher. But which soever of these two accounts of his denomination shall find most favour with the Reader, either of them will serve my purpose, and reconcile the difference that seems to be between S. *John* and the other Evangelists about his name, the one stiling him by his proper name, the other by his relative and paternal title. To all this, if necessary, I might add the consent of Learned men, who have given in their suffrages in this matter, that it is but the same person under several \* names. But hints of this may suffice. These arguments, I confess, are not so forcible and convictive as to command assent, but with all their circumstances considered, are sufficient to incline and sway any mans belief. The great and indeed only reason brought against it, is what \* S. *Augustine* objected of old, that it is not probable that our Lord would chuse *Nathanael*, a Doctor of the Law, to be one of his Apostles, as designing to confound the wisdom of the World by the preaching of the Idiot and the unlearned. But this is no reason to him that considers, that this objection equally lies against S. *Philip*, for whose skill in the Law and Prophets there is as much evidence in the History of the Gospel, as for *Nathanael's*; and much stronger against S. *Paul*, than whom (besides his abilities in all humane Learning) there were few greater Masters in the Jewish Law.

3. **T**HIS difficulty being cleared, we proceed to a more particular account of our Apostle. By some he is thought to have been a Syrian, of a noble extract, and to have derived his pedigree from the *Ptolomies* of *Egypt*, upon no other ground, I believe, than the mere analogy and sound of the name. 'Tis plain, that he, as the rest of the Apostles, was a *Galilean*, and of *Nathanael* we know it is particularly said, that he was of *Cana* in *Galilee*. The Scripture takes no notice of his Trade or way of life, though some circumstances might seem to intimate that he was a Fisherman, which *Theodoret* affirms of the Apostles in general, and another particularly reports of our Apostle. At his first coming to *Christ* (supposing him still the same with *Nathanael*) he was conducted by *Philip*, who told him that now they had found the long-look'd for *Messiah*, so oft foretold by *Moses* and the Prophets, *Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph*: And when he objected that the *Messiah* could not be born at *Nazareth*, *Philip* bids him come and satisfy himself. At his first approach our Lord entertains him with this honourable character, that he was an *Israelite* indeed, a man of true simplicity and integrity; as indeed his simplicity particularly appears in this, that when told of *Jesus*, he did not object against the meanness of his Original, the low condition of his Parents, the narrowness of their fortunes, but only against the place of his birth, which could not be *Nazareth*, the Prophets having peremptorily foretold, that the *Messiah* should be born at *Bethlehem*. By this therefore he appeared to be a true *Israelite*, one that waited for redemption in *Israel*, which from the date of the Scripture-predictions he was assured did now draw nigh. Surprized he was at our Lord's salutation, wondering how he should know him so well at first sight, whose face he had never seen before. But he was answered, that he had seen him while he was yet under the *Fig-tree*, before *Philip* called him. Convinc'd with this instance of our Lord's Divinity,

\* *Rupert. Tit. Comm. in Joan. 1. Joan. Concord. c. 17. Onuphr. in Fast. Salmer. Trist. 18. Tom. 4. Montac. Orig. Sac. Part. 2. p. 18. Dr. H. Annot. in Job. 1. aliique.*

\* *Tract. VII. in Joan. Col. 68. Tom. 9. & in Psalm. I. XV. Col. 671. Tom. 8.*

John 1. 45.

Divinity, he presently made this confession, That now he was sure, that *Jesus* was the promised *Messiah*, the Son of God, whom he had appointed to be the King and Governour of his Church. Our Saviour told him, that if upon this inducement he could believe him to be the *Messiah*, he should have far greater arguments to confirm his faith, yea, that ere long he should behold the Heavens opened to receive him thither, and the Angels visibly appearing to wait and attend upon him.

\* H. Eccl. lib. i.  
c. 19. p. 50.

|| Apud Hier.  
de Script. Eccl.  
in Barthol.  
\* H. Eccl. lib.  
5. c. 10. p. 175.

4. CONCERNING our Apostles travels up and down the World to propagate the Christian Faith, we shall present the Reader with a brief account, though we cannot warrant the exact order of them. That he went as far as *India*, is owned by all, which surely is meant of the *hither India*, or the part of it lying next to *Asia*; \* *Socrates* tells us, 'twas the *India* bordering upon *Aethiopia*, meaning no doubt the *Asian Aethiopia* (whereof we shall speak in the life of *S. Thomas*) || *Sophronius* calls it the *Fortunate India*, and tells us, that here he left behind him *S. Matthew's Gospel*, whereof \* *Eusebius* gives a more particular relation: That when *Pantanus*, a man famous for his skill in Philosophy, and especially the Institutions of the *Stoicks*, but much more for his hearty affection to Christianity, in a devout and zealous imitation of the Apostles, was inflamed with a desire to propagate the Christian Religion unto the *Eastern Countries*, he came as far as *India* it self. Here amongst some that yet retained the knowledge of *Christ*, he found *S. Matthew's Gospel*, written in *Hebrew*, left here (as the tradition was) by *S. Bartholomew*, one of the twelve Apostles, when he preached the Gospel to these Nations.

\* Serm. in SS.  
XII. App. p. 269  
T. 6.

|| Sophron. ap.  
Hieron. in  
Barthol.

\* Lib. 2. c. 39.  
p. 201 vid. Me-  
taphr. ad Aug.  
24.

|| Hippol. de App.  
ap. Bar. in Not.  
ad Martyr. ad  
Aug. 25.

|| Id. de SS. utri-  
usque T. c. 77.

\* Am. Mir.  
lib. 23.

|| In vit. Artax-  
erx p. 1019.

Vid. Greg. Tu-  
ron. de glor.  
Martyr. lib. 1.  
c. 34. p. 46.

5. AFTER his labours in these parts of the World, he returned to the more *Western* and *Northern* parts of *Asia*. At *Hieropolis* in *Phrygia* we find him in company with *S. Philip*, instructing that place in the principles of Christianity, and convincing them of the folly of their blind Idolatries. Here by the enraged Magistrates he was at the same time with *Philip* designed for Martyrdom; in order whereunto he was fastned upon the Cross, with an intent to dispatch him; but upon a sudden conviction that the Divine Justice would revenge their death, he was taken down again and dismissed. Hence probably he went into *Lycaonia*, the people whereof \* *Chrysostom* assures us, he instructed and trained up in the Christian discipline. His last remove was to *Albanople* in *Armenia* the || *Great* (the same no doubt which \* *Nicephorus* calls *Urbanople*, a City of *Cilicia*) a place miserably overgrown with Idolatry; from which while he sought to reclaim the people, he was by the Governour of the place commanded to be crucified, which he chearfully underwent, comforting and confirming the Convert *Gentiles* to the last minute of his life. || Some add, that he was crucified with his head downwards, others that he was flead, and his skin first taken off, which might consist well enough with his Crucifixion, excoriation being a punishment in use, not only in *Egypt*, but amongst the *Persians*, next neighbours to these *Armenians* (as \* *Ammianus Marcellinus* assures us, and || *Plutarch* records a particular instance of *Mesabates* the *Persian Eunuch* first flead alive, and then crucified) from whom they might easily borrow this piece of barbarous and inhumane cruelty. As for the several stages to which his Body removed after his death, first to *Daras*, a City in the borders of *Per-*  
*sia*,

*sia*, then to *Liparis*, one of the *Aeolian Islands*, thence to *Beneventum* in *Italy*, and last of all to *Rome*, they that are fond of those things, and have better leisure, may enquire. *Hereticks* persecuted his memory after his death, no less than *Heathens* did his person while alive, by forging and fathering a fabulous Gospel upon his name, which, together with others of like stamp, \* *Gelasius* Bishop of *Rome* justly branded as *Apocryphal*, altogether unworthy the name and patronage of an Apostle.

\* Decret. Part.  
1. Distinct. 15.  
c. 3. Sed. Cast-  
rum.

### The End of S. Bartholomew's Life.

# THE LIFE OF S. MATTHEW.

S. MATTHEW.



S. Mathew the Apostle and Evangelist preached the Gospel in  
Æthiopia and was there, saying with an Habes Bed el Baren S. p. 27

St. Mathew his Martyrdom.



1 Pet. 3. 14. If ye suffer for righteousness sake, happy  
is he not afraid of their terror, neither do ye trouble

*His Birth-place and Kindred. His Trade, the Office of a Publican. The great dignity of this Office among the Romans. The honours done to Vespasian's Father for the faithful discharge of it. This Office infamous among the Greeks, but especially the Jews. What things concurr'd to render it odious and grievous to them. Their bitter abhorrency of this sort of men. S. Matthew's employment wherein it particularly consisted. The Publican's Ticket what. S. Matthew's call, and his ready obedience. His inviting our Lord to Dinner. The Pharisees cavil, and our Saviour's answer. His Preaching in Judæa. His travels into Parthia, Æthiopia, &c. to propagate Christianity. The success of his Ministry. His Death. His singular contempt of the World. Censured herein by Julian and Porphyry. His exemplary temperance and sobriety. His humility and modesty. Unreasonable to reproach Penitents with the vices of their former Life. His Gospel when and why written. Composed by him in Hebrew. The general consent*

*of Antiquity herein. Its translation into Greek, when and by whom. The Hebrew Copy by whom owned and interpolated. Those now extant not the same with those mentioned in Antiquity.*

1. **S** AINT *Matthew*, called also *Levi*, was, though a *Roman* Officer, an *Hebrew of the Hebrews*, (both his Names speaking him purely of *Jewish* extract and Original) and probably a *Galilean*, and whom I should have concluded born at, or near *Capernaum*, but that the *Arabick* \* Writer of his life tells us, he was born at *Naẕareth*, a City in the Tribe of *Zebulun*, famous for the habitation of *Joseph* and *Mary*, but especially the education and residence of our Blessed Saviour, who though born at *Bethlehem*, was both conceiv'd and bred up here, where he lived the whole time of his private life, whence he derived the Title of *Jesus of Naẕareth*. S. *Matthew* was the Son of *Alpheus* and *Mary*, Sister or Kinswoman to the Blessed *Virgin*; in the same *Arabick* Author his Father is called *Duch*, and his Mother *Karntias*, both originally descended of the Tribe of *Issachar*, nothing being more common among the *Jews*, than for the same Person to have several names, these latter probably express'd in *Arabick* according to their *Jewish* signification. His Trade or way of life was that of a *Publican* or Toll-gatherer to the *Romans* (which probably had been his Father's Trade, his Name denoting a *Broker* or *Money-changer*) an Office of bad report amongst the *Jews*. Indeed among the *Romans* it was accounted a place of power and credit, and honourable reputation, not ordinarily conferred upon any but *Roman* Knights; insomuch that *T. Fl. Sabinus*, Father to the Emperor *Vespasian*, was the *Publican* of the *Asian* Provinces, an Office which he discharged so much to the content and satisfaction of the People, that they erected Statues to him with this *Inscription*, Κ Α Λ Ω Σ Τ Ε Λ Ω Ν Η Σ Α Ν Τ Ι \*, *To him that has well managed the Publican-Office*. These Officers being sent into the Provinces to gather the Tributes, were wont to employ the Natives under them, as Persons best skilled in the affairs and customs of their own Country. Two things especially concurred to render this Office odious to the *Jews*. First, that the Persons that managed it were usually covetous, and great Exactors; for having themselves farmed the Customs of the *Romans*, they must gripe and scrape by all methods of Extortion, that they might be able both to pay their Rent, and to raise gain and advantage to themselves: which doubtless *Zachæus*, the Chief of these Farmers, was sensible of, when after his Conversion, he offered four-fold resti-

\* *Apud Kir-*  
*sten. Vit. 4.*  
*Evangel. p. 22.*

\* Sueton. in  
vit. Vespas.  
cap. 1. p. 722.

Luke 19.8.

Κακὸν τέλος ἔχουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι.  
 Πάντες πελῶναι, πάντες εἶναι ἄρπυγες.  
 Xen. Comic. apud Diacritch. de vit. Græcæ. cap.  
 4. p. 29.  
 Θέοικει τὸ ἐρωτῆσθαι πῶτα ὅτι θύειαν ἐστὶ χα-  
 λεπώπου, ἵππεν· ἐμὲ μὲν τοὺς ὄρεσιν, ἄρκτοι μὲν  
 λέοντες· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πᾶσι πελῶναι ἄρπυγας ἡ συκο-  
 φάνεια. Milford. apud Stob. Serm. 2. de Malis. p. 31.  
 Περὶ Ἑλλάδου ὅλην, τοὺς πελαγονίους, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τελευ-  
 τὴν ὁμίαν, πεταρρησιασμένον βίαν, ἀνιστήθη·  
 ἄρπαζον· ἀναίσχυον· πλεονεξία, πεταρρησια-  
 λόρον καὶ ἔγχυστα, ἀνακτὶς ἐμπροσθα. Suid. in  
 voc. τελέω.

*The Life of S. MATTHEW.*

so many unfortunate Rebellions against the *Romans*. Add to this, that these *Publicans* were not only obliged by the necessity of their Trade to have frequent dealing and converse with the *Gentiles* ( which the *Jews* held unlawful and abominable ) but that being *Jews* themselves they rigorously exacted these things of their Brethren, and thereby seemed to conspire with the *Romans* to entail perpetual slavery upon their own Nation. For though \* *Tertullian* thought that none but *Gentiles* were employed in this sordid office, yet the contrary is too evident to need any argument to prove it.

\* *De pudicitia*.  
c. 7. p. 561.

2. B Y these means *Publicans* became so universally abhorred by the *Jewish* Nation, that it was accounted unlawful to do them any office of common kindness and courtesie, nay they held it no sin to couzen and over-reach a *Publican*, and that with the solemnity of an Oath; they might not eat or drink, walk or travel with them; they were looked upon as common Thieves and Robbers, and Money received of them might not be put to the rest of a Man's Estate, it being presumed to have been gained by rapine and violence; they were not admitted as Persons fit to give testimony and evidence in any cause: so infamous were they, as not only to be banished all communion in the matters of Divine Worship, but to be shunned in all affairs of civil society and commerce, as the Pests of their Country, Persons of an infectious converse, of as vile a Classe as *Heathens* themselves. Hence the common Proverb among them, *Take not a Wife out of that Family, wherein there is a Publican, for they are all Publicans*, that is, Thieves, Robbers, and wicked sinners. To this Proverbial usage our Lord alludes, when speaking of a contumacious sinner, whom neither private reproofs, nor the public censures and admonitions of the Church can prevail upon, *Let him be unto thee* (says he) *as an Heathen and a Publican*; as elsewhere *Publicans* and *sinners* are yoked together, as Persons of equal esteem and reputation. Of this Trade and Office was our S. *Matthew*, and it seems more particularly to have consisted in gathering the Customs of Commodities that came by the Sea of *Galilee*, and the Tribute which Passengers were to pay that went by Water; a thing frequently mentioned in the *Jewish* writings, where we are also told of the קשר or *Ticket*, consisting of two greater Letters written in Paper, or some such matter, called קשר מוכסין the *Ticket* or *signature of the Publicans*, which the Passenger had with him to certify them on the other side the Water, that he had already paid the Toll or Custom: upon which account the *Hebrew* Gospel of S. *Matthew* published by *Munster*, renders *Publican* by בעל עכרה the *Lord of the Passage*. For this purpose they kept their Office or Custom-house by the Sea-side, that they might be always near at hand; and here it was (as S. *Mark* intimates) that *Matthew* had his Toll-booth, where He sat at the Receipt of Custom.

אין לך  
ממשה  
שיש בה  
מוכס  
שהם כולם  
מובסין.  
Matth. 18. 17.

*Vid. Buxtorf.*  
*Lex in. voc.*  
**מִוֶּכֶם**

3. OUR Lord having lately cured a famous *Paralytick*, retired out of *Capernaum* to walk by the Sea-side, where he taught the People that flocked after him. Here he espied *Matthew* sitting in his Custom-office, whom he called to come and follow Him. The Man was rich, had a wealthy and a gainful Trade, a wife and prudent Person (no fools being put into that Office) and understood no doubt what it would cost him to comply with this new employment, that he must exchange Wealth for Poverty, a Custom-house for a Prison, gainful Masters for a naked and despised Saviour. But he overlooked all these considerations, left all his Interests and Relations, to become our Lord's Disciple, and to embrace *πεντήδεκα πνευματικὴν* (as \**Chrysostom* observes) a more spiritual way of commerce & traffick. We cannot suppose that he was before wholly unacquainted with our Saviour's Person or Doctrine,

Matth. 9. 9.  
Mark 2. 13, 14.  
Luke 5. 27,  
28, 29.

\* Homil. 11.  
in 1. ad Co-  
rinth. p. 419.

especially living at *Capernaum*, the place of *Christ's* usual residence, where his Sermons and Miracles were so frequent, by which he could not but in some measure be prepared to receive the impressions, which our Saviour's call now made upon him. And to shew that he was not discontented at his change, nor apprehended himself a loser by this bargain, he entertained our Lord and his Disciples at a great Dinner in his House, whither he invited his Friends, especially those of his own Profession, piously hoping that they also might be caught by our Saviour's converse and company. The *Pharisees*, whose *Eye* was constantly *evil*, where another Man's was *good*, and who would either find or make occasions to snarl at him, began to suggest to his Disciples, that it was unbecoming so pure and holy a Person as their Master pretended himself to be, thus familiarly to converse with the worst of men, *Publicans* and *sinners*, Persons infamous to a Proverb. But he presently replied upon them, that they were the *sick* that needed the *Physician*, not the sound and healthy, that his company was most suitable, where the necessities of Souls did most require it, that God himself preferred acts of Mercy and Charity, especially in reclaiming sinners, and doing good to Souls, infinitely before all ritual observances, and the nice rules of Persons conversing with one another, and that the main design of his coming into the World was not to bring the *righteous*, or those who like themselves proudly conceived themselves to be so, and in a vain Opinion of their own strictness loftily scorned all Mankind besides, but *sinners*, modest, humble, self-convinced offenders, to *repentance*, and to reduce them to a better state and course of life.

4. AFTER his election to the Apostolate, he continued with the rest till our Lord's Ascension, and then for the first eight Years at least Preached up and down *Judæa*. After which being to betake himself to the Conversion of the *Gentile*-world, he was intreated by the Convert *Jews* to commit to Writing the History of our Saviour's Life and Actions, and to leave it among them as the standing Record of what he had Preached to them; which he did accordingly, and so composed his *Gospel*, whereof more in due place. Little certainly can be had what Travels he underwent for the advancement of the Christian Faith, so irrecoverably is truth lost in a crowd of Legendary stories. \* *Æthiopia* is generally assigned as the Province of his Apostolical Ministry. || *Metaphrastes* tells us, that he went first into *Parthia*, and having successfully planted Christianity in those Parts, thence travelled into *Æthiopia*, that is, the *Asiatick Æthiopia*, lying near to *India*: here by Preaching and Miracles he mightily triumphed over error and Idolatry, convinced and converted Multitudes, ordained spiritual Guides and Pastors to confirm and build them up, and bring over others to the Faith, and then finished his own course. As for what is related by \* *Nicophorus* of his going into the Country of the *Cannibals*, constituting *Plato*, one of his followers, Bishop of *Myrmæna*, of *Christ's* appearing to him in the form of a beautiful Youth, and giving him a Wand, which he pitching into the ground, immediately it grew up into a Tree, of his strange converting the Prince of that Country, of his numerous Miracles, peaceable Death, and sumptuous Funerals, with abundance more of the same stamp and coin, they are justly to be reckoned amongst those fabulous reports, that have no Pillar nor ground either of truth or probability to support them. Most probable it is ( what

an Ancient \* Writer affirms ) that he suffered Martyrdom at *Naddaber* a City in *Æthiopia*, but by what kind of Death, is altogether uncertain. Whether this *Naddaber* be the same with

\* Soer l. i. c. 19  
p. 50.  
¶ *Apud Strabonem*  
ad lib. 21.  
Septemb. Vol. 3.  
p. 217.

\* *Il. Eccl. lib.*  
2 c. 41 p. 203.

\* Inde triumphante fert *India* *Bartholomæum* :  
*Matthæum* eximium *Naddaber* alta virum.  
*Ven. Fortun. de Senat. Cur. Ciel. Poem. lib. 7. p. 817.*

with *Beschberi*, where the *Arabick* \* Writer of his Life affirms him to have suffered Martyrdom, let others enquire: he also adds, that he was buried *Arthaganeu Cæsarea*, but where that is, is to me unknown. || *Dorotheus* makes him honourably buried at *Hierapolis* in *Parthia*, one of the first places to which he Preached the Gospel.

5. HE was a great instance of the power of Religion, how much a Man may be brought off to a better temper. If we reflect upon his circumstances while yet a stranger to Christ, we shall find that the World had very great advantages upon him. He was become a Master of a plentiful Estate, engaged in a rich and a gainful Trade, supported by the power and favour of the *Romans*, prompted by covetous inclinations, and these confirmed by long habits and customs. And yet notwithstanding all this, no sooner did Christ call, but without the least scruple or dissatisfaction, he flung up all at once, and not only renounced ( as *S. Basil* \* observes ) his gainful incomes, but ran an immediate hazard of the displeasure of his Masters that employed him, for quitting their service, and leaving his accounts entangled and confused behind him. Had our Saviour been a mighty Prince, it had been no wonder, that he should run over to his service: but when he appeared under all the circumstances of meanness and disgrace, when he seemed to promise his followers nothing but misery and suffering in this life, and to propound no other rewards but the invisible encouragements of another World, his change in this case was the more strange and admirable. Indeed so admirable, that *Porphyry* and || *Julian* ( two subtil and acute adversaries of the Christian Religion ) hence took occasion to charge him either with falsehood, or with folly; either that he gave not a true account of the thing; or, that it was very weakly done of him, so hastily to follow any one that call'd him. But the Holy *Jesus* was no common Person, in all his commands there was somewhat more than ordinary. Indeed *S. Hierom* conceives that besides the Divinity that manifested it self in his Miracles, there was a Divine brightness and a kind of Majesty in our Saviour's looks, that at first sight was attractive enough to draw Persons after him. However his miraculous powers, that reflected a lustre from every quarter, and the efficacy of his Doctrine accompanied with the grace of God, made way for the summons that were sent our Apostle, and enabled him to conquer all oppositions that stood in the way to hinder him.

6. HIS contempt of the World further appeared in his exemplary temperance and abstemiousness from all the delights and pleasures, yea the ordinary conveniences and accommodations of it; so far from indulging his appetite with nice and delicate curiosities, that he refused to gratify it with lawful and ordinary provisions, eating no flesh, his usual Diet being nothing but Herbs, Roots, Seeds and \* Berries. But what appeared most remarkable in him, and which though the least vertue in it self, is the greatest in a wise Man's esteem and value, was his humility, mean and modest in his own conceit, in honour preferring others before himself. Whereas the other Evangelists in describing the Apostles by pairs, constantly place him before *Thomas*, he modestly places him before himself. The rest of the Evangelists openly mention the honour of his Apostleship, but speak of his former sordid, dishonest, and disgraceful course of life, only under the name of *Levi*, while he himself sets it down, with all its circumstances, under his own proper and common name. Which as at once it commends his own candor and ingenuity, so it administers to us this not unuseful consideration,

\* *Ubi sup.*  
p. 30.  
*Ibid. p. 31.*  
|| *Synops. de vit.*  
et mort. App. in  
*Bibl. Pp. Tom.*  
3 p. 148.

\* *Reg. fasius*  
*disput. Interrog.*  
VIII. pag. 545  
Tom. 2.

|| *Ap. Hierom. in*  
*Matth. 9. p. 26*  
Tom. 9.

\* *Clem. Alex.*  
*Pedag. lib. 2.*  
c. 1 p. 148.

*Ceteri Evangeliste in conjunctione nominum,*  
*primum ponunt Matthæum, & postea Thomam:*  
*iste vero & post Thomam se ponit, & publicanum*  
*appellat; ut ubi abundavit iniquitas, superabundet*  
*& gratia. Hieron. Comm. in Matth. c. 10. p. 29.*  
T. 9.

Ceteri Evan-  
gelistae nec Pub-  
licani nomen  
ascribunt: ne  
antiquae con-  
versationis re-  
cordantes, su-  
gillatim Evan-  
gelium videren-  
tur. Hieron.  
ibid.  
Bava. Melfia  
fol. 58. 2.

That the greatest sinners are not excluded the lines of Divine grace; nor can any, if penitent, have just reason to despair, when *Publicans* and *sinners* are taken in. And as *S. Matthew* himself does freely and impartially record his own vile and dishonourable course of life, so the two other Evangelists, though setting down the story, take notice of him only under another name; to teach us to treat a penitent Brother with all modesty and tenderness. If a man repent (say the Jews) לֹא יֵאמָר לוֹ זְכוֹר מַעֲשֵׂיךָ הָרָשׁוֹנִים Let no man say to him, remember thy former works; which they explain not only concerning Israelites, but even strangers and *Profelytes*. It being against the rules of civility, as well as the Laws of Religion, when a Man hath repented, to upbraid and reproach him with the errors and follies of his past life.

\* Hares. 51.  
p. 185.  
|| H. Eccl. lib. 2.  
c. 45. p. 213.  
\* Adv. Her. lib.  
3. c. 1. p. 229.

7. THE last thing that calls for any remarks in the life of this Apostle is his *Gospel*, written at the intreaty of the *Jewish* Converts, and as *Epiphanius* tells \* us, at the command of the Apostles, while he was yet in *Palestine*, about Eight Years after the death of *Christ*: though || *Nicephorus* will have it to be written Fifteen Years after our Lord's Ascension, and \* *Irenæus* yet much wider, who seems to imply that it was written while *Peter* and *Paul* Preached at *Rome*, which was not till near Thirty Years after. But most plain it is, that it must be written before the dispersion of the Apostles, seeing *S. Bartholomew* (as we have noted in his Life) took it along with him into *India*, and left it there. He wrote it in *Hebrew*, as primarily designing it for the use of his Country-men, and strange it is, that any should question

Papian ap. Euseb. l. 3. c. 39. p. 113. Irenæus l. 3. c. 1. p. 229. Origin. Exposit. in Matth. l. 5. ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 25. p. 226. Athan. Synops. S. Script. p. 493. Cyril. Hierosolym. Catech. l. 4. p. 341. Epiphani. Hares. 29. p. 59. H. Eccl. 51. p. 185. Chrysost. Homil. 1. in Matth. p. 4. Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Matth. Pref. in 4. Evang. ad Dam. Tom. 3. p. 30. & alibi saepe. August. de Consens. Evang. lib. 1. c. 2. col. 372. Dorothe. Synops. de vit. App. p. 148. Anast. Sinait. Hexaem. lib. 8. Arabs quidam in vit. MS. Matthæi apud Kirsten. de vit. Quat. Evangel. n. 10. p. 29. Paraphr. Syrus ad calc. Evangel. S. Matth. Ita Arabs, & versio Persic. Prefat. ad id. Evangel.

\* Pref. Comment. in Matth. pag. 2.  
|| Synops. S. Script. p. 493.

its being originally written in that Language, when the thing is so universally and uncontrollably asserted by all Antiquity, not one that I know of, after the strictest enquiry I could make, dissenting in this matter, and who certainly had far greater opportunities of being satisfied in these things, than we can have at so great a distance. It was no doubt soon after translated into *Greek*, though by whom *S. Hierom* professes he could not tell; \* *Theophylact* says it was reported to have been done by *S. John*, but || *Athanasius* more expressly attributes the Translation to *S. James* the less.

The best is, it matters not much whether it was translated by an Apostle, or some Disciple, so long as the Apostles approved the Version, and that the Church has ever received the *Greek* Copy for Authentick, and reposed it in the Sacred Canon.

\* Epiph. Hares. 29. p. 59.

8. AFTER the *Greek* Translation was entertained, the *Hebrew* Copy was chiefly owned and used by the \* *Nazaræi*, a middle Sect of Men between *Jews* and *Christians*; with the *Christians* they believed in *Christ*, and embraced his Religion, with the *Jews* they adhered to the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Mosaic* Law, and hence this Gospel came to be stiled the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and the Gospel of the *Nazarænes*. By them it was by degrees interpolated, several Passages of the Evangelical History, which they had heard either from the Apostles, or those who had familiarly conversed with them, being inserted, which the ancient Fathers frequently refer to in their Writings; as by the || *Ebionites* it was mutilated, and many things cut off, for the same reason for which the followers of *Cerinthus*, though making use of the greatest part of it, rejected the rest, because it made so much against them. This *Hebrew* Copy (though whether exactly the same as it was written by *S. Matthew*, I will not say) was found among other

|| Epiph. Hares. 40. p. 64. id. Her. 27. p. 54.

other Books in the Treasury of the Jews at \* *Tiberias*, by *Joseph* a Jew, and after his Conversion a Man of great honour and esteem in the time of *Constantine*; another || *S. Hierom* assures us was kept in the Library at *Cæsarea* in his time, and another by the *Nazarænes* at *Beræa*, from whom he had the liberty to transcribe it, and which he afterwards translated both into *Greek* and *Latin*, with this particular observation, that in quoting the Texts of the Old Testament, the Evangelist immediately follows the *Hebrew*, without taking notice of the Translation of the *Septuagint*. A Copy also of this Gospel was Ann. CCCCLXXXV dug up and found in the Grave of *Barnabas* in *Cyprus*, transcribed with his own \* hand. But these Copies are long since perished, and for those that have been since published to the World, both by *Tile* and *Munster*, were there no other argument, they too openly betray themselves by their barbarous and improper stile, not to be the genuine issue of that less corrupt and better Age.

\* Epiph. lib. Hares. XXX. p. 61. vid. p. 60. De Script. Eccl. in Matth.

\* Theodor. Zeli. Collectan. lib. 2. non longe ab init. p. 184.

### The End of S. Matthew's Life.

# THE LIFE OF S. THOMAS.

S. Thomas.



By the command of an Indian King he was thrust through with lances. Baron. Martyrolog. Dec. 21

S. Thomas his Martyrdom.



John 11. 16. Thomas which is called Didymus said unto his fellow-disciples, Let us also goe, that we may die with him.

*The custom of the Jews to have both an Hebrew and a Roman name. S. Thomas his name the same in Syriack and Greek. His Country and Trade. His call to the Apostleship. His great affection to our Saviour. Christ's discourse with him concerning the way to Eternal life. His obstinate refusal to believe our Lord's Resurrection, and the unreasonableness of his Infidelity. Our Lord's convincing him by sensible demonstrations. S. Thomas his deputed Thaddæus to Abgarus of Edessa. His Travels into Parthia, Media, Persia, &c. Aethiopia, what, and where situate. His coming into India, and the success of his Preaching there. An account of his Acts in India from the relation of the Portugals at their first coming thither. His converting the King of Malipur. The manner of his Martyrdom by the Brachmans. The Miracles said to be done at his Tomb. His Bones dug up by the Portugals.*

*A Cross, and several Brass Tables with Inscriptions found there. An account of the Indian or S. Thomas-Christians, their Number, State, Rites, and way of life.*

1. **I**T was customary with the *Jews*, when travelling into foreign Countries, or familiarly conversing with the *Greeks* and *Romans*, to assume to themselves a *Greek* or a *Latin* name, of great affinity, and sometimes of the very same signification with that of their own Country. Thus our Lord was called *Christ*, answering to his *Hebrew* title *Masbiach*, or the *Anointed*; *Simon* styled *Peter* according to that of *Cephas*, which our Lord put upon him: *Tabitha* called *Dorcas*, both signifying a *Goat*: Thus our *S. Thomas* according to the *Syriack* importance of his name, had the title of *Didymus*, which signifies a *Twin*. *Thomas* which is called *Didymus*. Accordingly the *Syriack* Version renders it, *Thaduma*, which is called *ἑσπέρ* *Thomas*, that is, a *Twin*: The not understanding whereof imposed upon *Nonnus* the *Greek* Paraphrast, who makes him *ἄνδρα διώδυμον*, to have had two distinct names,

*Nonn. Παρορ.  
in Joan. c. 11.*

..... διώδυμος ἔνεπε Θωμάς,  
ὅν Διδύμον καλέουσι. ....

it being but the same name expressed in different Languages. The History of the Gospel takes no particular notice either of the Country or Kindred of this Apostle. That he was a *Jew* is certain, and in all probability a *Galilean*; He was born (if we may believe \* *Symeon Metaphrastes*) of very mean Parents, who brought him up to the trade of Fishing, but withall took care to give him a more useful education, instructing him in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereby he learnt wisely to govern his life and manners. He was together with the rest called to the Apostleship, and not long after gave an eminent instance of his hearty willingness to undergo the saddest fate that might attend them. For when the rest of the Apostles dissuaded our Saviour from going into *Judea* (whither he was now resolved for the raising his dear *Lazarus* lately dead) lest the *Jews* should stone him, as but a little before they had attempted it, *S. Thomas* desires them not to hinder *Christ's* journey thither, though it might cost their lives, *Let us also go that we may die with him*, probably concluding, that instead of raising *Lazarus* from the dead, they themselves should be sent with him to their own Graves. So that he made up in pious affections, what he seemed to want in the quickness and acumen of his understanding, not readily apprehending some of our Lord's discourses, nor over-forward to believe more than himself had seen. When the holy *Jesus* a little before his fatal sufferings had been speaking to them of the joys of Heaven, and had told them that he was going to prepare, that they might follow him, that they knew both the place whither he was going, and the way thither: Our Apostle replied, that they knew not *whither* he went, and much less the *way* that led to it. To which our Lord returns this short but satisfactory answer, That he was the *true living way*, the person whom the Father had sent into the World to shew men the paths of Eternal life, and that they could not miss of Heaven, if they did but keep to that way, which he had prescribed and chalked out before them.

\* *Apud Sur.  
ad diem 21.  
Decemb. m. 2.*

*John 11. 16.*

*John 14. 5.*

## 2. OUR

2. **O**UR Lord being dead, 'tis evident how much the Apostles were distracted between hopes and fears concerning his Resurrection, not yet fully satisfied about it: Which engaged him the sooner to hasten his appearance, that by the sensible manifestations of himself he might put the case beyond all possibilities of dispute. The very day whereon he arose he came into the house where they were, while for fear of the *Jews* the doors were yet fast shut about them, and gave them sufficient assurance that he was really risen from the dead. At this meeting *S. Thomas* was absent, having probably never recovered their company, since their last dispersion in the Garden, when every ones fears prompted him to consult his own safety. At his return they told him that their Lord had appeared to them; but he obstinately refused to give credit to what they said, or to believe that it was he, presuming it rather a *phantasm* or mere apparition, unless he might see the very prints of the Nails, and feel the Wounds in his hands and sides. A strange piece of infidelity! Was this any more than what *Moses* and the *Prophets* had long since foretold? had not our Lord frequently told them in plain terms that he must rise again the third day? could he question the possibility of it, who had so often seen him do the greatest miracles? was it reasonable to reject the testimony of so many eye-witnesses, ten to one against himself, and of whose fidelity he was assured? or could he think that either themselves should be deceived, or that they would jest and trifle with him in so solemn and serious a matter? A stubbornness that might have betrayed him into an eternal infidelity. But our compassionate Saviour would not take the advantage of the mans refractory unbelief, but on that day sevensnight again came to them, as they were solemnly met at their devotions, and calling to *Thomas*, bad him look upon his hands, put his fingers into the prints of the Nails, and thrust his hand into the hole of his side, and satisfy his faith by a demonstration from sense. The man was quickly convinced of his error and obstinacy, confessing that he now acknowledged him to be his very Lord and Master, a God omnipotent, that was thus able to rescue himself from the powers of death. Our Lord replied no more, than that it was well he believed his own senses, but that it was a more noble and commendable act of Faith to acquiesce in a rational evidence, and to entertain the doctrines and relations of the Gospel upon such testimonies and assurances of the truth of things, as will satisfy a wise and sober man, though he did not see them with his own eyes.

3. **T**HE Blessed *Jesus* being gone to Heaven, and having eminently given gifts and miraculous powers to the Apostles, *S. Thomas* moved thereto by some Divine intimation, is \* said to have dispatched *Thaddaeus*, one of the Seventy Disciples to *Abgarus* Toparch of *Edessa*, (between whom and our Saviour the letters commonly said to have passed are still extant in *Eusebius*) whom he first cured of an inveterate distemper, and after converted him and his subjects to the Faith. The Apostolical Province assigned to *S. Thomas* (as \* *Origen* tells us) was *Parthia*, after which || *Sophronius* and others inform us, that he preached the Gospel to the *Medes*, *Persians*, *Carmans*, *Hyrcani*, *Bactrians*, and the neighbour Nations. In *Persia*, one of the \* *Ancients* (upon what ground I know not) acquaints us, that he met with the *Magi* or *Wise men*, who came that long journey from the *East* to bring presents to our newborn Saviour, whom he baptized, and took along with him as his companions and assistants in the propagation of the Gospel. Hence he preached in and passed through || *Ethiopia*, that is, (that we may a little clear this

*John 20. 19.*

\* *Lib. 3. in Gen. ap. Euseb. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 71. Socr. lib. 1. c. 19. Clem. Recognit. lib. 9. p. 101. f. c. 2.*  
|| *Ap. Hier. de Script. in Thoma. Theol. de Leg. Scrm. 9.*

\* *Auth. Oper. Imperf. in Alutib. ap. Chrysost. Hom. 2. p. 776.*

|| *Chrysost. Scrm. in XII. App. T. 6. p. 169.*

by

by the way) the *Asian Ethiopia*, conterminous to, if not the same with *Chaldea*, whence || *Tacitus* does not only make the *Jews* descendents from the *Ethiopians*, as whole Ancestors came from *Ur of the Chaldeans*; but \* *Hesychius* makes the inhabitants of *Zagrus*, a mountain beyond *Tygrus*, ἠθιοπῶν, a people of the *Ethiopians*; this is the כוש רארץ mentioned by *Benjamin the Jew* in his || *Itinerary*, the land of *Cush* or *Ethiopia*, the inhabitants whereof are stiled by \* *Herodotus*, οἱ ἀπ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν Αἰθιοπες, the *oriental Ethiopians*, by way of distinction from those ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου, who lived South of *Egypt*, and were under the same military Prefecture with the *Arabians*, under the command of *Arfames*, as the other were joyned with the *Indians*, and in the same place are called οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Αἰθιοπες, the *Asian Ethiopians*. Having travelled through these Countries, he at last came to *India*. We are told by || *Nicephorus*, that he was at first unwilling to venture himself into those Countries, fearing he should find their manners as rude and intractable as their faces were black and deformed, till encouraged by a Vision, that assured him of the Divine Prefence to assist him. He travelled a great way into those *Eastern Nations*, as far as the Island *Taprobane*, since called *Sumatra*, and the Country of the *Brachmans*, preaching every where with all the arts of gentleness and mild \* persuasives, not flying out into tart invectives, and furious heats against their idolatrous practices, but calmly instructing them in the principles of Christianity, by degrees perswading them to renounce their follies, knowing that confirmed habits must be cured by patience and long forbearing, by slow and gentle methods; and by these means he wrought upon the people, and brought them over from the grossest errors and superstition to the hearty belief and entertainment of Religion.

4. IN want of better evidence from Antiquity, it may not be amiss to enquire, what account the *Portugals* in their first discoveries of these Countries, received of these matters, partly from ancient Monuments and Writings, partly from constant and uncontrolled Traditions, which the *Christians* whom they found in those parts, preserved amongst them. They tell \* us, that *S. Thomas* came first to *Socotora*, an Island in the *Arabian Sea*, thence to *Cranganor*, where having converted many, he travelled futher into the *East*, and having successfully preached the Gospel, returned back into the Kingdom of *Cormandel*, where at *Malipur*, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom, not far from the influx of *Ganges* into the Gulph of *Bengala*, he began to erect a place for Divine worship, till prohibited by the Priests, and *Sagamo*, Prince of that Country. But upon the conviction of several miracles the work went on, and the *sagamo* himself embraced the Christian Faith, whose example was soon followed by great numbers of his friends and subjects. The *Brachmans*, who plainly perceived that this would certainly spoil their Trade, and in time extirpate the Religion of their Country, thought it high time to put a stop to this growing *Novelism*, and resolved in Council, that some way or other the Apostle must be put to death. There was a Tomb not far from the City, whither the Apostle was wont to retire to his solitudes and private devotions; hither the *Brachmans* and their armed followers pursue the Apostle, and while he was intent at prayer, they first load him with darts and stones, till one of them coming nearer, ran him through with a *Lance*. His Body was taken up by his Disciples, and buried in the Church which he had lately built, and which was afterwards improved into a fabrick of great stateliness and magnificence. *Gregory of Tours* relates many miracles done upon the annual solemnities of his Martyrdom, and one standing miracle, an account whereof, he tells us, he received

\* Hist. lib. 5.  
c. 2. p. 534.

\* Hesych. in  
voc. Σαγσατ.

|| Itin. D. Benj.  
Tud. p. 98.

\* Lib. 7. c. 69,  
70. p. 408.

|| H. Eccl. 1. 2.  
c. 40. p. 201.

\* S. Metaphr.  
ad 21. Decem.  
n. 8. 9.

\* Mass. Histor.  
Indic. lib. 2.  
p. 85.

\* De glor.  
Martyr. lib. 1.  
c. 13. p. 41.

received from one *Theodorus*, who had himself been in that place, viz. that in the Temple where the Apostle was buried there hung a *Lamp* before his Tomb, which burnt perpetually, without Oil or any Fuel to feed and nourish it, the light whereof was never diminished, nor by wind or any other accident could be extinguished. But whether Travellers might not herein be imposed upon by the crafty artifices of the Priests, or those who did attend the Church; or if true, whether it might not be performed by art, I leave to others to enquire. Some will have his Body to have been afterwards translated to *Edessa*, a City in *Mesopotamia*, but the Christians in the *East* constantly affirm it to have remained in the place of his Martyrdom, where (if we may believe || relations) it was after dug up with great cost and care at the command of *Don Emmanuel Frea*, Governor of the Coast of *Cormandel*, and together with it was found the Bones of the *Sagamo*, whom he had converted to the Faith.

5. WHILE *Don Alfonso Sousa*, one of the first Vice Roys in *India* under *John the Third*, King of *Portugal*, resided in these Parts, certain Brass Tables were brought to him, whose ancient Inscriptions could scarce be read, till at last by the help of a Jew, an excellent Antiquary, they were found to contain nothing but a donation made to *S. Thomas*, whereby the King, who then reign'd, granted to him a piece of ground for the building of a Church. They tell us also of a famous Cross found in *S. Thomas* his Chappel at *Malipur*, wherein was an unintelligible Inscription, which by a Learned *Bramin* (whom they compelled to read and expound it) gave an account to this effect, That *Thomas* a Divine person was sent into those Countries by the Son of God in the time of King *Sagamo*, to instruct them in the knowledge of the true God, that he built a Church, and performed admirable Miracles, but at last while upon his Knees at Prayer was by a *Brachman* thrust through with a Spear; and that that Cross stained with his blood had been left as a memorial of these matters. An interpretation that was afterwards confirmed by another grave and learned *Bramin*, who expounded the Inscription to the very same effect. The judicious Reader will measure his belief of these things by the credit of the Reporters, and the rational probability of the things themselves, which for my part as I cannot certainly affirm to be true, so I will not utterly conclude them to be false.

6. FROM these first plantations of Christianity in the *Eastern India's* by our Apostle, there is said to have been a continued series and succession of Christians (hence called *S. Thomas-Christians*) in those Parts unto this day. The *Portugals* at their first arrival here found them in great numbers in several places, no less, as some tell us, than fifteen or sixteen thousand Families. They are very poor, and their Churches generally mean and sordid, wherein they had no Images of Saints, nor any representations but that of the Cross; they are governed in Spirituals by an *High-Priest* (whom some make an *Armenian Patriarch*, of the Sect of *Nestorius*, but in truth is no other than the Patriarch of *Musal*, the remainder, as is probable, of the ancient *Selencia*, and by some, though erroneously, stiled *Babylon*) residing North-ward in the Mountains, who, together with twelve *Cardinals*, two *Patriarchs*, and several *Bishops*, disposes of all affairs referring to Religion; and to him all the Christians of the *East* yield subjection. They promiscuously admit all to the Holy Communion, which they receive under both kinds of Bread and Wine, though instead of Wine, which their Country affords not, making use of the juice of Raisons, steep'd one Night in Water, and then pressed forth. Children, unless in case of sickness, are not

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baptized

|| For. ibid. p. 119. & seq. Mass. lib. 2. p. 88. For. sep. Ind. Navig. inter Relat. Nov. Orb. c. 133. 134 p. 204. vid. M. Paul. Ven. lib. 3. c. 17. ibid. p. 394.

baptized till the Fortieth day. At the death of Friends, their kindred and relations keep an Eight-days feast in memory of the departed. Every Lord's day they have their publick Assemblies for Prayer and Preaching, their devotions being managed with great reverence and solemnity. Their Bible, at least the New Testament, is in the *syriack* Language, to the study whereof the Preachers earnestly exhort the People. They observe the times of *Advent* and *Lent*, the *Festivals* of our Lord, and many of the *Saints*, those especially that relate to *S. Thomas*, the *Dominica in Albis*, or Sunday after *Easter*, in memory of the famous confession which *S. Thomas* on that day made of *Christ*, after he had been sensibly cured of his unbelief; another on the first of *July*, celebrated not only by Christians, but by *Moors* and *Pagans*, the People who come to his Sepulchre on Pilgrimage carrying away a little of the red Earth of the place where he was interred, which they keep as an inestimable treasure, and conceit it sovereign against Diseases. They have a kind of *Monasteries* of the *Religious*, who live in great abstinence and chastity. Their Priests are shaven in fashion of a Cross, have leave to marry once, but denied a second time: No marriages to be dissolved but by Death. These rites and customs they solemnly pretend to have derived from the very time of *S. Thomas*, and with the greatest care and diligence do observe them at this Day.

### The End of S. Thomas's Life.

## THE LIFE OF S. JAMES the Less.

S. JAMES, Minor.



This Apostle being a Kinsman of our Lord, and having Sate first Bishop of Iherusalem, was cast down from the top of the Temple and killed with a fullers club. Acts 1. 18.

The Martyrdom of St. James &amp; Iose.



Matth. 23. 37. O Iherusalem, Iherusalem, thou that killest the prophets, & stonest them which are sent unto thee.

S. James the Less proved to be the same with him that was Bishop of Jerusalem. His Kindred and Relations. The Son of Joseph by a former Wife. The Brethren of our Lord, who. His Country what. Our Lord's appearance to him after his Resurrection. Invested in the See of Jerusalem by whom and why. His authority in the Synod at Jerusalem. His great diligence and fidelity in his Ministry. The conspiracy of his Enemies to take away his Life. His Discourse with the Scribes and Pharisees about the Messiah. His Martyrdom, and the manner of it. His Burial where. His Death resented by the Jews. His strictness in Religion. His Priesthood whence. His singular delight in Prayer, and efficacy in it. His great love and charity to Men. His admirable Humility. His Temperance according to the rules of the Nazarene-Order. The Love and respect of the People towards him. His Death an inlet to the destruction of the Jewish Nation. His Epistle when written. What the design and purpose of it. The Proto-evangelium ascribed to him.

T 2

1. BEFORE

1. **B**EFORE we can enter upon the Life of this Apostle, some difficulty must be cleared, relating to his Person. Doubted it has been by some, whether this was the same with that S. James that was Bishop of Jerusalem, three of this Name being presented to us, S. James the Great, this S. James the Less (both Apostles) and a third surnamed the Just, distinct (say they) from the former and Bishop of Jerusalem. But this (however pretending to some little countenance from antiquity) is a very great mistake, and built upon a sandy bottom. For besides that the Scripture mentions no more than two of this Name, and both Apostles, nothing can be plainer, than that that S. James the Apostle, whom S. Paul calls our Lord's Brother, and reckons with Peter and John one of the Pillars of the Church, was the same that presided among the Apostles (no doubt by virtue of his

place, it being his Episcopal Chair) and determined in the Synod at Jerusalem. Nor do either Clemens \* Alexandrinus or Eusebius out of him mention any more than two, S. James put to death by Herod, and S. James the Just, Bishop of Jerusalem, whom they expressly affirm to be the same with him whom S. Paul calls the Brother of our Lord. Once indeed || Eusebius makes our S. James one of the Seventy, though \* elsewhere quoting a place of Clemens of Alexandria, he numbers him with the

Chief of the Apostles, and expressly distinguishes him from the Seventy Disciples. Nay S. \* Hierom, though when representing the Opinion of others he styles him the Thirteenth Apostle, yet || elsewhere when speaking his own sense, sufficiently proves that there were but two, James the Son of Zebedee, and the other the Son of Alphaeus, the one surnamed the Greater, the other the Less. Besides that the main support of the other Opinion is built upon the authority of Clemens his Recognitions, a Book in doubtful cases of no esteem and value.

2. THIS doubt being removed, we proceed to the History of his Life. He was the Son (as we may probably conjecture) of Joseph (afterwards Husband to the Blessed Virgin) and his first Wife, whom S. \* Hierom from Tradition styles Escha, Hippolytus Bishop of Porto calls Salome; and further adds, || that she was the Daughter of Aggi, Brother to Zacharias, Father to John the Baptist. Hence reputed our Lord's Brother, in the same sense that he was reputed the Son of Joseph. Indeed we find several spoken of in the History of the Gospel, who were Christ's Brethren; but in what sense, was controverted of old. S. Hierom, Chrysostom, and some others will have them so called, because the Sons of Mary, Cousin-german, or according to the custome of the Hebrew Language, Sister to the Virgin Mary. But \* Eusebius, || Epiphanius, and the far greater part of the Ancients (from whom especially in matters of fact, we are not rashly to depart) make them the Children of Joseph, by a former Wife. And this seems most genuine and natural, the Evangelists seeming very express and accurate in the account which they give of them: Is not this the Carpenter's Son? Is not his Mother called Mary? and his Brethren James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Jude? and his Sisters (whose Names, says the foresaid Hippolytus, were Esther and Thamar) are they not all with us, whence then hath this man these things? By which it is plain, that the Jews understood these Persons not to be Christ's Kinsmen only, but his Brothers; the same Carpenter's Sons, having the same relation to him that

Christ

Christ himself had: though indeed they had more, Christ being but his reputed, they his natural Sons. Upon this account the Blessed Virgin is sometimes called the Mother of James and Joseph; for so amongst the Women that attended at our Lord's Crucifixion, we find three eminently taken notice of, Mary Magdalen, Mary the Mother of James and Joseph, and the Mother of Zebedee's Children. Where by Mary the Mother of James and Joseph, no other can be meant than the Virgin Mary: it not being reasonable to suppose that the Evangelists should omit the Blessed Virgin, who was certainly there; and therefore S. John

reckoning up the same Persons, expressly styles her the Mother of Jesus. And though it is true she was but S. James his Mother-in-law, yet the Evangelists might chuse so to stile her, because commonly so called after Joseph's death; and probably (as Gregory of Nyssa thinks) known by that Name all along, chusing that Title, that the Son of God, whom as a Virgin she had brought forth, might be better concealed, and less exposed to the malice of the envious Jews: nor is it any more wonder, that she should be esteemed and called the Mother of James, than that Joseph should be stiled and accounted the Father of Jesus. To which add, that || Josephus eminently skilful in matters of Genealogy and descent, expressly says that our S. James was the Brother of Jesus Christ. One thing there is that may seem to lye against it, that he is called the Son of Alphaeus. But this may probably mean no more, than either that Joseph was so called by another Name (it being frequent, yea almost constant among the Jews for the same Person to have two Names, Quis unquam prohibuerit duobus vel tribus nominibus, hominem unum vocari? as \* S. Augustin speaks in a parallel case) or (as a learned || Man conjectures) it may relate to his being a Disciple of some particular Sect or Synagogue among the Jews, called Alphaeus, from אלפא denoting a Family or Society of devout and learned Men of some-what more eminency than the rest, there being, as he tells us, many such at this time among the Jews; and in this probably S. James had entered himself, the great reputation of his Piety and strictness, his Wisdom, Parts, and Learning rendering the conjecture above the censure of being trifling and contemptible.

3. OF the place of his Birth the Sacred story makes no mention. The Jewes in their \* Talmud (for doubtless they intend the same Person) stile him more than once איש כפר סכניא a man of the Town of Sechania; though where that was, I am not able to conjecture. What was his particular way and course of life before his being called to the Discipleship and Apostolate, we find no intimations of in the History of the Gospel, nor any distinct account concerning him during our Saviour's life. After the Resurrection he was honoured with a particular Appearance of our Lord to him, which though silently passed over by the Evangelists, is recorded by S. Paul; next to the manifesting himself to the Five Hundred Brethren at once, he was seen of James, which is by all understood of our Apostle. S. || Hierom out of the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarens (wherein many passages are set down, omitted by the Evangelical Historians) gives us a fuller relation of it, viz. that S. James had solemnly sworn that from the time that he had drank of the Cup at the Institution of the Supper, he would eat Bread no more, till he saw the Lord risen from the dead. Our Lord therefore being returned from the Grave, came and appeared to him, commanded Bread to be set before him, which he took, blessed, and brake, and gave to S. James, saying, Eat thy Bread, my Brother, for the Son of Man is truly risen from among them that sleep.

T 3

After

Math. 27. 56. Mark 14. 40.

Μαριὰμ ἡ Ἰακώβου, καὶ Ἰακώβου μισέρεα ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοῖς εὐαγγελισταῖς, ἀνομιμασμένῳ, τὴν θεοτόκον ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἄλλῳ πιστευόμενῳ. Gregor. Nyssæ. loc. supr. laud.

Joh. 19. 25.

Ubi sup.

Antiquit. Jud. l. 20. c. 8. p. 698. Math. 10. 3.

\* De Consens. Evangel. lib. 2. c. 28. col. 431. || Bolduc. de Eccl. post leg. c. 7. p. 47.

\* Midr. Kohet. & Abod. Zirab cap. 3. & Gioffa En Mischp. vud. Chr Nold. Eist. Idum. p. 394.

1 Cor. 15. 7. || De Script. Eccles. in Jac. cob. min.

\* Δύο ἢ τρεῖς Ἰακώβοι. ὅς ἐστι δὲ διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ ὀνόματος, καὶ ὡς καὶ κληθεὶς ἐξ ἑκλῶ παλαιοῦς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ χαρακτήρ. Ἀυτῶν δὲ τῶν δικαίων καὶ ὁ Παῦλος μνημονεύει γράφων ἔπειτα δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκ ὧν, οἱ καὶ Ἰακώβος ὁ ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου. Clem. Al. Hypotyp. lib. 7. ap. Euseb. lib. 2. c. 1. p. 38.

|| H. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 31. \* Lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 38.

\* Comment. in Isai. cap. 17. p. 60. T. 5. || Adu. Helvid. T. 2. p. 10.

\* Comment. in Math. 12. p. 38. T. 9. || Ap. Niceph. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 135

\* H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 1. p. 38. || Contr. Cerynth. Hæres. XXVIII. p. 55. Contr. Naz. Hæres. XXIX. p. 56. & contr. Antidicomar. Hæres. lxxxviii. p. 438, 439. Greg. Nyssæ. de Resurrect. Christi. Orat. II. p. 844. Tom. 2. Math. 13. 55. 56.

After *Christ's* Ascension (though I will not venture to determine the precise time) he was chosen Bishop of *Jerusalem*, preferred before all the rest, for his near relation unto *Christ*, for this we find to have been the reason why they chose \* *Symeon* to be his immediate Successor in that See, because he was after him our Lord's next Kinsman. A consideration that made *Peter* and the two Sons of *Zebedee*, though they had been peculiarly honoured by our Saviour, not to contend for this high and honourable Place, but freely chuse *James* the *Just* to be Bishop of it. This dignity is by some of the \* *Ancients* said to have been conferred on him by *Christ* himself, constituting him Bishop at the time of his appearing to him. But it's safest with others to understand it of its being done by the Apostles, or possibly by some particular intimation concerning it, which our Lord might leave behind him.

4. TO him we find *S. Paul* making his Address after his Conversion, by whom he was honoured with the right hand of fellowship: to him *Peter* sent the news of his miraculous deliverance out of Prison, Go shew these things unto *James*, and to the Brethren, that is, to the whole Church, and especially *S. James* the Bishop and Pastor of it. But he was principally active in the synod at *Jerusalem* in the great controversy about the *Mosaic Rites*: for the case being opened by *Peter*, and further debated by *Paul* and *Barnabas*, at last stood up *S. James* to pass the final and decretory sentence, that the *Gentile*-Converts were not to be troubled with the bondage of the *Jewish* Yoke, only that for a present accommodation some few indifferent Rites should be observed; ushering in the expedient with this positive conclusion, *διὰ τὸν κριῶν*, I thus judge or decide the matter, *this is my sentence* and determination. A circumstance the more considerable, because spoken at the same time when *Peter* was in Council, who produced no such intimation of his Authority. Had the Champions of the Church of *Rome* but such a passage for *Peter's* judiciary Authority and Power, it would no doubt have made a louder noise in the World, than, *Thou art Peter, or, Feed my sheep*.

Μετὰ Πέτρον Παῦλος ἐθέλει γράψαι, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπιστομίζον ἰακώβος ἀνέβη χεῖρας, καὶ ἔκρινεν ὁποῖον ἐκρίνετο ὅτι ἦν ἡ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐγκρατεία, Chrysost. Homil. 33. in Act. App. p. 676. Πέτρος διημυρρεῖ, ἀλλ' ἰακώβος νομοθετεῖ, καὶ δλίχαι λίξεις τὸ πᾶν ζήτημα τὸ συνέειλαν μέγα. Ἐγὼ κείνω, καὶ ἡ κρίσις ἀδεύειν ἔδεικε, ὅτε θαυμάζειν τὸ φέσιμα. Euseb. Presb. Hierosol. Serm. in Jac. apud Phot. Cod. CLXXV. col. 1525.

5. HE administered his Province with all possible care and industry, omitting no part of a diligent and faithful Guide of Souls; strengthening the weak, informing the ignorant, reducing the erroneous, reproving the obstinate, and by the constancy of his Preaching conquering the stubbornness of that perverse and refractory Generation that he had to deal with, many of the nobler and the better sort being brought over to a compliance with the Christian Faith. So careful, so successful in his charge, that he awakened the spite and malice of his Enemies to conspire his ruine: a sort of Men, of whom the Apostle has given too true a character, *that they please not God, and are contrary to all men*. Vexed they were to see that *S. Paul* by appealing to *Cæsar* had escaped their hands: Malice is as greedy and insatiable as Hell itself, and therefore now turn their revenge upon *S. James*, which not being able to effect under *Festus* his Government, they more effectually attempted under the Procuratorship of *Albinus* his Successor, *Ananus the Younger*, then High-Priest, and of the Sect of the *Sadducees*, (περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὡμοῖ παρὰ πάντας τὸς Ἰουδαίους, says \* *Josephus*, speaking of this very passage, of all others the most merciless and implacable Justicers) resolving to dispatch him before the new Governor could arrive. To this end a Council is hastily summoned, and the Apostle with some others arraigned and condemned as

\* *Josephus* Antiquit. Jud. lib. 20. c. 8. p. 698.

Violators of the Law. But that the thing might be carried in a more plausible and popular way, they set the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* (Crafts-masters in the arts of dissimulation) at work to ensnare him: who coming to him, began by flattering insinuations to set upon him. They tell him, that they all had a mighty confidence in him, and that the whole Nation as well as they gave him the testimony of a most just man, and one that was no respecter of Persons; that therefore they desired he would correct the error and false Opinion which the People had of *Jesus*, whom they looked upon as the *Messiah*, and would take this opportunity of the universal confluence to the *Paschal* solemnity, to set them right in their notions about these things, and would to that end go up with them to the top of the Temple; where he might be seen and heard by all. Being advantageously placed upon a Pinnacle or Wing of the Temple, they made this address to him. Tell us, O *Justus*, whom we have all the reason in the World to believe, that seeing the People are thus generally led away with the Doctrine of *Jesus* that was crucified, tell us, What is this Institution of the crucified *Jesus*? To which the Apostle answered with an audible Voice; Why do ye enquire of *Jesus* the Son of man? he sits in Heaven on the right hand of the Majesty on high, and will come again in the Clouds of Heaven. The People below hearing it, glorified the blessed *Jesus*, and openly proclaimed *Hosanna* to the Son of *David*. The *Scribes* and *Pharisees* perceived now that they had over-shot themselves, and that instead of reclaiming, they had confirmed the People in their Error; that there was no way left, but presently to dispatch him, that by his sad fate others might be warned not to believe him. Whereupon suddenly crying out, that *Justus* himself was seduced and become an Impostor, they threw him down from the Place where he stood. Though bruised, he was not killed by the fall, but recovered so much strength, as to get upon his Knees, and Pray to Heaven for them. Malice is of too bad a nature either to be pacified with kindness, or satisfied with cruelty: Jealousie is not more the rage of a Man, than Malice is the rage of the Devil, the very soul and spirit of the Apostate nature. Little portions of revenge do but inflame it, and serve to flesh it up into a fiercer violence. Vexed that they had not done his work, they fall afresh upon the poor remainders of his life; and while he was yet at Prayer, and that a *Rechabite* who stood by (which, says \* *Epiphanius*, was *Symeon*, his Kinsman and Successor) stept in and entreated them to spare him, a just and a righteous Man, and who was then praying for them, they began to load him with a shoure of stones, till one more mercifully cruel than the rest with a *Fullers* Club beat out his Brains. Thus died this good Man in the XCVI. Year of his Age, and about XXIV. Years after *Christ's* Ascension into Heaven, (as *Epiphanius* tells us;) being taken away to the great grief and regret of all good Men, yea of all sober and just Persons even amongst the *Jews* themselves; ὅσοι ὃ ἐδόκουν ἐπαικίζεσθαι τὸν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ περὶ τοῦ νόμου ἀκριβεῖς, βαρύνει ἡνεγκαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, as \* *Josephus* himself confesses, speaking of this matter. He was buried (says \* *Gregory* Bishop of *Tours*) upon *Mount Olivet*, in a Tomb which he had built for himself, and wherein he had buried *Zacharias*, and old *Simeon*: which I am rather inclinable to believe, than what \* *Hegeppus* reports, that he was buried near the Temple in the place of his Martyrdom, and that a Monument was there erected for him, which remained a long time after. For the *Jews* were not ordinarily wont to bury within the City, much less so near the Temple, and least of all would they suffer him, whom as a Blasphemer and Impostor they had so lately put to death.

\* *Hegeppus* Comment. lib. 5. apud Euseb. lib. 2. c. 23. p. 64.

\* *Heref*. 78. p. 441.

*Epiph. ibid.*

\* *Antiquit. Jud. lib. 20. c. 8. p. 698. De glor. Mart. lib. 1. c. 27. pag. 33. Ap. Euseb. lib. 2. c. 23. p. 65.*

\* Contr. Naz.  
zar. Haref.  
XXIX. p. 56.

|| Hegesip. apud  
Euseb. loc. lau-  
dat. p. 63. E-  
piph. ibid.

Jam. 5. 17.

Epiph. Haref.  
78. p. 441.

6. HE was a Man of exemplary and extraordinary Piety and Devotion; educated under the strictest Rules and Institutions of Religion, a Priest (as we may probably guess) of the ancient Order of the *Rechabites*, or rather, as \* *Epiphanius* conjectures, κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἱερωσύνην, according to the most ancient order and form of Priesthood, when the Sacerdotal Office was the Prerogative of the first-born: and such was S. James the Eldest Son of Joseph, and thereby sanctified and set apart for it. Though whether this way of Priesthood at any time held under the *Mosaic* dispensation, we have no intimations in the holy story. But however he came by it, upon some such account it must be, that he had a privilege (which the || Ancients say was peculiar to him, probably, because more frequently made use of by him than by any others) to enter εἰς τὰ ἁγία, not into the *sancta Sanctorum*, or most holy of all, but the *Sanctuary*, or holy place, whither the Priests of the *Aaronical* Order might come. Prayer was his constant business and delight, he seemed to live upon it, and to trade in nothing but the frequent returns of converse with Heaven: and was therefore wont to retire alone into the Temple to pray, which he always performed kneeling and with the greatest reverence, till by his daily Devotions his knees were become as hard and brawny as *Camels*. And he who has told us, that the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much, himself found it true by his own experience, Heaven lending a more immediate Ear to his Petitions, so that when in a time of great drought he prayed for Rain, the Heavens presently melted into fruitful showres. Nor was his Charity towards Men less than his Piety towards God, he did good to all, watched over Mens souls, and studied to advance their eternal interests; his daily errand into the Temple was to pray for the happiness of the People, and that God would not severely reckon with them: he could forgive his fiercest enemies, and overcome evil with good: when thrown from the top of the Temple, he made use of all the breath he had left in him, only to send up this Petition to Heaven for the pardon of his Murderers, *I beseech thee, O Lord God, Heavenly Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.*

\* Epiph. Haref.  
29. p. 56. ex  
Clem. Al. &  
Euseb. & Haref.  
78. p. 441.

7. HE was of a most meek humble temper, honouring what was excellent in others, concealing what was valuable in himself: the eminency of his relation, and the dignity of his place did not exalt him in lofty thoughts above the measures of his Brethren, industriously hiding whatever might set him up above the rest. Though he was our Lord's Brother, yet in the Inscription of his Epistle he styles himself but the *Servant of the Lord Jesus*, not so much as giving himself the Title of an Apostle. His temperance was admirable, he wholly abstained from Flesh, and drank neither Wine nor strong Drink, nor ever used the Bath. His holy and mortified mind was content with the meanest accommodations, he went bare-foot, and never wore other than Linnen garments. Indeed he lived after the strictest rules of the *Nazarite-Order*, and as the *Miter*, or Sacerdotal Plate (τὸ πέταλον the \* Ancients call it) which he wore upon his Head, evinced his Priesthood, which was rather after *Melchisedeck's*, or the Priesthood of the first-born, than the *Aaronical* Order, so his never shaving his Head, nor using Unguents, his Habit and Diet, and the great severity of his Life, shewed him to appertain to the *Nazarite-Institution*, to which he was holy (says *Hegesippus*) or consecrated from his Mother's Womb. A Man of that Divine temper, that he was the love and wonder of his Age, and for the reputation of his holy and religious Life was universally stiled, *James the Just*. Indeed

deed the safety and happiness of the Nation was reckoned to depend upon his Prayers and interest in Heaven, which gained him the honourable Title of *Oblis* or *Ozliam*, the defence and fortress of the People; as if when he was gone, their Garrisons would be dismantled, and their strength laid level with the ground. And so we find it was, when some few Years after his Death the *Roman Army* broke in upon them, and turned all into blood and ruine. As what wonder if the judgments of God like a Flood come rowling in upon a Nation, when the Sluces are plucked up, and the *Moses* taken away that before stood in the Gap to keep them out? *Elisba died, and a Band of the Moabites invaded the Land*. In short, he was the delight of all good Men, in so much favour and estimation with the People, that they used to flock after \* him, and strive who should touch, though it were but the hem of his Garment; his very Episcopal Chair, wherein he used to sit, being (as || *Eusebius* informs us) carefully preserved, and having a kind of veneration paid to it, even unto his time: loved and honoured not by his friends only, but by his enemies, the \* *Jews* in their *Talmud* mentioning James as a worker of Miracles in the Name of Jesus his Master; yea the || wisest of them looked upon his Martyrdom as the inlet to all those miseries and calamities that soon after flowed in upon them. Sure I am that \* *Josephus* particularly reckons the Death of this S. James, as that which more immediately alarm'd the Divine vengeance, and hastned the universal ruine and destruction of that Nation.

8. HE wrote only one Epistle, probably not long before his Martyrdom, as appears by some passages in it relating to the near approaching ruine of the *Jewish Nation*. He directed it to the *Jewish Converts*, dispersed up and down those *Eastern Countries*, to comfort them under sufferings, and confirm them against Error. He saw a great degeneracy and declension of manners coming on, and that the purity of the *Christian Faith* began to be undermined by the loose doctrines and practices of the *Gnosticks*, who under a pretence of zeal for the legal rites generally mixed themselves with the *Jews*: he beheld *Libertinism* marching on apace, and the way to Heaven made soft and easie, Men declaiming against good works as useless and unnecessary, and asserting a naked belief of the *Christian doctrine* to be sufficient to salvation. Against these the Apostle opposes himself, presses Purity, Patience, and Charity, and all the Vertues of a good Life, and by undeniable Arguments evinces that that faith only that carries along with it obedience and an holy life can justify us before God, and intitle us to eternal Life. Besides this Epistle, there is a kind of preparatory Gospel ascribed to him, published under the Name of ΠΡΩΤΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ, (still extant at this Day) containing the descent, birth and first Originals of *Christ*, and the *Virgin Mary*; at the end whereof the Author pretends to have written it at a time, when *Herod* having raised a great tumult in *Jerusalem*, he was forced to retire into the Wilderness. But though in many things consistent enough with the History of the Gospels, yet has it ever been rejected as spurious and *Apocryphal*, forged in that licentious Age, when Men took the boldness to stamp any Writing with the Name of an Apostle.

Διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τὴν ἀκριβοῦς αὐτοῦ ἐκάλει-  
το Δίκαιος καὶ Ὀβελίας, ὁ ὢν ἐλπίστὴς, περιστά-  
σει λαῶν, καὶ ἀμειψόμενος. Hunc Hegesippi locum  
feliciter sine emendat. & restituit N. Fullerus  
postul. Διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τὴν ἀκριβοῦς ἐκα-  
λεῖτο Σαδδίκ, καὶ Ὀβελίαν, ὁ ὢν ἐλπίστὴς,  
Δίκαιος καὶ περιστάσει λαῶν. Miscell. S. cr.  
lib. 3. c. 1.

\* Hieron Com.  
in c. 1. ad Gal.  
p. 165. T. 9.  
|| Euseb. lib. 7.  
c. 19. p. 265.

\* 17. l. supr.  
num. 3.  
|| Euseb. l. 2.  
c. 23. p. 65.  
\* Verba ejus  
cit. Euseb. loc.  
laudat.

# THE LIFE OF S. SIMON the Zealot.

*S. Simon's Martyrdom.*

S. SIMON



S. Simon Zealotes preached in Egypt Africa and Britaine and at length was crucified. Niceph. l. 2. c. 40. Baron. Oct. 28.



Matth. 10. 16. Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves. 1. Cor. 4. 9. God hath set forth us & Apostles last, as it were men appointed to death, for we are made a spectacle to the world, and to Angels, and to men.

*His Kindred. Whence stiled the Cananite, and the Zealot. An enquiry into the nature and temper, and original of the Sect of the Zealots among the Jews. An account of their wild and licentious practices. This no reflection upon our Apostle. In what parts of the World he Preached the Gospel. His planting Christianity in Africk. His removal into the West, and Preaching in Britain. His Martyrdom there. By whom said to have preached and suffered in Persia. The difference between him and Symeon Bishop of Jerusalem.*

I. SAINT

Matth. 10. 4.  
Mark 3. 18.

\* Niceph. H.  
Ecccl. lib. 8. c. 30  
p. 596.

Luke 6. 15.  
Acts 1. 13.

\* Ζηλωτής διὰ  
τὸ πάθος τὸ δι-  
δύσκουλον δι-  
απύρεον ζήλον,  
καὶ τὸ δὲ πᾶσις  
τὸ εὐαγγελί-  
αυτὸς πιστεύσας ἀκρίβειαν ἀνέμαρτο. H. Ecccl. lib. 2. c. 40. p. 202.

Ζηλωταὶ, πα-  
ρὰ Ἰουδαίους οἱ  
τῷ νόμῳ φύ-  
λακες. Suid. in  
voc. Ζηλωταί.

\* De Idolol.  
cap. 1. Sect. 12.  
pag. 19.

Psal. 106. 30.  
Numb. 25. 11-  
13.

\* De Bell. Jud.  
lib. 4. c. 12. ca.  
p. 871. &  
seqq.

1. SAINT Simon the Apostle was, as some think, one of the four Brothers of our Saviour, Sons of Joseph by his former marriage, though no other evidence appear for it, but that there was a Simon one of the number; too infirm a foundation to build any thing more upon than a mere conjecture. In the Catalogue of the Apostles he is stiled Simon the Cananite; whence some, led by no other reason that I know of, than the bare sound of the name, have concluded him born at Cana in Galilee; as for the same reason \* others have made him the Bridegroom, at whose marriage our Lord was there present, when he honoured the solemnity with his first Miracle, turning Water into Wine. But this word has no relation to his Country, or the place from whence he borrowed his Original, as plainly descending from קנא or קנאה which signifie Zeal, and denote a hot and sprightly temper. Therefore what some of the Evangelists call Cananite, others rendring the Hebrew by the Greek word stile, Simon Zelotes, or the Zealot: So called, not (as \* Nicophorus thinks) from his burning zeal, and ardent affection to his Master, and his eager desire to advance his Religion in the World, but from his warm active temper, and zealous forwardness in some particular way and profession of Religion before his coming to our Saviour.

2. FOR the better understanding of this we are to know, that as there were several Sects and Parties among the Jews, so was there one, either a distinct Sect, or at least a branch of the Pharisees, called the Sect of the Zealots: They were mighty assertors of the honour of the Law, and the strictness and purity of Religion, assuming a liberty to themselves to question notorious offenders, without staying for the ordinary formalities of Law, nay, when they thought good, and as the case required, executing capital vengeance upon them. Thus when a blasphemer cursed God by the name of any Idol (says \* Maimonides) the קנאים or Zealots that next met him might immediately kill him, without ever bringing him לבית דין before the Sanhedrim. They looked upon themselves as the successors of Phineas, who in a mighty passion for the honour of God, did immediate execution upon Zimri and Cosbi. An act which was counted unto him for righteousness unto all posterities for evermore, and God so well pleased with it, that he made with him and his seed after him the covenant of an everlasting Priesthood, because he was zealous for his God, and made an atonement for Israel. In imitation whereof these Men took upon them to execute judgment in extraordinary cases, and that not only by the connivance, but with the leave both of the Rulers and the People, till in after-times under a pretence of this, their zeal degenerated into all manner of licentiousness and wild extravagance, and they not only became the Pests of the Commonwealth at home, but opened the door for the Romans to break in upon them, to their final and irrecoverable ruine; they were continually prompting the People to throw off the Roman yoke, and vindicate themselves into their native liberty, and when they had turned all things into hurry and confusion, themselves in the mean while fished in these troubled Waters. Josephus gives a large account of them, and every where bewails them as the great plague of the Nation. He tells us of \* them, that they scrupled not to rob any, to kill many of the prime Nobility, under pretence of holding correspondence with the Romans, and betraying the liberty of their Countrey, openly glorying

glorying that herein they were the benefactors and Saviours of the people. They abrogated the succession of ancient Families, thrusting obscure and ignoble persons into the High-Priests office, that so they might oblige the most infamous villains to their party; and as if not content to injure men, they affronted Heaven, and proclaimed defiance to the Divinity it self, breaking into and prophaning the most holy place. Stiling themselves Zealots (says he) as if their undertakings were good and honourable, while they were greedy and emulous of the greatest wickednesses, and out-did the worst of men. Many attempts were made, especially by Annas the High-Priest, to reduce them to order and sobriety. But neither force of arms, nor fair and gentle methods could do any good upon them; they held out, and went on in their violent proceedings, and joyning with the Idumeans, committed all manner of out-rage, slaying the High-Priests themselves. Nay, when Jerusalem was straitly besieged by the Roman Army, they ceased not to create tumults and factions within, and were indeed the main cause of the Jew's ill success in that fatal war. 'Tis probable, that all that went under the notion of this Sect were not of this wretched and ungovernable temper, but that some of them were of a better make, of a more sober and peaceable disposition: And as it is not to be doubted, but that our Simon was of this Sect in general, so there's reason to believe he was of the better sort. However this makes no more reflexion upon his being called to the Apostleship, than it did for S. Matthew, who was before a Publican, or S. Paul's being a Pharisee, and so zealously persecuting the Church of God.

3. BEING invested in the Apostolical office, no further mention appears of him in the History of the Gospel. Continuing with the Apostles till their dispersion up and down the World, he then applied himself to the execution of his charge. He is \* said to have directed his journey towards Egypt, thence to Cyrene, and Africk (this indeed || Baronius is not willing to believe, being desirous that S. Peter should have the honour to be the first that planted Christianity in Africk) and throughout Mauritania and all Libya, preaching the Gospel to those remote and barbarous Countries. Nor could the coldness of the Climate benumb his zeal, or hinder him from shipping himself and the Christian doctrine over to the Western Islands, yea, even to Britain it self. Here he preached, and wrought many miracles, and after infinite troubles and difficulties which he underwent (if we may believe our Authors, whom, though Baronius in this case makes no great account of, yet never scruples freely to use their verdict and suffrage when they give in evidence to his purpose) suffered Martyrdom for the Faith of Christ, as is not only affirmed by \* Nicophorus and || Dorotheus, but expressly owned in the Greek \* Menologies, where we are told, that he went at last into Britain, and having enlightened the minds of many with the doctrine of the Gospel, was crucified by the Infidels, and buried there.

μάρτυς, καὶ πολλὰς τῶν λόγων τοῦ εὐαγγελίου παύσας, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπίστῳ σαυραδὶς καὶ τεταῖς δάτῃς ἐκεί. Menolog. Grac. a. d. c. 11. p. 111.

4. I KNOW indeed that there want not those who tell \* us, that after his preaching the Gospel in Egypt, he went into Mesopotamia, where he met with S. Jude the Apostle, and together with him took his journey into Persia, where having gained a considerable harvest to the Christian Faith, they were both crowned with Martyrdom; which Baronius himself confesses to be founded upon no better authority, than the Passions of the Apostles, a Book which at every turn he rejects as trifling and impertinent, as false and fabulous. But however, wide is the mistake of

\* Niceph. loc.  
supra laudat.  
|| At Ann. 44.  
n. 38.

Ubi supra

\* Niceph. lib.  
|| Dorotheus in  
Synopsi de vit.  
App. p. 148.

\* Τρεῖς οὗτοι ἐν

Βρετανίᾳ, καὶ ἐν

\* Vid. Breviar.  
Roman. ad di-  
em 28. Octobr.  
& Martyrol.  
Rom. ad eund.  
diem & Baron.  
Not. ibid. vid.  
illum ad Ann.  
68. n. 7.

|| Sopbron.  
apud Hieron. de  
Script. Eccl. in  
Simone. Isidor.  
de vit. & obit.  
SS. utriusque  
I. cap. 83.

|| those who confound our Apostle with *symeon* the son of *Gleophas*, successor to *S. James* the *Just* in the See of *Jerusalem*, who was crucified in the hundred and twentieth year of his Age, in the persecution under *Trajan*: The different character of their persons, and the account both of their Acts and Martyrdoms being sufficiently distinguished in the writings of the Church.

### The End of S. Simon's Life.

## THE LIFE OF S. JUDE.

St. Jude.



Math. 15. 55. Is not this the Carpenter's Son are not his brethren James, & Joseph, & Simon, & JUDAS?  
Luk 6. 16. Judas the Brother of James.

His Martyrdom.



Having preached the Gospel in Mesopotamia, he went into Persia, where after he had gained great numbers to Christianity, he suffered martyrdom. Martyrol. Rom. Oct. 28.

The several names attributed to him in the Gospel. Thaddæus, whence. The custom of the Jews to alter their names, when bearing affinity with the great name Jehovah. The name Judas why distasteful to the Apostles. Lebbaeus, whence derived. His Parentage, and Relation to our Lord. The Question put by him to Christ. Whether the same with Thaddæus sent to Edessa. In what places he preached. His death. His married condition. The story of his Grandchildren brought before Domitian. His Epistle, and why questioned of old. Its Canonicalness vindicated. The Book of Enoch, and what its authority. The contention between Michael and the Devil about Moses his Body, whence borrowed. S. Jude proved to be the Author of this Epistle. Grotius his conceit of its being written by a younger Jude, rejected. Its affinity with the second Epistle of S. Peter. The design of it.

U 2

1. THERE

1. **T**HERE are three several names by which this Apostle is described in the History of the Gospel, *Jude*, *Thaddæus* and *Lebbæus*, it being usual in the holy Volumes for the same person to have more proper names than one. For the first, it was a name common amongst the *Jews*, recommended to them as being the name of one of the great Patriarchs of their Nation. This name he seems to have changed afterwards for *Thaddæus*, a word springing from the same root, and of the very same import and signification, which might arise from a double cause: Partly from the superstitious veneration, which the *Jews* had for the name *Jehova* (the *Νομὴ τετραγράμματον*, or name consisting of four letters) which they held unlawful to be pronounced by any but the High-Priest, and not by him neither, but at the most solemn times. Hence it was, that when any man had a name, wherein there was the major part of the letters of this ineffable title (and such was *Jehudah* or *Juda*) they would not rashly pronounce it in common usage, but chose rather to mould it into another like it, and of the same importance, or that which had a near affinity and resemblance with it: Partly from a particular dislike of the name of *Judas* among the Apostles, the bloody and treasonable practices of *Judas Iscariot* having rendered that name very odious and detestable to them. To prevent therefore all possibility of mistake, and that they might not confound the righteous with the wicked, *S. Matthew* and *Mark* never call him by this, but by some other name; as no question for the same reason he both styles himself, and is frequently called by others, *Judas the brother of James*; and that this was one great design of it, the Evangelist plainly intimates, when speaking of him, he says, *Judas, not Iscariot*. For his name *Lebbæus*, it seems to have been derived either from לב an heart, whence *S. Hierom* renders it *Corculum*, probably to denote his wisdom and prudence, or else from לבִּי a Lion, and therein to have respect to old *Jacob's* prophecy concerning *Judah*, *That he should be as a Lion, an old Lion, and as a Lions whelp*, which probably might have a main stroke in fastning this name upon *S. Jude*. From this Patriarchal prophecy, we are \* told, that one of the Schools or Synagogues of Learned men among the *Jews* (who to avoid confusion were wont to distinguish themselves by different appellations) took occasion to denominate themselves *Labii*, as accounting themselves the Scholars and descendents of this *Lion-like* son of *Jacob*; and that *S. Jude* was of this society, and because of his eminency among them retained the title of *Labius*, or as it was corruptly pronounced, *Lebbæus*. I confess I should have thought the conjecture of a Learned \* man very probable, that he might have derived this name from the place of his nativity, as being born at *Lebba*, a Town which, he tells us, || *Pliny* speaks of in the Province of *Galilee*, not far from *Carmel*, but that it is not *Lebba*, but *Jebba* in all copies of *Pliny* that I have seen. But let the Reader please himself in which conjecture he likes best.

2. **F**OR his Descent and Parentage, he was of our Lord's kindred; \* *Nicephorus* truly making him the son of *Joseph*, and brother to *James* Bishop of *Jerusalem*; that there was a *Jude* one of the number is very evident, *Are not his brethren James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas?* which makes me the more to wonder at *Scaliger*, who so confidently denies that any of the Evangelists ever mention a *Jude the brother of our Lord*. *S. Hierom* seems often to confound him with *Simon the Zealot*, whose title he ascribes to him, though second thoughts set him right, as indeed common advertency could do no less, so plain is the account which the Evangelists give of this matter. When called to the Discipleship we find not, as not meeting with him, till we

we find him enumerated in the Catalogue of Apostles; nor is any thing particularly recorded of him afterwards, more than one question that he propounded to our Saviour, who having told them what great things he and his Father would do, and what particular manifestations after his Resurrection he would make of himself to his sincere disciples and followers, *S. Jude* (whose thoughts as well as the rest were taken up with the expectations of a temporal Kingdom of the *Messiah*) not knowing how this could consist with the publick solemnity of that glorious state they looked for, asked him, what was the reason that he would manifest himself to them, and not to the World. Our Lord replied, that the World was not capable of these Divine manifestations, as being a stranger, and an enemy to what should fit them for fellowship with Heaven; that they were only good men, persons of a Divine temper of mind, and religious observers of his Laws and Will, whom God would honour with these familiar converses, and admit to such particular acts of grace and favour.

3. \* *EUSEBIUS* relates that soon after our Lord's Ascension *S. Thomas* dispatched *Thaddæus* the Apostle to *Abgarus* Governour of *Edeffa*, where he healed diseases, wrought miracles, expounded the doctrines of Christianity, and converted *Abgarus* and his people to the Faith: For all which pains when the *Toparch* offered him vast gifts and presents, he refused them with a noble scorn, telling him, they had little reason to receive from others, what they had freely relinquished and left themselves. A large account of this whole affair is extant in *Eusebius*, translated by him out of *Syriack* from the Records of the City of *Edeffa*. This *Thaddæus* || *S. Hierom* expressly makes to be our *S. Jude*, though his bare authority is not in this case sufficient evidence; especially since *Eusebius* makes him no more than one of the seventy Disciples, which he would scarce have done, had he been one of the *Twelve*. He calls him indeed an *Apostle*, but that may imply no more than according to the large acception of the word, that he was a Disciple, a Companion, and an Assistant to them, as we know the Seventy eminently were. Nor is any thing more common in ancient Ecclesiastick Writers, than for the first planters and propagators of Christian Religion in any Country to be honoured with the name and title of Apostles. But however this be, at his first setting out to preach the Gospel, he went up and down *Judea* and *Galilee*, then through *Samaria* into *Idumea*, and to the Cities of *Arabia*, and the neighbour Countries, and after to *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*. \* *Nicephorus* adds, that he came at last to *Edeffa*, where *Abgarus* was Governour, and where the other *Thaddæus*, one of the Seventy had been before him. Here he perfected what the other had begun, and having by his Sermons and Miracles established the Religion of our Saviour, died a peaceable and a quiet death; though || *Dorotheus* makes him slain at *Berytus*, and honourably buried there. By the almost general consent of the Writers of the *Latin Church* he is said to have travelled into *Persia*, where after great success in his Apostolical Ministry for many years, he was at last for his free and open reproving the superstitious rites and usages of the *Magi* cruelly put to death.

4. **T**HAT he was one of the married Apostles sufficiently appears from his *ύμνωι*, or *Grandsons* mentioned by \* *Eusebius*, of whom *Hegesippus* gives this account. *Domitian* the Emperor, whose enormous wickednesses had awakened in him the quickest jealousies, and made him suspect every one that might look like a corival in the Empire, had heard that there were some of the line of *David*, and *Christ's* kindred that did yet remain. Two Grandchildren of *S. Jude* the Brother of our Lord were brought before him:

John 14.22.

\* Boldue. de Eccl. post leg. cap. 7. p. 47, 48.

\* Lightf. H. Hebr. in Matth. p. 147. || Hist. Nat. lib. 5. c. 19.

\* H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 40. p. 202. Matth. 13. 55. Animadv. in Euseb. Chron. ad Num. MCMXII. p. 205.

\* H. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 13 p. 32.

|| Comment. in Matth. c. 10.

\* Niceph. H. Eccl. 1. 2. c. 40. p. 202.

|| Synops. de vit. &amp; mort. App. in Bibl. Pp. Tom. 3. p. 148.

\* Apud Euseb. lib. 3. c. 20. p. 89.

Having confessed that they were of the Race and posterity of *David*, he asked what possessions and estate they had : they told him that they had but a very few acres of land, out of the improvement whereof they both paid him Tribute, and maintained themselves with their own hard labour, as by the hardness and callousness of their hands ( which they then shewed him ) did appear. He then enquired of them concerning *Christ*, and the state of his Kingdom, what kind of Empire it was, and when and where it would commence. To which they replied, That his Kingdom was not of this World, nor of the Seigniories and Dominions of it, but Heavenly and Angelical, and would finally take place in the end of the World, when coming with great glory, he would judge the quick and the dead, and award all men recompences according to their works. The issue was, that looking upon the meanness and simplicity of the men, as below his jealousies and fears, he dismissed them without any severity used against them ; who being now beheld not only as kinsmen, but as Martyrs of our Lord, were honoured by all, preferred to places of authority and government in the Church, and lived till the times of *Trajan*.

5. S. *Jude* left only one Epistle, of Catholick and universal concernment, inscribed at large to all Christians. It was some time before it met with general reception in the Church, or was taken notice of. The Author indeed styles not himself an Apostle, but no more does S. *James*, S. *John*, nor sometimes S. *Paul* himself. And why should he fare the worse for his humility, only for calling himself the servant of *Christ*, when he might have added not only *Apostle*, but the Brother of our Lord? The best is, he has added what was equivalent, *Jude the Brother of James*, a character that can belong to none but our Apostle ; beside, that the Title of the Epistle, which is of great Antiquity, runs thus, *The general Epistle of Jude the Apostle*. One great argument, as || S. *Hierom* informs us, against the authority of this Epistle of old, was its quoting a passage out of an *Apocryphal* Book of *Enoch*. This Book called the *Apocalypse* of *Enoch* was very early extant in the Church,

frequently mentioned, and passages cited out of it by *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, and others, some of whom accounted it little less than *Canonical*. But what if our Apostle had it not out of this *Apocryphal* Book, but from some prophecy current from age to age, handed to him by common tradition, or immediately revealed to him by the Spirit of God? But suppose it taken out of that Book going under *Enoch's* name, this makes nothing against the authority of the Epistle ; every thing, I hope, is not presently false, that's contained in an *Apocryphal* and *Uncanonical* writing,

nor does the taking a single testimony out of it any more infer the Apostles approbation of all the rest, than S. *Paul's* quoting a good sentence or two out of *Menander*, *Aratus*, and *Epimenides*, imply that he approved all the rest of the writings of those Heathen Poets. And indeed nothing could be more fit and proper than this way, if we consider that the Apostle in this Epistle chiefly argues against the *Gnosticks*, who mainly traded in such Traditionary and *Apocryphal* writings, and probably in this very Book of *Enoch*. The same account may be given of that other passage in this Epistle concerning the contention between *Michael* the Archangel and the Devil about the burial of *Moses* his Body, no where extant in the holy Records, supposed to have been taken out of a Jewish writing called

\* *Ensch. lib. 2. c. 23. p. 66. & lib. 3. c. 25.*

De Script. Eccl. in Juda.

Scio Scripturam Enoch, que hunc ordinem Angelis dedit, non recipi à quibusdam, quia nec in Armarium Judaicum admittitur. Opinor non putaverunt illum ante Catichismum editum, post cum casum Orbis omnium rerum abolitorem salutem esse potuisse. Si ista ratio est, recordentur, &c. Sed cum Enoch eadem Scriptura etiam de Domino predicavit, à nobis quidem nihil omnino rejiciendum est, quod pertinet ad nos. A Judæis potest jam videri propterea rejecta, sicut & cetera fere que Christum fontant. Eo accedit quod Enoch apud Judæam Apostolum testimonium possidet. Tertull. de Cult. Fæmin. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 151.

Vid. Hierom. Comment in Tit. c. 1. p. 249. T. 9.

led פטירת משה or the *Dismission* of *Moses*, mentioned by some of the Greek Fathers under the title of Ἀνάληψις Μωσέως, or the *Ascension* of *Moses*, in which this passage was upon record. Nor is it any more a wonder that S. *Jude* should do this, than that S. *Paul* should put down *Jannes* and *Jambres* for the two *Magicians* of *Pharaoh* that opposed *Moses*, which he must either derive from Tradition, or fetch out of some *Uncanonical* Author of those times, there being no mention of their names in *Moses* his relation of that matter. But be these passages whence they will, 'tis enough to us, that the Spirit of God has made them Authentick, and consecrated them part of the holy Canon.

6. BEING thus satisfied in the Canonicalness of this Epistle, none but S. *Jude* could be the Author of it ; for who but he was the Brother of S. *James* ? a character by which he is described in the Evangelical story more than once. \* *Grotius* indeed will needs have it written by a younger *Jude*, the fifteenth Bishop of *Jerusalem*, in the reign of *Adrian* ; and because he saw that that passage [ the Brother of *James* ] stood full in his way, he concludes without any shadow of reason, that it was added by some Transcriber. But is not this to make too bold with Sacred things ? is not this to indulge too great a liberty ? this once allowed, 'twill soon open a door to the wildest and most extravagant conjectures, and no man shall know where to find sure footing for his Faith. But the Reader may remember what we have elsewhere observed concerning the Posthume Annotations of that learned man. Not to say that there are many things in this Epistle that evidently refer to the time of this Apostle, and imply it to have been written upon the same occasion, and about the same time with the second Epistle of *Peter*, between which and this there is a very great affinity both in words and matter, nay, there want not || some that endeavour to prove this Epistle to have been written no less than twenty seven years before that of *Peter*, and that hence it was that *Peter* borrowed those passages that are so near a-kin to those in this Epistle. The design of the Epistle is to preserve Christians from the infection of *Gnosticism*, the loose and debauched principles vented by *Simon Magus* and his followers, whose wretched doctrines and practices he briefly and elegantly represents, perswading Christians heartily to contend for the Faith that had been delivered to them, and to avoid these pernicious Seducers as pests and fire-brands, not to communicate with them in their sins, lest they perished with them in that terrible vengeance that was ready to overtake them.

De quo in Ascensione Moyfi (cujus libelli meminit in Epistola Apostolus Judas) Michael Archangelus cum Diabolo disputans de Corpore Moyfi, aut Diabolo, Inspiratum serpentem causam existisse pravaricationis Adæ & Evæ. Origen. cæd. Ap. 289, lib. 3. c. 2. fol. 142. p. 2.

\* Annot. in init. Epist. Jud.

|| Bolduc. præf. Ind. in Epist. Jud. p. 106 ad calcem lib. de Eccl. post leg.

The End of S. Jude's Life.

# THE LIFE OF S. MATTHIAS.

S. MATTHIAS.



He preached the Gospel in Ethiopia, suffered Martyrdom and was buried there S. Hieron.

St. Matthias his Martyrdom.



Hebr. ii. 37. They were stoned, they were slain with the sword, they were tempted, were slain with the sword.

S. Matthias one of the Seventy. Judas Iscariot, whence. A bad Minister nulls not the ends of his Ministration. His worldly and covetous temper. His monstrous ingratitude. His betraying his Master, and the aggravations of the sin. The distraction and horror of his mind. The miserable state of an evil and guilty Conscience. His violent death. The election of a new Apostle: The Candidates, who. The Lot cast upon Matthias. His preaching the Gospel, and in what parts of the World. His Martyrdom when, where, and how. His Body whither translated. The Gospel and Traditions vented under his name.

1. SAINT



for the determination of doubtful and difficult cases, and especially the chusing Judges and Magistrates: And this course the Apostles the rather took, because the *Holy Ghost* was not yet given, by whose immediate dictates and inspirations they were chiefly guided afterwards. And that the business might proceed with the greater regularity and success, they first solemnly make their address to Heaven, that the Omniscient Being that governed the World, and perfectly understood the tempers and dispositions of men, would immediately guide and direct the choice, and shew which of these two he would appoint to take that part of the Apostolick charge, from which *Judas* was so lately fallen. The Lots being put into the Urn, *Matthias* his name was drawn out, and thereby the Apostolate devolved upon him.

4. NOT long after the promised powers of the Holy Ghost were conferred upon the Apostles, to fit them for that great and difficult employment, upon which they were sent: And among the rest *S. Matthias* betook himself to his Charge and Province. The first-fruits of his Ministry he spent in *Judæa*, where having reaped a considerable harvest, he betook himself to other Provinces. An \* *Author*, I confess, of no great credit in these matters, tells us, that he preached the Gospel in *Macedonia*, where the *Gentiles* to make an experiment of his Faith and Integrity, gave him a poisonous and intoxicating potion, which he cheerfully drunk off, in the name of *Christ*, without the least prejudice to himself; and that when the same potion had deprived above two hundred and fifty of their sight, he laying his hands upon them, restored them to their sight: with a great deal more of the same stamp, which I have neither faith enough to believe, nor leisure enough to relate. The *Greeks* with more probability report him to have travelled *Eastward*, he came (says || *Nicephorus*) into the *first*, (says \* *Sophronius*) into the *second Ethiopia*, and in both, I believe, it is a mistake, either of the Authors or Transcribers, for *Cappadocia*, his residence being principally near the irruption of the River *Apfarnus*, and the Haven *Hyffus*, both places in *Cappadocia*. Nor is there any *Ethiopia* nearer those places than that conterminous to *Chaldæa*, whereof before. And as for those that tell us, that he might well enough preach both in the *Asian* and *African Ethiopia*, and that both might be comprehended under that general name, as the *Eastern* and *Western* parts of the World were heretofore contained under the general title of the *India's*, it's a fancy without any other ground to stand on, than their own bare conjecture. The place whither he came was very barbarous, and his usage was accordingly. For here meeting with a people of a fierce and intractable temper, he was treated by them with great rudeness and inhumanity, from whom after all his labours and sufferings, and a numerous conversion of men to Christianity, he obtained at last the crown of Martyrdom, *Ann. Chr. LXI.* or as others, *LXIV.* Little certainty can be retrieved concerning the manner of his death. \* *Dorotheus* will have him to die at *Sebastople*, and to be buried there near the Temple of the *Sun*. An ancient || *Martyrologie* reports him to have been seized by the *Jews*, and as a

blasphemer to have been first stoned, and then beheaded. But the \* *Greek Offices*, seconded herein by several ancient *Breviaries*, tell us that he was crucified, and that as *Judas* was hanged upon a Tree, so *Matthias* suffered upon a Cross. His Body is said to have been kept a long time at *Jerusalem*, thence thought, by *Helen* the Mother of the Great *Constantine*, to have been translated to *Rome*, where some parts of it are shewed with great veneration

\* *Petr. de Natal. Histor. Sanct. lib. 3. c. 149.*

† *Et. Eccl. l. 2. c. 40. p. 203.*  
\* *Ap. Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Matthias.*

\* *Synops. de vit. App. in Bibl. Pp. Tom. 3. p. 148.*  
† *Colon. Impress. 1490. ad Febr. 24.*

\* *Ἐξήλθεν ἀρθεὶς Ἰούδας ἐπὶ βεβήχην. Εἰσηλθὼν ἀρθεὶς Ματθίας: ὁ δὲ ἔυλε.*  
† *Ἦρθη αὐτὸς ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑυλαῖ ἰούδα Ματθίας.*  
*Menæa Græcor. ad diem IX. August. apud Bolland. de vit. SS. ad Febr. XXIV. Tom. 3. p. 433.*

veneration at this day. Though \* others with as great eagerness, and probably as much truth, contend that his Reliques were brought to, and are still preserved at *Triers* in *Germany*, a controversy wherein I shall not concern my self. His memory is celebrated in the *Greek Church* August the IX, as appears not only from their *Menologies*, but from a *Novel* || constitution of *Manuel Comnenus*, appointing what *holy days* should be kept in the Church, while the *Western Churches* keep *February XXIV* sacred to his memory. Among many other *Apocryphal* writings attributed to the Apostles, there was a *Gospel* published under his name, mentioned by \* *Ensebius* and the Ancients, and condemned with the rest by || *Gelasius* Bishop of *Rome*, as it had been rejected by others before him: Under his name also there were extant *Traditions*, cited by a *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, from whence no question it was that the *Nicolaitans* borrowed that saying of his, which they abused to so vile and beastly purposes, as under the pretended patronage of his name and doctrines the *Marcionites* and *Valentinians* defended some of their most absurd and impious opinions.

p. 380. *ibid. lib. 3. p. 436.*

b *Ibid. lib. 7. p. 769.*

\* *Vid. Chr. Brower. An. nal. Trierens. lib. 2. p. 658. & scriptores ex utraque parte contentiones ap. Boll. loc. cit. p. 435.*  
|| *Exit in Fur. Gr. Rom. lib. 2. p. 161.*  
\* *11. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25. p. 97.*  
|| *Orig. in Luc. Homil. 10. Ambr. præf. in Luc. Tom. 5. p. 7.*  
|| *Decc. Part. 1. Dist. 15. cap. Sanct. Rom. Self. Caterum. a Strom. lib. 2.*

## The End of S. Matthias's Life.

# THE LIFE OF S. MARK the Evangelist.

The Evangelist S. Mark.



He having been the Coadjutor of S. Paul & S. Peter severally, at Alexandria planted & governed a Church and there by the violence of the Pagan multitude suffered Martyrdom. AD. 64. *Baron. & Centu.*

S. Mark's Martyrdom.



*Heb. ii. 35. Others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection. Of whom the world was not worthy.*

*His Kindred, and distinction from others of the same Name. Whether one of the Seventy. His Conversion. His attendance upon Peter, and Preaching the Gospel in Italy, and at Rome. His planting Christianity at Alexandria, and great success there. An account of the Therapeutæ (mentioned by Philo) and their excellent manners, rules, and way of Life. These proved not to have been Christians by several arguments. The Original of the mistake whence. S. Mark's Preaching in the Parts of Africk. His return to Alexandria, and diligence in his Ministry. The manner of his Martyrdom. The time of it enquired into. The description of his Person. His Gospel, when and where written, and why said to be Peter's. His great impartiality in his Relations. In what Language written. The Original whether extant at this Day.*

1. **S**AINTE Mark, though carrying something of Roman in his Name, probably assumed by him upon some great change, or accident of his Life, or which was not unusual among the Jews, when going into the European Provinces of the Roman Empire, taken up at his going for Italy and Rome, was doubtless born of Jewish Parents, originally descended of the Tribe of \* Levi, and the Line of the Priesthood, and (if || Nicophorus say true) Sister's Son to Peter, though by others against all reason confounded with John surnamed Mark the Son of Mary, and Mark Sisters Son to Barnabas. By the Ancients he is generally thought to have been one of the Seventy Disciples, and \* Epiphanius expressly tell us, that he was one of those who taking exception at our Lord's discourse of eating his Flesh and drinking his Blood, went back and walked no more with him, but was seasonably reduced and reclaimed by Peter. But no foundation appears either for the one or for the other; nay, || Papias Bishop of Hierapolis, who lived near those times, positively affirms that he was no hearer nor follower of our Saviour. He was converted by some of the Apostles, and probably by S. Peter, who is said to have been his undertaker at his Baptism (if I understand Isidore \* aright) for no other reason I suppose, than because he calls him his Son. Indeed he was his constant attendant in his Travels, supplying the place of an Amanuensis and Interpreter; for though the Apostles were Divinely inspired, and among other miraculous powers had the gift of Languages conferred upon them, yet was the interpretation of Tongues a gift more peculiar to some than others. This might probably be S. Mark's Talent, in expounding S. Peter's Discourses, whether by word or writing, to those who understood not the Language wherein they were delivered. He accompanied him in his Apostolical progress, Preached the Gospel in || Italy, and at Rome, where at the request of the Christians of those Parts he composed and wrote his Gospel.

2. BY Peter he was sent into Egypt to plant Christianity in those Parts, fixing his main residence at Alexandria, and the places thereabouts: where so great (says \* Eusebius) was the success of his Ministry, that he converted Multitudes both of Men and Women, not only to the embracing of the Christian Religion, but to a more than ordinarily strict profession of it, in so much that Philo wrote a Book of their peculiar Rites and way of Life, the only reason why || S. Hierom reckons him among the Writers of the Church. Indeed Philo the Jew wrote a Book περὶ βίῃς θεωρητικῆς, extant at this day, wherein he speaks of a sort of Persons called θεωρητικοί, who in many parts of the World, but especially in a pleasant place near the Meræotic Lake in Egypt had formed themselves into Religious Societies, and give a large account of their Rites and Customs, their strict, philosophical, and contemplative course of life. He tells \* us of them, that when they first enter upon this way, they renounce all secular interests and employments, and leaving their Estates to their Relations, retire into Groves and Gardens, and Places devoted to solitude and contemplation; that they had their Houses or Colleges, not contiguous, that so being free from noise and tumult, they might the better minister to the designs of a contemplative life; nor yet removed at too great a distance, that they might maintain mutual society, and be conveniently capable of helping and assisting one another. In each of these Houses there was an Oratory, call'd Σεμνὸν and Μοναστήριον, wherein

\* Hieron. pref. in Marc. Tom. 9. p. 87. || H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 43. p. 209.

\* Hieron. l. 1. p. 186.

|| Apud. Euseb. l. 3. c. 39. p. 113.

\* Petri discipulus, & in baptismo filius. Ibid. de vit. & ob. SS. c. 84. p. 542.

|| Naz. Orat. 25. p. 438.

\* H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 16. p. 53.

|| De Script. Eccl. in Philone.

\* Phil. lib. de vita contemplat. p. 891, 892. & seqq.

wherein they discharged the more secret and solemn Rites of their Religion; divided in the middle with a Partition-wall three or four Cubits high, the one apartment being for the Men, and the other for the Women: Here they publicly met every Seventh day, where being set according to their seniority, and having composed themselves with great decency and reverence, the most aged Person among them, and best skilled in the Dogmata and Principles of their Institution came forth into the midst, gravely and soberly discoursing what might make the deepest impression upon their minds; the rest attending with a profound silence, and only testifying their assent with the motion of their Eyes or Head. Their discourses were usually mystical and allegorical, seeking hidden senses under plain words, and of such an allegorical Philosophy consisted the Books of their Religion, left them by their Ancestors: The Law they compared to an Animal, the Letter of it resembling the Body, while the Soul of it lay in those abstruse and recondite notions, which the external veil and surface of the words concealed from vulgar understandings. He tells us also, that they took very little care of the Body, perfecting their minds by Precepts of Wisdom and Religion; the day they intirely spent in Pious and Divine Meditations, in reading and expounding the Law and the Prophets, and the Holy Volumes of the ancient Founders of their Sect, and in singing Hymns to the honour of their Maker; absolutely temperate and abstemious, neither eating nor drinking till Night, the only time they thought fit to refresh and regard the Body, some of them out of an insatiable desire of growing in knowledge and virtue, fasting many days together. What Diet they had was very plain and simple, sufficient only to provide against hunger and thirst, a little Bread, Salt and Water being their constant bill of fare: their clothes were as mean as their food, designed only as a present security against cold and nakedness. And this not only the case of men, but of pious and devout Women that lived (though separately) among them; that they religiously observed every Seventh Day, and especially the preparatory Week to the great solemnity, which they kept with all expressions of a more severe abstinence and devotion. This and much more he has in that Tract concerning them.

3. THESE excellent Persons Eusebius peremptorily affirms to have been Christians, converted and brought under these admirable Rules and Institutions of Life by S. Mark at his coming hither, accommodating all passages to the Manners and Discipline of Christians: followed herein by \* Epiphanius, || Hierom, and others of old, as by a Baronius, and some others of later time: and this so far taken for granted, that <sup>b</sup> many have hence fetched the rise of Monasteries and Religious Orders among Christians. But whoever seriously and impartially considers Philo's account, will plainly find that he intends it of Jews and Professors of the Mosaic Religion, though whether Essenes, or of some other particular Sect among them, I stand not to determine. That they were not Christians, is evident, besides that Philo gives not the least intimation of it, partly because it is improbable that Philo being a Jew should give so great a character and commendation of Christians, so hateful to the Jews at that time in all places of the World; partly, in that Philo speaks of them as an Institution of some considerable standing, whereas Christians had but lately appeared in the World, and were later come into Egypt; partly, because many parts of Philo's account does no way suit with the state and manners of Christians at that time; as that they withdrew themselves from publick converse, and all affairs of civil life, which Christians never

did, but when forced by violent Persecutions, for ordinarily, as *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian* tell us, they promiscuously dwelt in Towns and Cities, plowed their Lands, and followed their Trades, ate and drank, and were clothed and habited like other men. So when he says, that besides the Books of *Moses* and the *Prophets*, they had the Writings of the *Ancient Authors* of their Sect and Institution; this cannot be meant of Christians: for though *Eusebius* would understand it of the Writings of the *Evangelists* and *Apostles*, yet, besides that there were few of them published when *Philo* wrote this discourse, they were however of too late an Edition to come under the character of ancient Authors. Not to say that some of their Rites and Customs were such, as the Christians of those days were mere strangers to, not taken up by the Christian Church till many Years, and some of them not till some Ages after. Nay some of them never used by any of the Primitive Christians; such were their *religious dances*, which they had at their Festival Solemnities, especially that great one which they held at the end of every Seven Weeks; when their entertainment being ended, they all rose up, the Men in one Company, and the Women in another, dancing with various measures and motions, each Company singing Divine Hymns and Songs, and having a *Precentor* going before them, now one singing, and anon another, till in the conclusion they joyned in one common *Chorus*, in imitation of the triumphant Song sung by *Moses* and the *Israelites* after their deliverance at the *Red Sea*. To all which let me add, what a Learned \* Man has observed, that the *Essenes* (if *Philo* means them) were great Physicians (thence probably called Θεραπευταί, *Healers*, though || *Philo*, who is apt to turn all things into Allegory, refers it only to their curing, τὰς ψυχὰς νόσοις κεκατημέναις χαλεπαῖς καὶ δυσίατοις, αἱ κατέσκηψαν ἡδοναὶ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν, καὶ κακῶν αἰνυτοῦν πλήθει, the Souls of Men infected and over-run with difficult and disperate distempers, created by pleasures and extravagant appetites, and a long train of other lusts and passions) \* *Josephus* reporting of them, that they accurately study the Writings of the Ancients, excerpting thence whatever is conducive either to Soul or Body; and that for the curing of Diseases, they diligently enquired into the Vertues of Roots and Stones, that were most proper to drive away Distempers. An Account no ways agreeing with the Christians of those times, who miraculously cured Diseases without the Arts of Physick, or any other Preparations, than calling the Name of Christ over the afflicted Person. Doubtless that which led *Eusebius* into the mistake, was the conformity that he observed between the Christian Ἀσκηταί, in and before his time, who entered upon a more strict and severe course of life, and these *Therapeutæ* described by *Philo*, an ordinary fancy being able to draw a fair parallel between them, and so it was but removing them some Ages higher, and imagining them to have been converted and founded by S. Mark, and the work was done. Indeed it is not to be doubted, but that Persons educated under these excellent rules and methods of life, were more than ordinarily prepared for the reception of Christianity (between which and their Principles and Rules of Life, there was so great an affinity and agreement) which must needs render our Evangelists success great in those Parts, and open the way for men to come flocking over to the Faith.

*Phil. ibid.*  
p. 901, 902.

\* N. Full. Mif-  
cell. Sac. lib. 1.  
cap. 3.  
Lib. sup. ci-  
tat. p. 889.

\* De Bell. Ju-  
dæic. lib. 2. cap.  
16. p. 786.

\* S. Metaphr.  
Martyr S.  
Marc. apud  
Sur. ad diem 25. Apr. Procop. Diac. Laudat. S. Marc. ib. n. 8. Niceph. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 43. p. 209.

going

going through the Countries of *Marmarica*, *Pentapolis*, and others thereabouts, where though the People were both barbarous in their manners, and idolatrous in their worship, yet by his Preaching and Miracles he made way for the entertainment of the Gospel, and left them not, till he had not only gained them to, but confirmed them in the profession of it. Returning to *Alexandria* he preached freely, and ordered and disposed the affairs of the Church, and wisely provided for succession by constituting Governors and Pastors of it. But the restless enemy of the Souls of Men would not long suffer him to be quiet: It was the time of *Easter*, at what time the great Solemnities of *Serapis* hapned to be celebrated, when the minds of the People being excited to a passionate vindication of the honour of their *Idol*, broke in upon S. Mark, then engaged in the solemn celebration of Divine worship, and binding his Feet with Cords, dragged him through the streets and the most craggy places to the *Buselus*, a Precipice near the Sea, and for that Night thrust him into Prison, where his Soul was by a Divine Vision erected and encouraged under the ruins of his shattered Body. Early the next Morning the Tragedy began again, dragging him about in the same manner, till his Flesh being raked off, and his Blood run out, his spirits failed, and he expired. But their malice died not with him, *Metaphrastes* adds that they burnt his Body, whose Bones and Ashes the Christians there decently entombed near the place where he was wont to Preach. His Body, at least the remains of it were afterwards with great pomp removed from *Alexandria* to *Venice*, where they are religiously honoured, and headopted as the *Tutelar Saint* and Patron of that State, and one of the richest and stateliest Churches erected to his Memory, that the World can boast of at this Day. He suffered in the Month *Pharmuthi*, on the XXV of *April*, though the certain Year of his Martyrdom is not precisely determined by the Ancients. \* *Kirstenius* out of the *Arabick Memoires* of his Life says, it was in the Fourteenth of the last Year of *Claudius*; || *S. Hierom* places it in the Eighth of *Nero*. But extravagantly wide is \* *Dorotheus* his computation, who makes him to suffer in the time of *Trajan*, with as much truth as || *Nicephorus* on the other hand affirms him to have come into *Egypt* in the Reign of *Tiberius*. If in so great variety of Opinions I may interpose my conjecture, I should reckon him to have suffered about the end of *Nero's* Reign: For supposing him to have come with S. Peter to Rome about the Fifth or Sixth Year of *Nero*, he might thence be dispatched to *Alexandria*, and spend the residue of his Life and of that Emperor's Reign in planting Christianity in those parts of the World. Sure I am that \* *Irenæus* reports S. Mark to have out-lived Peter and Paul, and that after their decease he composed his Gospel out of those things which he had heard Peter preach. But whatever becomes of that, it is evident that *Irenæus* supposed (whose supposition certainly was not founded upon meer fancy and conjecture) that S. Mark for some considerable time survived the Martyrdom of those two great Apostles. A passage that so troubled *Christopherson* (one of those who in these later Ages first translated *Eusebius* into *Latin*) because crossing the accounts of their Writers in this matter, that he chose rather to expunge the word, *decease*, and substitute another of a quite different sense, expressly contrary to the faith of all ancient Copies, and to the most ancient Version of *Irenæus* it self. But to return. S. Mark as to his || Person was of a middle size and stature, his Nose long, his Eye-brows turning back, his Eyes graceful and amiable, his Head bald, his Beard prolix and gray, his Gate quick, the constitution of his Body strong and healthful.

Id. ibid.

Phil. vit. ejus  
MS. Arabice  
script. ap. Kir-  
sten. p. 37.

\* Ubi supra.

|| De Script.  
Eccles. in  
Marc.

\* Synops. de vit.  
& mort. App. in  
Bibl. Pp. Tom. 3  
p. 148. col. 2.  
|| Lib. 2. c. 43.  
p. 209.

\* Adv. Hæres.  
lib. 3. c. 1. p. 18.  
229. citat. cri-  
am ap. Euseb.  
lib. 5. c. 8.  
p. 172.

|| Metaphr. ibid.  
n. 10. Niceph.  
ib. p. 210.

5. HIS



# THE LIFE OF S. LUKE the Evangelist.

S. LUKE.



2. COR. 8. 8. 19.

The Brother, whose praise is in  $\forall$  Gospel throughout all  $\forall$  Churches: And not that onely, but who was also chosen of  $\forall$  Churches to travell with us.

St. Luke his Martyrdom.



Col. 4. 14. Luke the beloved Physician. The brother whose Praise is in the Gospel.  
2 Cor. 4. 11. We are delivered unto death for Jesus sake. Bearing in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus.

Antioch S. Luke's birth-place. The fame and dignity of it. His learned and liberal education. His study of Physick. His skill in Painting. S. Luke none of the Seventy. Converted, where, and by whom. His constant attendance upon S. Paul. In what parts he principally exercised his Ministry. The place, and manner of his Death. The translation of his Body to Constantinople. His Writings. Theophilus, who. His Gospel, where written, and upon what occasion. How fitted for it. The Acts of the Apostles written at Rome, and when. Why principally containing the Acts of S. Paul. This Book why publickly read just after Easter in the Primitive Church. S. Luke's polite and exact stile and way of writing above the rest.

I. SAINT

1. **S**AINTE Luke was born at *Antioch*, the *Metropolis* of *Syria*, a City celebrated for its extraordinary blessings and eminences, the pleasantness of its situation, the fertility of its soil, the riches of its Traffick, the wisdom of its Senate, the learning of its Professors, the civi-

lity and politeness of its Inhabitants, by the Pens of some of the greatest \* Orators of their times :

And yet above all these renowned for this one peculiar honour, that here it was that the *Disciples were first called Christians*. It was an University, replenished with Schools of learning, wherein were Professors of all Arts and Sciences. So that being

born in the very lap of the Muses, he could not well

miss of an ingenuous and liberal education, his natural parts meeting with the advantages of great improvements. Nay, we are \* told, that he studi-

ed not only at *Antioch*, but in all the Schools both of *Greece* and *Egypt*,

whereby he became accomplished in all parts of Learning and humane Sciences. Being thus furnished out with skill in all the preparatory Institutions of

Philosophy, he more particularly applied himself to the study of *Physick*, for which the *Grecian Academies* were most famous; though they that hence

infer the quality of his Birth and Fortunes; forget to consider, that this noble Art was in those times generally managed by persons of no better rank than

servants: Upon which account a Learned || man conceives *S. Luke*, though a *Syrian* by birth, to have been a servant at *Rome*, where he sometimes pra-

ctised *Physick*, and whence being manumitted, he returned into his own Country, and probably continued his profession all his life, it being so fairly

consistent with, and in many cases so subservient to the Ministry of the Gospel, and the care of Souls. Besides his abilities in *Physick*, he is said to

have been very skilful in \* *Painting*, and there are no less than three or four several pieces still in being, pretended to have been drawn with his own

hand; a tradition which || *Gretser* the *Jesuit* sets himself with a great deal of pains, and to very little purpose to defend, though his Authors, either in re-

spect of credit or antiquity, deserve very little esteem and value. Of more authority with me would be an ancient *Inscription* found in a Vault near the

Church of *S. Mary in via lata* at *Rome*, supposed to have been the place where *S. Paul* dwelt, wherein mention is made of a Picture of the *B. Virgin*,

UNA EX VII. A B. LUCA DE PICTIS, being one of the seven painted by *S. Luke*.

2. HE was a *Jewish* Proselyte, *Antioch* abounding with men of that Nation, who had here their Synagogues and Schools of Education, so that we

need not with \* *Theophylact* send him to *Jerusalem* to be instructed in the study of the Law. As for that opinion of || *Epiphanius* and others, that he was

one of the Seventy Disciples, one of those that deserted our Lord for the unwelcome discourse he made to them, but recalled afterwards by *S. Paul*, I

behold it as a story of the same coin and stamp with that of *S. Mark's* leaving *Christ* upon the same occasion, and being reduced by *Peter*, and that the one was made to answer the other; as upon no better ground it is \* said

that he was one of those two Disciples that were going to *Emmaus*. For besides the silence of Scripture in the case, he himself plainly confesses, that he

was not from the beginning an *Eye-witness* and minister of the Word. Most probable it is, that he was converted by *S. Paul* during his abode at *Antioch*, when as the Apostles of catchers of Fish were become fishers of men, so he of a Physician

of

of the Body became a Physician of the Soul. This, *Nicephorus* will have to have been done at *Thebes*, the chief City of *Boeotia*, about forty miles from *Athens*, though it appears not to me by any credible Author that ever *S. Paul* was there. He became ever after his inseparable companion and fellow-labourer in the Ministry of the Gospel, especially after his going into *Macedonia*, from which time in recording the History of *S. Paul's* travels, he always speaks of himself in his own Person. He followed him in all his dangers, was with him at his several arraignments at *Jerusalem*, accompanied him in his desperate Voyage to *Rome*, where he still attended on him to serve his necessities, and supply those ministerial Offices, which the Apostle's confinement would not suffer him to undergo, and especially in carrying messages to those Churches where he had planted Christianity. This infinitely endeared him to *S. Paul*, who own'd him for his fellow-labourer, called him the beloved Physician, and the Brother whose praise is in the Gospel, throughout all the Churches, which the Ancients, and especially \* *Ignatius*, apply to our Evangelist.

3. PROBABLE it is that he did not wholly leave *S. Paul* till he had finished his course, and crowned all with Martyrdom, though there are that

tell || us, that he left *S. Paul* at *Rome*, and returned back into the East, travelled into *Egypt* and the parts of *Libya*, Preached the Gospel, wrought Miracles, converted Multitudes, constituted Guides and Ministers of Religion,

yea, that he himself took upon him the Episcopal charge of the City of *Thebais*. *Epiphanius* gives us this account, that he first Preached in *Dalmatia*,

and *Galatia* (he reads it εν τη Γαλλία, in *Gaul*, or *France*, and peremptorily affirms, that they are all mistaken that say that it was *Galatia* where *Crescens*

Preached, though some think that himself in the mean while is under the most confident mistake) then in *Italy* and *Macedonia*, where he spared no

pains, declined no dangers that he might faithfully discharge the trust committed to him. The Ancients are not very well agreed, either about the

time or manner of his death, some affirming him to die in *Egypt*, others in *Greece*, the \* *Roman Martyrologie* in *Bithynia*, || *Dorotheus* at *Ephesus*;

some make him die a natural, others a violent death. Indeed neither *Eusebius* nor *S. Hierom* take any notice of it: But \* *Nazianzen*, || *Paulinus*

Bishop of *Nola*, and several other expressly assert his Martyrdom, whereof \* *Nicephorus* gives this particular account, that coming into *Greece* he suc-

cessfully Preached, and baptized many Converts into the Christian Faith, till a Party of Infidels making head against him, drew him to execution,

and in want of a Cross whereon to dispatch him presently, hanged him upon an Olive-Tree, in the eightieth (the eighty-fourth says || *S. Hierom*) year of

his Age. \* *Kirstenius* from an Ancient *Arabick* Writer, makes him to have suffered Martyrdom at *Rome*, which he thinks might probably be after

*S. Paul's* first imprisonment there, and departure thence, when *S. Luke* being left behind as his Deputy to supply his place, was shortly after put to

death, the reason (says he) why he no longer continued his History of the Apostles *Acts*, which surely he would have done, had he lived any considerable time after *S. Paul's* departure. His Body afterwards, by the command of *Constantine*, or his Son *Constantius*, was solemnly removed to

*Constantinople*, and buried in the great Church built to the memory of the Apostles.

4. TWO Books he wrote for the use of the Church, his Gospel, and the History of the Apostles *Acts*, both dedicated to *Theophilus*, which many of the \* Ancients suppose to be but a feigned name, denoting no more than

a lover of God, a title common to every Christian. While others with

Y

better

\* Dion. Chrys. Orat. 47. de Patria. Liban. Orat. 11. cui Tit. Ἀντιόχεια. Tom. 2. Chrysost. Encom. Antioch. Τί ποτ' ἐν οὗτ' ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν πόλεως ἀξίωμα; ἐγένετο πρῶτον ἐν Ἀντιόχεια καὶ μαθητὰς χειμασσοῦναι Χριστιανούς. Τὸ τοῦ ἑδνύλα οὗ καὶ οἰκονομῆν ἔχει πόλεων, ἐδ' αὐτῇ ἡ Παῦλος πόλις. Chrysost. Hom. 17. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 198. Tom. 1.

\* S. Metaphr. apud Sur. ad diem 18. Ocho. p. 289.

|| Grot. Annot. in Luc. 1.

\* Metaphr. ib. Niceph. l. 2. c. 43.

|| De imag. non manif. § 2. S. Luca p. 18. c. 18. § 19. p. 354.

Rom. Subterr. ran. Part. 2. c. 46. n. 10. p. 188.

\* Theophyl. Argum. in Luc. p. 293. || Hieron. § 1. p. 188.

\* Theoph. ut prius. Arab. vit. Script. ap. Kirsten de Quat. Evang. p. 39. Luke 1. 2.

Loc. supra lau. dat.

Act. 16. 10.

\* Epist. ad Ephes. p. 44.

|| Metaphr. ubi supr. n. 11.

\* Ad diem xviii. Ocho. p. 645.

|| De vit. § mort. App. in Bibl. Pp. Tom. 3. p. 148.

\* Orat. 1. in Julian. p. 76.

|| Epist. 12. ad Sever. de Basil. p. 138.

\* Lib. 2. c. 43. p. 210.

|| De Script. Eccl. in Luc. 1. p. 138.

\* P. Quat. Evangel. p. 45.

\* Orig. Homil. 1. in Luc. fol. 94.

Ambros. in Luc. 1. p. 9. T. 5. vid.

Epiph. Hares. § 1. p. 186.

better reason conclude it the proper name of a particular person, especially since the stile of *most excellent* is attributed to him, the usual title and form of address in those times to Princes and great men. || *Theophylact* stiles him συγκατακλιτὸν ἀνδρα καὶ ἀρχοντα ἴσως, a man of Consular dignity, and probably a Prince; the \* *Author* of the *Recognitions* makes him a Nobleman of Antioch, converted by *Peter*, and who upon his conversion gave his House to the Church for the place of their publick and solemn Meetings. We may probably suppose him to have been some Magistrate, whom S. Luke had converted and baptized, to whom he now dedicated these Books, not only as a testimony of honourable respect, but as a means of giving him further certainty and assurance of those things, wherein he had been instructed by him. For his Gospel, || S. Hierom supposes it to have been written in Achaia during his travels with S. Paul in those parts, whose help he is generally said to have made use of in the composing of it, and that this the Apostle primarily intends when he so often speaks of his Gospel. But whatever assistance S. Paul might contribute towards it, we are sure the Evangelist himself tells us, that he derived his intelligence in these matters from those, who from the beginning had been eye-witnesses and Ministers of the Word. Nor does it in the least detract from the authority of his relations, that he himself was not present at the doing of them; for if we consider who they were from whom he derived his accounts of things, *Habuit utique authenticam paraturam*, as \* *Certulian* speaks, he had a stock both of credit and intelligence sufficiently authentic to proceed upon, delivering nothing in his whole History but what he had immediately received from persons present at, and concerned in the things which he has left upon record. The occasion of his writing it, is thought to have been partly to prevent those false and fabulous relations which even then began to be obtruded upon the World, partly, to supply what seemed wanting in those two Evangelists that wrote before him; and the additions or larger explications of things are particularly enumerated by || *Irenæus*. He mainly insists upon what relates to Christ's Priestly Office, and though recording other parts of the Evangelical story, yet it ever is with a peculiar respect to his Priesthood. Upon which account the Ancients in accommodating the four Symbolical representations in the Prophets Vision to the four Evangelists, assigned the Oxe or Calf to S. Luke.

5. HIS History of the Apostolick Acts was written no doubt at Rome, at the end of S. Paul's two Years imprisonment there, with which he concludes his story; it contains the Actions, and sometimes the sufferings of some principal Apostles, especially S. Paul; for, besides that his activity in the cause of Christ made him bear a greater part both in doing and suffering, S. Luke was his constant attendant, an eye-witness of the whole carriage of his life, and privy to his most intimate transactions, and therefore capable of giving a more full and satisfactory account and relation of them; seeing no evidence or testimony in matters of fact can be more rational and convictive, than his who reports nothing but what he has heard and seen. Among other things he gives us a particular account of those great miracles which the Apostles did for the confirmation of their doctrine. And this (as \* *Chrysostom* informs us) was the reason why in the Primitive times the Book of the Acts, though containing those Actions of the Apostles that were done after Pentecost were yet usually read in the Church before it, in the space between that and Easter, when as at all other times those parts of the Gospel were read which were proper to the season, it was (says he) because the Apostles miracles being the grand confirmation of the truth of Christ's Resurrection, and those Miracles recorded in that Book, it was therefore thought

thought most proper to be read next to the feast of the Resurrection. In both these Books his way and manner of writing is exact and accurate, his stile polite and elegant, sublime and lofty, and yet clear and perspicuous, flowing with an ease and natural grace and sweetness, admirably accommodate to an historical design, all along expressing himself in a vein of purer Greek, than is to be found in the other Writers of the Holy Story. Indeed being born and bred at Antioch (than which no place more famous for Oratory and Eloquence) he could not but carry away a great share of the native genius of that place, though his stile is sometimes allayed with a tang of the Syriack and Hebrew dialect. It was observed of old (as \* S. Hierom tells us) that his skill was greater in Greek than Hebrew, that therefore he always makes use of the Septuagint Translation, and refuses sometimes to render words, when the propriety of the Greek Tongue will not bear it. In short, as an Historian, he was faithful in his relations, elegant in his Writings; as a Minister, careful and diligent for the good of Souls; as a Christian, devout and pious: and who crowned all the rest with the laying down his life for the testimony of that Gospel, which he had both Preached and Published to the World.

The End of S. Luke's Life.

*DYPTYCHA APOSTOLICA:*  
OR,  
A Brief Enumeration and Account of the  
APOSTLES and their SUCCESSORS,  
FOR THE  
First Three Hundred Years in the Five Great  
Churches, said to have been Founded by them, thence  
called by the Ancients,  
APOSTOLICAL CHURCHES,  
VIZ.  
*Antioch, Rome, Jerusalem, Byzantium or Constantinople,*  
and *Alexandria.*

ANTIOCH.

**T**HIS I place first, partly because 'tis generally acknowledged even by the *Romish* Writers, that a Church was founded here by *S. Peter* some considerable time before that at *Rome*; partly because here it was that the Venerable name of Christians did first commence. In which respect the *¶* Fathers in the Council at *Constantinople* under *Nectarius*, in their *Synodicon* to them at *Rome*, stile the Church of *Antioch*, τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ, καὶ ὄντως ἀποστολικῇ, *The most Ancient, and truly Apostolical*; and \* *S. Chrysostom*, *The head of the whole World*. The Succession of its Bishops till the time of *Constantine* (which shall be the Boundary of this Catalogue) was as followeth.

- I. *S. Peter the Apostle*; who governed this Church at least 7. Years. *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople* says Eleven.  
II. *Euodius*, who sat 23. Years. In his time the Disciples were first called Christians at *Antioch*.

III. *Ignatius*. After near 40. Years Presidency over this Church he was carried out of *Syria* to *Rome*, and there thrown to wild Beasts in the Theatre, *Ann. Chr. 110. Trajan. 11.*

IV. *Heron*, he was Bishop 20. Years: To him succeeded

V. *Cornelius*, who kept the place 13. Years, dying *Ann. Chr. 142.*

VI. *Eros*, 26, or as *Eusebius*, 24. years.

VII. *Theophilus*, 13. a man of great Parts and Learning, many of his Works were extant in *Eusebius* his time, and some of them we still have at this day. *¶ Ap. Theod. II. Eccles. lib. 5. c. 9. p. 151.*

VIII. *Maximinus*, 13. he dying, the next that was chosen was

IX. *Serapio*, 25. many of his Works are mentioned by *Eusebius* and *S. Hierom.* To him succeeded *\* Homil. 3. ad Pop. Ant. lib. 1. p. 40.*

X. *Asclepiades*, a man of great worth and eminency, and invincible constancy in the time of persecution; he continued in this See 9. years.

XI. *Philetus*, 8.

XII. *Zebinus*, or *Zebennus*, he sat 6. years.

XIII. *Babylas*, 13. after many conflicts and sufferings for the Faith,

he received the crown of Martyrdom under *Decius*, and commanded his Chains to be buried with him.

XIV. *Fabius*, or as the Patriarch *Nicephorus* calls him, *Flavius*, possessed the Chair 9. years. He was a little inclining towards *Novatianism*.

XV. *Demetrianus*, he sat Bishop, says *Nicephorus* 4, says *Eusebius*, 8. years.

XVI. *Paulus Samosatenus* sat in the chair 8. years, when for his Unepiscopal manners and practices, his unsound *Dogmata* and principles, and especially his mean and unworthy opinions concerning our Saviour, he was condemned and deposed by a *Synod* at *Antioch*, whose *Synodical* determination is at large extant in *Eusebius*.

XVII. *Domnus* succeeded in the place of the deposed. He was son to *Demetrian*, *Paulus* his predecessor in that See; constituted and ordained to the place by the Fathers of that *Synod*, who farther give him this honourable character, that he was a man indued with all Episcopal virtues and ornaments. *Eusebius* makes him to have sitten 6, *Nicephorus* but 2. years.

XVIII. *Timæus*, he sat in the Chair 10. years.

XIX. *Cyrillus*, who presided over that Church in the account of *Nicephorus* 15, of *Eusebius* 24. years.

XX. *Tyrannus*, he sat 13. years; in his time began the tenth Persecution under *Dioclesian*, which rag'd with great severity.

XXI. *Vitalis*, 6.

XXII. *Philogonius*, 5, succeeded by

XXIII. *Paulinus*, or as *Nicephorus* calls him, *Paulus*, who after five years was deposed and driven out by the prevalence of the *Arrian* faction.

XXIV. *Eustathius*, formerly Bishop of *Berea*, a learned man, and of great note and eminency in the Council of *Nice*, the first general Council, summoned by the Great *Constan-*

*tine*, after he had restored peace and prosperity to the Church.

## R O M E.

THE foundation of this Church is with just probabilities of reason by many of the Fathers equally attributed to *Peter* and *Paul*, the one as *Apostle* of the *Circumcision* preaching to the *Jews*, while the other probably as the *Apostle* of the *Uncircumcision* preached to the *Gentiles*. Its Bishops succeeded in this order.

I. *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, who both suffered Martyrdom under *Nero*.

II. *Linus*, the son of *Herculanens*, a *Tuscan*; he is mentioned by *S. Paul*, he sat between 11. and 12. years.

III. *Cletus*, or *Anacletus*, or *Anencletus*, supposed by many to be the same person, (though others who reckon *Anacletus* a *Greek*, born at *Athens*, make them distinct, whom yet we have left out, not being mentioned by *Eusebius*) a *Roman*, the son of *Æmilianus*, sat 9, though others say but 2. years.

IV. *Clemens*, a *Roman*, born in Mount *Cælius*, the son of *Faustinus*, near akin, say some, to the Emperor: He was condemned to dig in the *Marble-Quarries* near the *Euxin* Sea, and by the command of *Trajan* with an *Anchor* about his Neck thrown into the Sea. He was Bishop of *Rome* 9. years, and 4. months.

V. *Euarestus*, by birth a *Greek*, but his Father a *Jew* of *Bethlehem*. He is said to have been crowned with Martyrdom the last year of *Trajan*, in the ninth of his Bishoprick, or as others, the thirteenth.

VI. *Alexander*, a *Roman*, though young in years, was grave in his manners and conversation. He sat 10. years and 7. months, and died a Martyr.

VII. *Xystus*, or *Sixtus*, a *Roman*, he was Martyred in the tenth year of his Bishoprick, and buried in the *Vatican*.

VIII. *Tele-*

VIII. *Telephorus*, a *Greek*, succeeded; *Justin* the Martyr flourished in his time. He died a Martyr, having sat 11. Years, and 3. months; 10. years, 8. months say others: and lies buried near *S. Peter* in the *Vatican*.

IX. *Hyginus*, the son of an *Athenian* Philosopher was advanced to the Chair under *Antoninus Pius*: He sat 4. years; *Eusebius* says 8.

X. *Pius*, an *Italian*, born at *Aquileia*, he died having been Bishop 11. years, and 4. months; according to *Eusebius*, 15. years.

XI. *Anicetus*, born in *Syria*: He is said after 9, or as others, 11. years to have suffered Martyrdom, and was buried in the *Via Appia* in the Cemetery of *Callistus*. In his time *Polycarp* came to *Rome*.

XII. *Soter*, or as *Nicephorus* calls him, *Soterichus*, was a *Campanian*, the son of *Concordius*. There was an intercourse of Letters between him and *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*. He died after he had sat 9. years, or as *Eusebius* reckons, 7.

XIII. *Eleutherius*, born at *Nicopolis* in *Greece*. To him *Lucius* King of *Britain* sent a Letter and an Embassy. He sat 15. years, died *Ann. Chr.* 186. and lies buried in the *Vatican*.

XIV. *Victor*, an *African*, the son of *Felix*, a man of a furious and intemperate spirit, as appeared in his passionate proceedings in the controversy about the observation of *Easter*. He was Bishop 10. years. *Onuphrius* assigns him 12. years, and one month.

XV. *Zephyrinus*, a *Roman*, succeeded, and possessed the chair 8, but as others, 18. years; 20. says *Onuphrius*. A pious and learned man, but a little warping towards the Errors of *Montanus*.

XVI. *Callistus*, or *Calixtus*, the son of *Domitius*, a *Roman*; a prudent and modest man. He suffered much in the Persecution under *Alexander Severus*, under whom he became

a Martyr, being thrown into a Well by the procurement of *Ulpian* the great Lawyer, but severe enemy of Christians. He sat 6. years, or 5. as others, and one month; and though he made a Cemetery; called after his own name, yet was he buried in that of *Calepodius* in the *Appian* way.

XVII. *Urbanus*, the son of *Pontianus*, a *Roman*, after 4, or as some, 6. years, he suffered Martyrdom for the Faith: *Eusebius* has 5, *S. Hierom* in his translation 9. He was buried in *Pretextatus* his Cemetery in the *Appian* way.

XVIII. *Pontianus*, the son of *Calphurnius*, a *Roman*; for his bold reproving the *Roman* Idolatry he was banished into the Island *Sardinia*, where he died; he was Bishop about 3, or 4, or as *Eusebius*, 5. years.

XIX. *Anteros*, a *Greek*, the son of *Romulus*, He died by that he had kept his place one month, though others without reason make him to have lived in it many years, and was buried in the Cemetery of *Callistus*.

XX. *Fabianus*, a *Roman*, he was unexpectedly chosen Bishop, while several others being in competition, a Pigeon suddenly descended, and sat upon his head, the great emblem of the Holy Spirit. He died a Martyr after 14. years; buried in the same place with his predecessor.

XXI. *Cornelius*, a *Roman*, he opposed and condemned *Novatian*: frequent Letters passed between him and *Cyprian*. After somewhat more than two years he was first cruelly whipp'd, and then beheaded: buried in a Vault within the Grange of *Lucina*, near the *Appian* way.

XXII. *Lucius*, a *Roman*, sat 2, or as others, 3. years. He suffered martyrdom by the command of *Valerian*, and was buried in *Callistus* his Cemetery.

XXIII. *Stephanus*, a *Roman*, the son of *Julius*: Great contests were between him and *Cyprian* about baptizing those who had been baptized

tized by Hereticks. He was beheaded after he had sat about 2. or 3. years, though others say 7; and buried with his predecessor.

XXIV. *Xystus*, a *Greek*, formerly a Philosopher of *Athens*. After 1, or as others compute, 2. years, and 10. months, he suffered Martyrdom, *Eusebius* reckons it 8. years.

XXV. *Dionysius*, of a Monk made Bishop, *λόγιος τε καὶ θαυμαστός*, in the judgment of *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, a truly learned and admirable person. The time of his Presidency is uncertainly assign'd, 6, 9, 10, 11. *Eusebius* extends it to 12. years.

XXVI. *Felix*, a *Roman*: In his time arose the *Manichean* Heresie. He suffered about the fourth or fifth year of his Episcopacy, and lies buried in the *Aurelian* way, in a Cemetery of his own, two miles from *Rome*.

XXVII. *Eutychianus*, a *Tuscan*, a man exceedingly careful of the burial of martyrs, after one years space was himself crowned with martyrdom: *Eusebius* allows him but 8. months, *Onuphrius* 8. years and 6. months.

XXVIII. *Caius*, or as *Eusebius* calls him, *Gaius*, a *Dalmatian*, kinsman to the Emperor *Dioclesian*, and in the Persecution under him became a martyr. He sat 11. years, some say longer. *Eusebius*, 15. years: He was beheaded and buried in *Callistus* his Cemetery.

XXIX. *Marcellinus*, a *Roman*: Through fear of torment he did sacrifice to the gods; but recovering himself, died a martyr, after he had sat 8, or 9. years. He was beheaded, and buried in the Cemetery of *Priscilla* in the *Salarian* way. To him succeeded

XXX. *Marcellus*, a *Roman*; he was condemned by *Maxentius* the Tyrant to keep Beasts in a Stable, which yet he performed with his prayers and exercises of devotion. He died after five Years, and six months, and was buried in the Cemetery of *Priscilla*.

XXXI. *Eusebius*, a *Greek*, the son of a Physician. He suffered much under the Tyranny of *Maxentius*. He sat 6. years say some, 4. say others, though *Eusebius* allows him but 7. months, *Onuphrius* 1. year, and 7. months; he was buried in the *Apian* way near *Callistus* his Cemetery.

XXXII. *Miltiades*, an *African*. He might be a Confessor under *Maxentius*, but could not be a martyr under *Maximinus*, as some report him. He sat 3. or 4, though others assign him but 2. years: and was buried in the Cemetery of *Callistus*.

XXXIII. *Silvester*, a *Roman*. He was elected into the place. *Ann. Chr.* CCCXIV. fetch'd from the mountain *Soracte*, whither he had fled for fear of Persecution. He was highly in favour with *Constantine* the Great. He sat 23, *Nicephorus* says 28. years.

## JERUSALEM.

THE Church of *Jerusalem* may in some sense be said to have been founded by our Lord himself, as it was for some time cultivated and improved by the Ministry of the whole Colledge of Apostles. The Bishops of it were as followeth.

I. *S. James* the Less, the Brother of our Lord, by him, say some, immediately constituted Bishop, but as others more probably by the Apostles: He was thrown off the Temple, and knock'd on the head with a Fullers Club.

II. *Symeon*, the son of *Cleopas*, brother to *Joseph*, our Lord's reputed Father. He sat in this Chair 23. years, and suffered martyrdom in the reign of *Trajan*, in the one hundred and twentieth year of his Age.

III. *Justus* succeeded in his room, and sat 6. years.

IV. *Zacharias*, or as *Nicephorus* the Patriarch

triarch calls him, *Zacharias*, 4. V. *Tobias*; to him after 4. years succeeded

VI. *Benjamin*: who sat 2. years.

VII. *John*: who continued the same space.

VIII. *Matthias*, or *Matthæus*, 2. years.

IX. *Philippus*, one Year: next came

X. *Seneca*, who sat 4. years.

XI. *Justus*, 4.

XII. *Levi*, or *Lebes*, 2.

XIII. *Ephrem*, or *Ephres*, or as *Epiphanius* styles him, *Vaphres*, 2.

XIV. *Joseph*, 2.

XV. *Judas*, 2. Most of these Bishops we may observe to have sat but a short time, following one another with a very quick succession. Which doubtless was in a great measure owing to the turbulent & unquiet humour of the Jewish Nation, frequently rebelling against the Roman powers, whereby they provoked them to fall heavy upon them, and cut off all that came in their way, making no distinction between Jews and Christians: as indeed they were all Jews, though differing in the Rites of their Religion. For hitherto the Bishops of *Jerusalem* had successively been of the Circumcision, the Church there having been intirely made up of Jewish converts. But *Jerusalem* being now utterly laid waste, and the Jews dispersed into all other Countries, the Gentiles were admitted not onely into the body of that Church, but even into the Episcopal chair. The first whereof was

XVI. *Marcus*, who sat 8. years.

XVII. *Cassianus*, 8.

XVIII. *Publius*, 5.

XIX. *Maximus*, 4.

XX. *Julianus*, 2.

XXI. *Caius*, 3.

XXII. *Symmachus*, 2.

XXIII. *Caius*, 3.

XXIV. *Julianus*, 4.

XXV. *Elias*, 2. I find not this Bishop mentioned by *Eusebius*; but he is recorded by *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople*.

XXVI. *Capito*, 4.

XXVII. *Maximus*, 4.

XXVIII. *Antoninus*, 5.

XXIX. *Valens*, 3.

XXX. *Dulichianus*, 2.

XXXI. *Narcissus*, 4. He was a man of eminent piety, famous for the great miracles which he wrought: but not being able to bear the aspersions which some unjustly cast upon him (though God signally and miraculously vindicated his innocence) he left his Church, and retired into deserts and solitudes. In his absence was chosen

XXXII. *Dius*, who sat 8. years. After him

XXXIII. *Germanio*, 4.

XXXIV. *Gordius*, 5. In his time *Narcissus*, as one from the dead, returned from his solitudes, and was importuned by the People again to take the government of the Church upon him; being highly revered by them, both for his strict and Philosophical course of life, and the signal vengeance which God took of his accusers. And in this second administration he continued 10. years, suffering martyrdom when he was near 120. years old. To relieve the infirmities of his great Age, they took in to be his Colleague

XXXV. *Alexander*, formerly Bishop in *Cappadocia*, who at that time had out of devotion taken a pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*; the choice being extraordinarily designed by a particular revelation from Heaven. He was an eminent Confessor, and after having sat 15. Years, died in Prison under the *Decian* Persecution. By him *Origen* was ordained Presbyter. He was a great Patron of Learning as well as Religion, a studious preserver of the Records of the Church. He erected a Library at *Jerusalem*, which he especially furnished with the Writings and Epistles of Ecclesiastical Persons. And out of this treasury it was that *Eusebius* borrowed a great part

part of his materials for the composing of his History.

XXXVI. *Marabanes*, 9. years.

XXXVII. *Hymeneus*, 23.

XXXVIII. *Zabdas*, 10.

XXXIX. *Hermon*, 9. He was, as *Eusebius* tells us, the last Bishop of this See before that fatal Persecution that rag'd even in his time.

XL. *Macarius*, ordain'd *Ann. Christ.* CCCXV. He was present in the great *Nicene Council*. He sat, says *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople*, 20. years, but *S. Hierom* allows him a much longer time.

## BYZANTIUM, afterwards called CONSTANTINOPLE.

THAT this Church was first founded by *S. Andrew*, we have shewed in his Life. The succession of its Bishops was as followeth.

I. *S. Andrew the Apostle*. He was crucified at *Patrae* in *Achaia*.

II. *Stachys*, whom *S. Paul* calls, his beloved *Stachys*, ordained Bishop by *S. Andrew*; he sat 16. years.

III. *Onesimus*, 14.

IV. *Polycarpus*, 17.

V. *Plutarchus*, 16.

VI. *Sedecio*, 9.

VII. *Diogenes*, 15. Of the last three no mention is made in *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople*, but they are delivered by *Nicephorus Callistus*, lib. 8. c. 6. p. 540.

VIII. *Eleutherius*, 7.

IX. *Felix*, 5.

X. *Polycarpus*, 17.

XI. *Athenodorus*, 4. He erected a Church called *Elea*, afterwards much beautified and enlarged by *Constantine the Great*.

XII. *Euzoius*, 16. Though *Nicephorus Callistus* allow but 6.

XIII. *Laurentius*, 11. Years and 6. months.

XIV. *Alypius*, 13.

XV. *Pertinax*, a man of *Consular* dignity, he built another Church near the Sea-side, which he called, *Peace*. He sat 19. years, which *Nicephorus Callistus* reduces to 9.

XVI. *Olympianus*, 11.

XVII. *Marcus*, 13.

XVIII. *Cyriacus*, or *Cyrillianus*, 16.

XIX. *Constantinus*, 7. In the first year of his Bishoprick he built a Church in the North part of the City, which he dedicated to the honour of *Euphemia* the Martyr, who had suffered in that Place. In this Oration he spent the remainder of his life, quitting his Episcopal Chair to

XX. *Titus*, who sat 35. years and 6. months, though *Nicephorus Callistus* makes it 37. years. After him came

XXI. *Dometius*, Brother (as they tell us) to the Emperor *Probus*, he was Bishop 21. years, 6. months.

XXII. *Probus* succeeded his Father *Dometius*, and sat 12. Years. As after him

XXIII. *Metrophanes* his brother, who governed that Church 10. Years. And in his time it was that *Constantine* translated the Imperial Court hither, enlarged and adorned it, called it after his own name, and made it the seat of the Empire.

XXIV. *Alexander* succeeded, a man of great piety and integrity, zealous and constant in maintaining the truth against the blasphemies of *Arius*. He sat 23. years.

## ALEXANDRIA.

THE foundations of this Church were laid, and a great part of its superstructure rais'd by *S. Mark*, who though not strictly and properly an *Apostle*, yet being an *Apostle* at large, and immediately commissioned by *S. Peter*; it justly obtained the

the honour of an *Apostolical* Church. Its Bishops and Governours are thus recorded.

I. *S. Mark the Evangelist*, of whose Travels and Martyrdom we have spoken in his Life. *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople* makes him to sit two years.

II. *Anianus*, characterized by *Eusebius*, ἀνὴρ θεοφιλῆς, καὶ τὰ πάντα θαυμάσιος, a man beloved of God, and admirable in all things. He ruled in that Throne 22. Years.

III. *Avilius*, 12, or as *Eusebius*, 13.

IV. *Cerdo*, succeeded about the first year of *Trajan*; he sat 10. years, according to *Eusebius*, 11.

V. *Primus*, 12.

VI. *Iustus*, or *Iustinus*, 10.

VII. *Eumenes*, 10, or as *Eusebius*, 13. *S. Hierom* in his Translation calls him *Hymeneus*.

VIII. *Marcus* or *Marcianus*, 13, or as *Eusebius*, 10.

IX. *Celadion*, 10, but in *Eusebius* his computation, 14.

X. *Agrippinus*, 14, according to *Eusebius*, 12.

XI. *Julianus*, 15, though *Eusebius* allows but 10.

XII. *Demetrius*, 21, but *Eusebius* more truly makes him to have governed that Church no less than 43. years. He was a man of great zeal and piety, and underwent many troubles in the Persecution at *Alexandria*. He was at first a great friend to *Origen*, but afterwards became his enemy, laying some irregularities to his charge: partly out of emulation at the great reputation which *Origen* had gained in the World; partly, in that *Origen* had suffered himself to be ordained *Presbyter* by two other Bishops, *Alexander* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and *Theotistus* of *Cæsarea*.

XIII. *Heraclas*, a man of a Philosophical genius, and way of life. He was educated under the institution of *Origen*, and by him ta-

ken to be his Assistant in the School of the *Catechumens*, the whole government whereof he afterwards resigned to him; and upon the death of *Demetrius* he was advanced to the government of that Church, the care whereof he took for 16. Years; though *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople* by a mistake, I suppose, for his predecessor, makes it 43.

XIV. *Dionysius*, 17. He was one of the most eminent Bishops of his time. He was one of *Origen's* Scholars, then preferred first Master of the *Catechetical* School at *Alexandria*, and afterwards Bishop of that See. In the Persecution under *Decius* he was banished first to *Taposiris*, a little Town between *Alexandria* and *Canopus*; then to *Cephro*, and other Places in the Deserts of *Libya*. But a large account of his own and others sufferings, with many other transactions of those times, we have out of his own Letters, yet extant in *Eusebius*. He died in the Twelfth Year of the Emperour *Gallienus*.

XV. *Maximus*; of a *Presbyter* he was made Bishop of *Alexandria*; he sat in that Chair 18. Years according to *Eusebius* his computation, though *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople* assign but 8.

XVI. *Theonas*, 17, or according to *S. Hierom's* Version of *Eusebius*, 19. To him succeeded

XVII. *Petrus*, 12. He began his office three Years before the last Persecution. A man of infinite strictness and accuracy, and of indefatigable industry for the good of the Church. He suffered in the Ninth Year of the Persecution, with the loss of his Head, gaining the Crown of Martyrdom. After whose death came in

in the prosperous and happy days of the Church, *Constantine* the Great turning the black and dismal scene of things into a state of calmness and serenity.

XVIII. *Achillas*, 9, though *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople* allows him but one Year. By him *Arius* up-

on his submission was ordained *Presbyter*.

XIX. *Alexander*, 23, Under him *Arius* began more openly to broach his Herefie at *Alexandria*, who was thereupon excommunicated and thrust out by *Alexander*, and shortly after condemn'd by the Fathers of the Council of *Nice*.

*FINIS.*

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THE  
LIVES  
OF THE  
Primitive Fathers.

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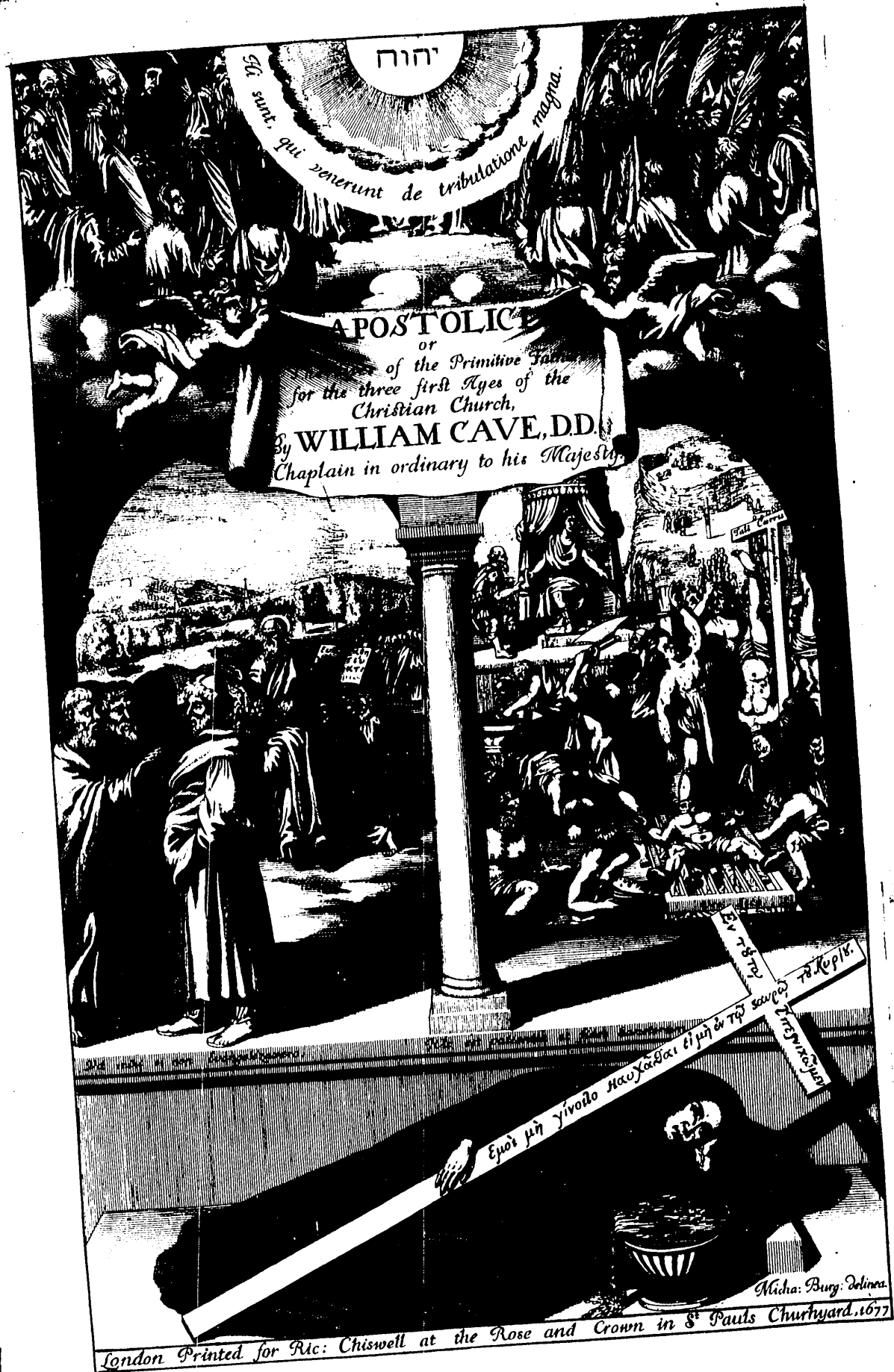
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# Imprimatur,

Hic Liber (cui Titulus *APOSTOLICI*, &c.)

Maii 10.  
1676.

G. JANE R. P. D. Hen. Episc. Lond.  
à Sacris Domesticis.



London Printed for Ric: Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St Pauls Churchyard. 1677

APOSTOLICI:  
OR, THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Lives, Acts, Death,  
AND  
MARTYRDOMS  
OF THOSE

Who were Contemporary with, or immediately  
Succeeded the APOSTLES.

As also the Most Eminent of the

Primitive Fathers

For the First Three Hundred Years.

To which is added, A

CHRONOLOGY  
OF THE

Three First Ages of the CHURCH.

By WILLIAM CAVE, D. D.  
Chaplain in Ordinary to His MAJESTY.

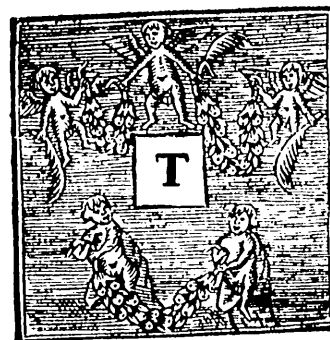
Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 37. p. 109.

Ἄλλοι δ' ὅτι τούτοις πλείους ἐγνωρίζοντο καὶ τότε, καὶ περὶ τούτων τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων ἐπὶ χρόνους διαδοχῆς· οἱ  
καὶ ἄτε πολλῶν δὲ ὄντες θεοσεβασταὶ μαθηταί, καὶ καὶ πάντα τόπον ἡδὲ ἐκκλησιῶν συνεκταβλάνοντες  
καὶ ἁπλῶς Ἀποστόλων διδασκαλίας ἐπακολουθῶντες· αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς πολλὸν τὸ κήρυγμα, καὶ τὰ σωτήρια ἀποδείκνυντες  
ἐργῶν βασιλείας αἰνὰ πάντες εἰς πάντες ὁπωσιεῖσιν καὶ οἰκουμενῶν.

LONDON,  
Printed by A. C. for Richard Chiswel at the Rose and Crown in  
S. Pauls Church-yard. MDCCLXXVII.

*To the Right Honourable,*  
And Right Reverend FATHER in GOD  
**NATHANAEL**  
LORD BISHOP of DURHAM,  
**Clerk of the Closet,**  
*And one of His MAJESTIES most Honourable*  
PRIVY-COUNCIL.

MY LORD,



**T**HAT I once more presume to give your Lordship the trouble of such an Address, is not from any confidence I have in the value of these Papers, but partly because I well know, that your Lordships candor and charity will be ready to pardon the faults, and to cover the weakneses of the Undertaking, partly because I thought it very reasonable and decorous, there to offer the *Remaining Portions*, where I had consecrated the *First-Fruits*.

MY LORD,  
You will here meet with Persons of your own Quality and Order, Men Great and Venerable, whose excellent Learning and exemplary Lives, whose

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*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

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whose Piety and Patience, Zeal and Charity, Sobriety and Contempt of the World, rendred them the honour of their Times, and recommend them as incomparable Examples to Posterity. We may here see in more instances than one, the Episcopal Order immediately deriving it self from *Apostolic* hands: whereof, were not some men strangely biaſſed by Paſſion and Prejudice, there could be no ſhadow of diſpute. For he that can read the Lives of *Timothy* and *Titus*, of *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, &c. and yet fancy them to have been no more then meer Pariſh-Prieſts, that only ſuperintended a little Congregation, muſt needs betray either prodigious Ignorance, or unreaſonable Partiality. Here alſo we may find what a mighty reverence theſe Firſt and better Ages had for the Governours of the Church, and the Guides of Souls, no reſpects being then thought great enough. Wherein they acted agreeably not onely to the Rules of Chriſtianity, but to the common ſenſe of mankind. And indeed with what Honours and Dignities, what Rights and Revenues, what Priviledges and Immunities the *Sacred Function* has been inveſted in all Ages and Nations, as well the rude and barbarous, as the more polite and civilized Countries, I could abundantly ſhew, were it as proper to this place as it is neceſſary to the Age we live in. For we are fallen into the worſt of Times, wherein men have been taught, by bad Principles and worſe Practices, to deſpiſe the holy Order, and to level it with the meaneſt of the People. And this done not onely by profeſt *Enemies* (for then  
we

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*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

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*we could have born it*) but by pretended *friends*, who ſeem to have a high zeal for Religion and themſelves. By which means the hands of evil men have been ſtrengthened, and the deſigns of thoſe ſufficiently gratified, who 'tis like would rejoice at the ruine of us both. I confeſs that the Perſons and Credit of the Regular Clergy ſhould by ſome men be treated with Contempt and Scorn, is the leſs to be wondred at, when Religion it ſelf is not ſecure from the rude and bold raileries of ſome, and the ſerious attempts of others, who gravely deſign to baniſh the awe of Religion, and the impreſſions of whatever is Divine and Sacred out of the minds of men.

But, My Lord, It is not my deſign to entertain your Lordſhip with an invective againſt the *Iniquity* of the Times. I had rather ſilently bewail them, and heartily pray for their reformation, that the beſt of Churches may proſper and flouriſh under the beſt of Princes. May Her Peace and Order be preſerved inviolable, her Liturgy and Divine Offices univerſally complied with, Her Solemn Aſſemblies duly frequented, Her Canons and Conſtitutions obſerved and practiſed! May Her *Prieſts be cloathed with Righteouſneſs*, and able by ſound Doctrin both to Exhort and to Convince Gainſayers! May they be laborious in their Miniſteries, and be very highly eſteemed in love, at leaſt for their relation to God and their Works ſake! May Her Governours diligently ſuperintend the Flock of God, and they that rule well, be accounted worthy of double Honour! In which number may your Lordſhip  
¶ share

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

share a double portion! May you fill up all the measures of a wise and able Counsellour in the State, and of a faithful and vigilant Governour in the Church! To all which great and holy ends, if the following Papers (wherein these things are represented in lively instances) may be capable of contributing any assistance, and in the least measure serviceable to retrieve the Primitive temper and spirit of Religion, it will be thought an invaluable compensation of the mean endeavours of

MY LORD,

Your Lordships faithful

and affectionate Servant

WILLIAM CAVE.

TO

TO THE  
READER.



It is not the least argument for the spiritual and incorporeal Nature of humane souls, and that they are acted by a higher principle than meer *Matter* and *Motion*, their boundless and inquisitive re-searches after knowledge. Our minds naturally grasp at a kind of Omniscency, and not content with the speculations of this or that particular Science, hunt over the whole course of Nature; nor are they satisfied with the present state of things, but pursue the notices of former Ages, and are desirous to comprehend whatever transactions have been since Time it self had a Being: We endeavour to make up the shortness of our lives by the extent of our knowledge; and because we cannot see forwards and spy what lies concealed in the Womb of Futurity, we look back, and eagerly trace the Footsteps of those Times that went before us. Indeed to be ignorant of what happened before we our selves came into the World, is (as *Cicero* truly observes) to be always children, and to deprive our selves of what would at once entertain our minds with the highest pleasure, and add the greatest authority and advantage to us. The knowledge of Antiquity, besides that it gratifies one of our noblest curiosities, improves our minds by the wisdom of preceding Ages, acquaints us with the most remarkable occurrences of the Divine Providence, and presents us with the most apt and proper rules and instances that may form us to a life of true Philosophy and Vertue; History (says *Thucydides*) being nothing else but *φιλοσοφία ἐκ πολλῶν πραγμάτων*, *Philosophy drawn from Examples*: the one is a more gross and popular Philosophy, the other a more subtle and refined History.

These considerations, together with a desire to perpetuate the memory of brave and great Actions, gave birth to History, and obliged mankind to transmit the more observable passages both of their own and foregoing Times to the notice of Posterity. The first in this kind was *Moses*, the great Prince and

*In Oratore pag. 262.*

*Ap. Dion Halic. Περὶ λόγων ἑξήλ. p. 65. Tom. 2.*

and Legillator of the *Jewish* Nation, who from the Creation of the World conveyed down the Records of above MMDL. years; the same course being more or less continued through all the periods of the *Jewish* State. Among the *Babylonians* they had their public *Archives*, which were transcribed by *Be-rosus* the Priest of *Belus*, who composed the *Chaldean History*. The *Egyptians* were wont to record their memorable Acts upon Pillars in *Hieroglyphic* notes and sacred Characters, first begun (as they pretend) by *Thouth*, or the first of their *Mercuries*; out of which *Manethos* their Chief Priest collected his three Books of *Egyptian Dynasties*, which he dedicated to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, second of that line. The *Phœnician History* was first attempted by *Sanctioniathon*, digested partly out of the *Annals of Cities*, partly out of the Books kept in the Temple, and communicated to him by *Jerombaal* Priest of the God *Jao*: this he dedicated to *Abibalus* King of *Berytus*, which *Philo Byblius* about the time of the Emperour *Adrian* translated into Greek. The *Greeks* boast of the Antiquity of *Cadmus*, *Archilochus*, and many others, though the most ancient of their *Historians* now extant, are *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Xenophon*. Among the *Romans* the foundations of History were laid in *Annals*, the public Acts of every year being made up by the *Pontifex Maximus*, who kept them at his own house, that the people upon any emergency might resort to them for satisfaction. These were the *Annales Maximi*, and afforded excellent materials to those who afterwards wrote the History of that great and powerful Commonwealth.

But that which of all others challenges the greatest regard both as it more immediately concerns the present enquiry, and as it contains accounts of things relating to our biggest interests, is the History of the Church. For herein, as in a Glass, we have the true face of the Church in its several Ages represented to us. Here we find with what infinite care those Divine Records, which are the great instruments of our eternal happiness, have through the several periods of time been conveyed down to us; with what a mighty success Religion has triumphed over the greatest oppositions, and spread its Banners in the remotest corners of the World. With how incomparable a zeal good men have contended earnestly for that Faith which was once delivered to the Saints; with what a bitter and implacable fury the Enemies of Religion have set upon it, and how signally the Divine Providence has appeared in its

its preservation, and returned the mischief upon their own heads. Here we see the constant succession of Bishops and the Ministers of Religion in their several stations, the glorious company of the Apostles, the goodly fellowship of the Prophets, the noble Army of Martyrs, who with the most chearful and composed minds have gone to Heaven through the acutest torments. In short, we have here the most admirable examples of a divine and religious Life, of a real and unfeigned Piety, a sincere and universal Charity, a strict Temperance and Sobriety, an unconquerable Patience and Submission clearly represented to us. And the higher we go, the more illustrious are the instances of Piety and Vertue. For however later Ages may have improved in knowledge, Experience daily making new additions to Arts and Sciences, yet former Times were most eminent for the practice and virtues of a holy life. The Divine Laws while newly published, had a stronger influence upon the minds of men, and the spirit of Religion was more active and vigorous, till men by degrees began to be debauched into that impiety and prophaneness, that in these last Times has over-run the World.

It were altogether needless and improper for me to consider what Records there are of the state of the Church before our Saviours Incarnation: it is sufficient to my purpose to enquire by what hands the first affairs of the Christian Church have been transmitted to us. As for the Life and Death, the Actions and Miracles of our Saviour, and some of the first acts of his Apostles, they are fully represented by the Evangelical Historians. Indeed immediately after them we meet with nothing of this nature, the Apostles and their immediate Successors (as *Eusebius* observes) not being at leisure to write many Books, as being employed in Ministeries greater and more immediately serviceable to the World. The first that engaged in this way, was *Hege-sippus*, an ancient and Apostolic man (as he in *Photius* styles him) an *Hebrew* by descent, and born (as is probable) in *Palestina*. He flourished principally in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, and came to *Rome* in the time of *Anicetus*, where he resided till the time of *Eleutherius*. He wrote five Books of Ecclesiastical History, which he styled, *Commentaries of the Acts of the Church*, wherein in a plain and familiar stile he described the Apostles Travels and Preachings, the remarkable passages of the Church, the several Schisms, Heresies, and Persecutions that infested it from our Lords death till his own

time.

H.E.c.l. l. 3. c. 24. p. 54.

Cod. 232. col. 893.

time. But these, alas, are long since lost. The next that succeeded in this Province, though the first that reduced it to any exactness and perfection, was *Eusebius*. He was born in *Palestin*, about the later times of the Emperour *Gallienus*, ordained Presbyter by *Agapius* Bishop of *Cesarea*, who suffering about the end of the *Dioclesian* Persecution, *Eusebius* succeeded in his See. A man of incomparable parts and learning, and of no less industry and diligence in searching out the Records and Antiquities of the Church. After several other Volumes in defence of the Christian Cause against the assaults both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, he set himself to write an *Ecclesiastical History*, wherein he designed (as himself tells us) to recount from the birth of our Lord till his time the most memorable Transactions of the Church, the Apostolical successions, the first Preachers and Planters of the Gospel, the Bishops that presided in the most eminent Sees, the most noted Errours and Heresies, the calamities that befel the *Jewish* State, the attempts and Persecutions made against the Christians by the Powers of the World, the torments and sufferings of the Martyrs, and the blessed and happy period that was put to them by the conversion of *Constantine the Great*. All this accordingly, he digested in Ten Book, which he composed in the declining part of his life, and (as *Valesius* conjectures) some years after the Council of *Nice*, though when not long before he expressly affirms that History to have been written before the *Nicene* Synod, how he can herein be excused from a palpable contradiction, I cannot imagine. 'Tis true *Eusebius* takes no notice of that Council, but that might be partly because he designed to end in that joyful and prosperous Scene of things, which *Constantine* restored to the Church (as he himself plainly intimates in the beginning of his History,) which he was not willing to discompose with the controversies and contentions of that Synod, according to the humour of all Historians, who delight to shut up their Histories with some happy and successful period; and partly because he intended to give some account of the affairs of that Council in his Book of *the Life of Constantine the Great*.

The Materials wherewith he was furnished for this great undertaking (which he complains were very small and inconsiderable) were besides *Hegesippus* his Commentaries then extant, *Africanus* his Chronology, the Books and Writings of several Fathers, the Records of particular Cities, Ecclesiastical Epistles

Epistles written by the Bishops of those Times, and kept in the Archives of their several Churches, especially that famous Library at *Jerusalem*, erected by *Alexander* Bishop of that place, but chiefly the Acts of the Martyrs, which in those Times were taken at large with great care and accuracy. These, at least a great many of them, *Eusebius* collected into one Volume, under the Title of Ἀρχαίων Μαρτυρίων Συναγωγή, *A Collection of the Ancient Martyrdoms*; which he refers to at every turn; besides a particular Narrative which he wrote (still extant as an Appendage to the Eighth Book of his Ecclesiastical History) concerning the Martyrs that suffered in *Palestin*. A great part of these Acts by the negligence and unfaithfulness of succeeding Times, were interpolated and corrupted, especially in the darker and more undiscerning Ages, when Superstition had overspread the Church, and when Ignorance and Interest conspired to fill the World with idle and improbable Stories, and men took what liberty they pleased in venting the issue of their own Brains, insomuch that some of the more wise and moderate even of the *Roman* Communion have complained not without a just resentment and indignation, that *Laertius* has written the Lives of Philosophers with more truth and chastity, then many have done the Lives of the Saints. Upon this account a great and general out-cry has been made against *Simeon Metaphrastes*, as the Father of incredible Legends, and one that has notoriously imposed upon the World by the most fabulous reports. Nay, some to reflect the more disgrace upon him, have represented him as a petty Schoolmaster. A charge, in my mind, rash and inconsiderate, and in a great measure groundless and uncharitable. He was a person of very considerable birth and fortunes, advanced to the highest Honours and Offices, one of the *Primier* Ministers of State, and as is probable, *Great Chancellor* to the Emperour of *Constantinople*; learned and eloquent above the common standard, and who by the persuasions not onely of some great ones of that time (he flourished under *Leo the Wise* about the Year DCCCC. but principally wrote under the reign of his successor) but of the Emperour himself was prevailed with to reduce the Lives of the Saints into order. To which end by his own infinite labour, and the no less expences of the Emperour, he ransacked the Libraries of the Empire, till he had amassed a vast heap of Volumes. The more ancient Acts he passed without any considerable alteration, more then the correcting

recting them by a collation of several Copies, and the enlarging some circumstances to render them more plain and easie, as appears by comparing some that are extant at this day. Where Lives were confused and immethodical, or written in a stile rude and barbarous, he digested the history into order, and clothed it in more polite and elegant language. Others that were defective in neither, he left as they were, and gave them place amongst his own. So that I see no reason for so severe a censure, unless it were evident, that he took his accounts of things not from the Writings of those that had gone before him, but forged them of his own head. Not to say that things have been made much worse by Translations, seldom appearing in any but the dress of the *Latine* Church, and that many Lives are laid at his door, of which he never was the Father, it being usual with some, when they met with the Life of a Saint, the Author whereof they knew not, presently to fasten it upon *Metaphrastes*. But to return to *Eusebius*, from whom we have digressed.

His Ecclesiastical History, the almost onely remaining Records of the ancient Church, deserves a just esteem and veneration, without which those very fragments of Antiquity had been lost, which by this means have escaped the common Shipwrack. And indeed *S. Hierom*, *Nicephorus*, and the rest do not onely build upon his foundation, but almost entirely derive their materials from him. As for *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Theodorit*, and the later Historians, they relate to Times without the limits of my present business, generally conveying down little more then the History of their own Times, the Church History of those more early Ages being either quite neglected, or very negligently managed. The first that to any purpose broke the ice after the Reformation, were the *Centuriators* of *Magdeburg*, a combination of learned and industrious men, the chief of whom were *John Wigandus*, *Matth. Judex*, *Basilius Faber*, *Andreas Corvinus*, but especially *Matth. Flaccius Illyricus*, who was the very soul of the undertaking. They set themselves to traverse the Writings of the Fathers, and all the ancient Monuments of the Church, collecting whatever made to their purpose, which with indefatigable pains they digested into an Ecclesiastic History. This they divided into *Centuries*, and each Century into fifteen Chapters, into each of which, as into its proper Classis and Repository, they reduced whatever concerned the propagation of Religion,

gion, the Peace or Persecutions of the Christians, the Doctrines of the Church, and the Heresies that arose in it, the Rites and Ceremonies, the Government, Schisms, Councils, Bishops, and persons noted either for Religion or Learning, Heretics, Martyrs, Miracles, the state of the *Jews*, the Religion of *them that were without*, and the political revolutions of that Age. A method accurate and useful, and which administers to a very distinct and particular understanding the affairs of the Church. The four first Centuries were finished in the City of *Magdeburg*, the rest elsewhere. A work of prodigious diligence and singular use. True it is, that it labours under some faults and imperfections, and is chargeable with considerable errors and mistakes. And no wonder: for besides that, the Persons themselves may be supposed to have been sometimes betraid into an ἀμαρτία & ἀνδολία by the heats and contentions of those Times, it was the first attempt in this kind, and which never passed the emendations of a second review; an undertaking vast and diffusive, and engaged in, while Books were yet more scarce and less correct. Accordingly they modestly enough confess, that they rather attempted a delineation of Church-History, then one that was complete and absolute, desiring onely to minister opportunity to those, who were able and willing to furnish out one more intricate and perfect. And yet take it with all the faults and disadvantages that can be charged upon it, and they bear no proportion to the usefulness and excellency of the thing it self.

No sooner did this work come abroad, but it made a loud noise and bustle at *Rome*, as wherein the corruptions and innovations of that Church were sufficiently exposed and laid open to the World. Accordingly it was necessary that an Antidote should be provided against it. For which purpose *Philip Nereus* (who had lately founded the *Oratorian Order* at *Rome*) commands *Baronius*, then a very young man, and newly entered into the *Congregation*, to undertake it, and in order thereunto, daily to read nothing but Ecclesiastical Lectures in the Oratory. This course he held for thirty years together, seven several times going over the History of the Church. Thus trained up, and abundantly furnished with fit materials, he sets upon the Work it self, which he disposed by way of *Annals*, comprising the affairs of whole Christian World in the orderly series and succession of every year. A method much more

Præfat. in Hist.  
Eccles. præfix.  
Cent. I.



natural

Natural and Historical then that of the *Centuries*. A noble design, and which it were injustice to defraud of its due praise and commendation, as wherein besides whatever occurrences that concern the state of the Church, reduced (as far as his skill in Chronology could enable him) under their proper periods, he has brought to light many passages of the Ancients, not known before, peculiarly advantaged herein by the many noble Libraries that are at *Rome*. A Monument of incredible pains and labour, as which besides the difficulties of the thing it self, was entirely carried on by his single endeavours, and written all with his own hand, and that too in the midst of infinite avocations, the distractions of a Parish-Cure, the private affairs of his own Oratory, Preaching, hearing Confessions, writing other Books, not to mention the many troublesom, though honourable Offices and Employments, which in the course of the Work were heaped upon him. In short, a Work it was by which he had infinitely more obliged the World, then can be well expressed, had he managed it with as much faithfulness and impartiality as he has done with learning and industry. But alas, too evident it is, that he designed not so much the advancement of Truth, as the honour and interest of a Cause, and therefore drew the face of the ancient Church, not as Antiquity truly represents it, but according to the present form and complexion of the Church of *Rome*, forcing every thing to look that way, to justify the traditions and practises, and to exalt the super-eminent power and *grandeur* of that Church, making both the Scepter and the Crosier stoop to the Triple Crown. This is that that runs almost through every page, and indeed both he \* himself, and the † Writer of his Life, more then once, expressly affirms, that his design was to defend the Traditions, and to preserve the Dignity of that Church against the late Innovators, and the labours of the *Magdeburgian Centuriators*, and that the opposing of them was the occasion of that Work. So fatally does partiality and the interest of a Cause spoil the most brave and generous Undertakings.

What has been hitherto Prefaced, the Reader, I hope, will not censure as an unprofitable digression, nor think it altogether unsuitable to the present Work, whereof 'tis like he will expect some short account. Being some time since engaged, I know not how, in searching after the Antiquities of the *Apostolic Age*, I was then strongly importuned to have carried on the design for some of the succeeding Ages. This I then wholly

\* *Epist. Ded. ad Sixt. N. Rom. 1. Annul. pref. ix.*  
† *Hier. Barnab. de vit. Baron. l. 1. c. 18. p. 40. c. 19. p. 43.*

wholly laid aside, without any further thoughts of re-assuming it. For experience had made me sufficiently sensible of the difficulty of the thing, and I well foresaw how almost impossible it was to be managed to any tolerable satisfaction; so small and inconsiderable, so broken and imperfect are the accounts that are left us of those early times. Notwithstanding which, I have once more suffered my self to be engaged in it, and have endeavoured to hunt out, and gather together those Ruines of Primitive Story that yet remain, that I might do what honour I was able to the memory of those brave and worthy men, who were so instrumental to plant Christianity in the World, to seal it with their blood, and to oblige Posterity by those excellent Monuments of Learning and Piety which they left behind them. I have bounded my account within the first three hundred years, notwithstanding the barrenness and obscurity of those Ages of the Church. Had I consulted my own ease or credit, I should have commenced my design from that time which is the period of my present Undertaking, viz. the following *Saeculum*, when Christianity became the Religion of the Empire, and the Records of the Church furnish us with large and plentiful materials for such a Work. But I confess my humour and inclination led me to the first and best Ages of Religion, the *Memoires* whereof I have picked up, and thereby enabled my self to draw the lineaments of as many of those *Apostolical* persons, as concerning whom I could retrieve any considerable notices and accounts of things. With what success, the Reader must judge: with whom what entertainment it will find, I know not, nor am I much solicitous. I have done what I could, and am not conscious to my self, that I have been wanting in any point either of Fidelity or Care. If there be fewer persons here described then the space of almost three hundred years may seem to promise, and less said concerning some of them then the Reader does expect, he will I presume be more just and charitable, then to charge it upon me, but rather impute it to the unhappy fate of so many ancient Records as have been lost through the carelessness and unfaithfulness of succeeding Times. As far as my mean abilities do reach, and the nature of the thing will admit, I have endeavoured the Readers satisfaction; and though I pretend not to present him an exact Church-History of those Times, yet I think I may without vanity assure him, that there is scarce any material passage of Church-Antiquity, of which in some of these

## To the R E A D E R.

these Lives he will not find a competent and reasonable account. Nor is the History of those Ages maimed and lame onely in its main limbs and parts, but (what is greatly to be bewailed) purblind and defective in its eyes, I mean, confused and uncertain in point of Chronology. The greatest part of what we have is from *Eusebius*, in whose account of Times some things are false, more uncertain, and the whole the worse for passing through other hands after his. Indeed next to the recovering the lost portions of Antiquity, I know nothing would be more acceptable, then the setting right the disjointed Frame of those Times: a Cure, which which we hope for shortly from a very able hand. In the mean time for my own part, and so far as may be useful to the purposes of the following Papers, I have by the best measures I could take in some haste, drawn up a Chronology of these three Ages, which though it pretends not to the utmost exactness and accuracy that is due to a matter of this nature, yet it will serve however to give a quick and present prospect of things, and to shew the connexion and concurrence of Ecclesiastical Affairs with the Times of the Roman Empire. So far as I follow *Eusebius*, I principally rely upon the accounts given in his History, which being written after his *Chronicon*, may be supposed the issue of his more exact researches, and to have passed the judgment of his riper and more considering thoughts. And perhaps the Reader will say (and I confess I am somewhat of his mind) had I observed the same rule towards these Papers, he had never been troubled with them. But that is too late now to be recalled; and 'tis folly to bewail what is impossible to be remedied.

## ERRATA.

INTROD. p. 5. l. 41. read *Claudius*. p. 14. l. 45. r. *ornaverint*. p. 17. l. 40. r. *refers*. p. 29. l. 41. after *assures* add *us*. BOOK. p. 5. l. 41. marg. r. *ἀντιπρό*. p. 101. l. 51. r. *Emperour*. p. 149. l. 12. for to r. of. p. 156. l. 6. after *that* r. *is*. p. 164. l. 34. r. *condemnation*. p. 228. r. *למלך* p. 240. l. 23. r. *librum*. p. 262. l. 37. for *spread* r. *split*. p. 273. l. 20. for *them* r. *him*.

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I.



HE state of the Christian Church in the three first Ages of it may be considered under a three-fold period: as it was first planted and established by our Lord himself during his residence in the World; as it was enlarged and propagated by the Apostles, and first Missionaries of the Christian Faith; and as it grew up and prospered from the Apostolic Age till the times of *Constantine*, when the Empire submitted it self to Christianity.

God, who in former times was pleased by various methods of Revelation to convey his will to mankind, *hath in these last days spoken to us by his Son.* For the great blessing of the promised Seed after a long succession of several Ages being come to its just maturity and perfection, God was resolved to perform the mercy promised to the Fathers, and to remember his holy Covenant, the Oath which he swore to our Father Abraham. Accordingly, *In the fulness of time God sent his Son.* It was in the declining part of *Augustus* his reign, when this great Ambassador arrived from Heaven, to publish to the World the glad tidings of salvation. A period of time (as *\* Origen* observes) wisely ordered by the divine Providence. For the Roman Empire being now in the highest pitch of its grandeur, all its parts united under a Monarchical Government, and an universal Peace spread over all the Provinces of the Empire, that had opened a way to a free and uninterrupted commerce with all Nations, a smoother and speedier passage was hereby prepared for the publishing the doctrine of the Gospel, which the Apostles and first Preachers of Religion might with the greater ease and security carry up and down to all quarters of the World. As for the Jews, their minds were awakened about this time with busie expectations of their *Messiah's* coming: and no sooner was the birth of the holy Jesus proclaimed by the arrival of the *Eastern Magi*, who came to pay homage to him, but *Jerusalem* was filled with noise and tumult, the *Sanhedrin* was convened, and consulted by *Herod*, who jealous of his late gotten Sovereignty, was resolved to dispatch this new Competitor out of the way. Deluded in his hopes of discovery by the *Magi*, he betakes himself to acts of open force and cruelty, commanding all Infants under two years old to be put to death, and among them it seems his own Son, which made *\* Augustus* pleasantly say (alluding to the Jewish custom of abstaining from Swine-flesh) *It is better to be Herod's Hog than his Son.* But the Providence of God secured the holy Infant, by timely admonishing his Parents to retire

\* Contr. Cel. lib. 2. p. 79.

o Mat. 23. 35. *Mat. 23. 35.*

into *Ægypt*, where they remained till the death of *Herod*, which happening not long after, they returned.

II. NEAR thirty years our Lord remained obscure under the retirements of a private life, applying himself (as the Ancients tell us, and the Evangelical History plainly intimates) to *Joseph's* employment, the trade of a Carpenter. So little Patronage did he give to an idle unaccountable course of Life. But now he was called out of his Shades and Solitudes, and publicly owned to be that person, whom God had sent to be the great Prophet of his Church. This was done at his Baptism, when the Holy Ghost in a visible shape descended upon him, and God by an audible voice testified of him, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well-pleased.* Accordingly he set himself to declare the Counsels of God, *Going about all Galilee, teaching in their Synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom.* He particularly explained the Moral Law, and restored it to its just authority and dominion over the minds of men, redeeming it from those corrupt and perverse interpretations which the Masters of the Jewish Church had put upon it. He next insinuated the abrogation of the *Mosaic* Oeconomy, to which he was sent to put a period, to enlarge the bounds of salvation, and admit both Jew and Gentile to terms of mercy: that he came as a Mediator between God and Man, to reconcile the World to the favour of Heaven by his death and sufferings, and to propound pardon of sin and eternal life to all that by an hearty belief, a sincere repentance, and an holy life, were willing to embrace and entertain it. This was the sum of the doctrine which he preached every where, as opportunity and occasion led him, and which he did not impose upon the World merely upon the account of his own authority and power, or beg a precarious entertainment of it; he did not tell men they must believe him, because he said he came from God, and had his Warrant and Commission to instruct and reform the World, but gave them the most satisfactory and convictive evidence, by doing such miracles as were beyond all powers and contrivances either of Art or Nature, whereby he unanswerably demonstrated, that *he was a Teacher come from God, in that no man could do those miracles which he did, except God were with him.* And because he himself was in a little time to return back to Heaven, he ordained twelve, whom he called Apostles, as his immediate Delegates and Vicegerents, to whom he deputed his authority and power, furnished them with miraculous gifts, and left them to carry on that excellent Religion which he himself had begun, to whose assistance he joined LXX Disciples, as ordinary coadjutors and companions to them. Their Commission for the present was limited to *Palestine*, and they sent out onely to seek and to save the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

III. HOW great the success of our Saviours Ministry was, may be guessed from that complaint of the Pharisees, *Behold the World is gone after him*, people from all parts in such vast multitudes flocking after him, that they gave him not time for necessary solitude and retirement. Indeed he went about doing good, preaching the word throughout all Judaea, and healing all that were possessed of the Devil. The seat of his ordinary abode was Galilee, residing for the most part (says one of the Ancients\*) in Galilee of the Gentiles, that he might there sow and reap the first fruits of the calling of the Gentiles. We usually find him preaching at Nazareth, at Cana, at Corazin and Bethsaida, and the Cities about the Sea of Tiberias, but especially at Capernaum, the Metropolis of the Province, a place

\* Euseb. Demon. Str. Ev. l. 9. p. 439.

place of great commerce and traffique. He often visited *Judea*, and the parts about *Jerusalem*, whither he was wont to go up at the *Paschal* solemnities, and some of the greater festivals, that so the general concourse of people at those times might minister the fitter opportunity to spread the net, and to communicate and impart his doctrine to them. Nor did he who was to be a common Saviour, and came to break down the Partition-wall, disdain to converse with the *Samaritans*, so contemptible and hateful to the *Jews*. In *Sychar* not far from *Samaria*, he freely preached, and gained most of the inhabitants of that City to be Profelytes to his doctrine. He travelled up and down the Towns and Villages of *Cæsarea Philippi*, and went into the borders of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and through the midst of the coasts of *Decapolis*, and where he could not come, therenown of him spread it self, bringing him Disciples and Followers from all quarters. Indeed his fame went throughout all *Syria*, and there followed him great multitudes of people from *Galilee*, *Judea*, *Decapolis*, *Idumæa*, from beyond *Jordan*, and from *Tyre* and *Sidon*. Nay might we believe the story, so solemnly reported by *Eusebius*<sup>a</sup> and the Ancients, (and excepting the silence of the Evangelical Historians, who recorded onely some of the actions and passages concerning our Saviour, I know no wise argument against it) *Acbarus* Prince of *Edeffa* beyond *Euphrates*, having heard of the fame of our Saviours miracles, by Letters humbly besought him to come over to him, whose Letter, together with our Lords answer, are extant in *Eusebius*, therebeing nothing in the Letters themselves that may justly shake their credit and authority, with much more to this purpose, transcribed (as he tells us) out of the Records of that City, and by him translated out of *Syriac* into *Greek*, which may give us some account why none of the Ancients before him make any mention of this affair, being generally strangers to the Language, the Customs and Antiquities, of those Eastern Countries.

IV. OUR Lord having spent somewhat more then three years in the public exercise of his Ministry, kept his last Pasover with his Apostles; which done, he instituted the Sacramental Supper, consigning it to his Church as the standing memorial of his death, and the Seal of the Evangelical Covenant, as he appointed Baptism to be the Fœderal Rite of Initiation, and the public *Tessera* or Badge of those that should profess his Religion. And now the fatal hour was at hand: being betrayed by the treachery of one of his own Apostles, he was apprehended by the Officers and brought before the public Tribunals. Heavy were the crimes charged upon him, but as false as spightful; the two main Articles of the Charge were Blasphemy against God, and Treason against the Emperour: and though they were not able to make them good by any tolerable pretence of proof, yet did they condemn and execute him upon the Cross, several of themselves vindicating his innocency, that he was a *righteous man*, and the *Son of God*. The third day after his interment he rose again, appeared to and conversed with his Disciples and Followers, and having taken care of the affairs of his Church, given a larger Commission, and fuller instructions to his Apostles, he took his leave of them, and visibly ascended into Heaven, and sate down on the right hand of God, as head over all things to the Church, Angels, Authorities, and Powers being made subject unto him.

V. THE faith of these passages concerning our Saviour, are not onely secured to us by the report of the Evangelical Historians, and that

that justified by eye-witnesses, the evidence of miracles, and the successive and uncontrolled consent of all Ages of the Church, but (as to the substance of them) by the plain confession of Heathen Writers, and the enemies of Christianity. <sup>a</sup> *Tacitus* tells us, That the Author of this Religion was Christ, who under the reign of *Tiberius* was put to death by *Pontius Pilat*, the Procurator of *Judea*: whereby though this detestable Superstition was suppressed for the present, yet did it break out again, spreading it self not onely through *Judea*, the fountain of the mischief, but in the very City of *Rome* it self, where whatever is wicked and shameful meets together, and is greedily advanced into reputation. <sup>b</sup> *Eusebius* assures us, that after our Lords Ascension, *Pilat* according to custom, sent an account of him to the Emperour: which *Tiberius* brought before the Senate, but they rejected it under pretence that cognizance had been taken of it before it came to them; it being a fundamental Law of the Roman State, that no new god could be taken in without the Decree of the Senate; but that however *Tiberius* continued his good thoughts of Christ, and kindness to the Christians. For this he cites the testimony of *Tertullian*, who in his <sup>c</sup> *Apology* presented to the Roman Powers affirms, that *Tiberius*, in whose time the Christian Religion entered into the World, having received an account from *Pilat* out of *Palestin* in *Syria* concerning the truth of that Divinity that was there, brought it to the Senate with the Prerogative of his own vote: but that the Senate, because they had not before approved of it, would not admit it; however the Emperour continued of the same mind, and threatened punishment to them that accused the Christians. And before *Tertullian*, *Justin Martyr*<sup>d</sup> speaking concerning the death and sufferings of our Saviour, tells the Emperours, that they might satisfy themselves in the truth of these things from the *Acts* written under *Pontius Pilat*. It being customary not only at *Rome* to keep the *Acts* of the Senate and the People, but for the Governors of Provinces to keep account of what memorable things happened in their Government, the *Acts* whereof they transmitted to the Emperour. And thus did *Pilat* during the Procuratorship of his Province. How long these *Acts* remained in being, I know not: but in the controversy about *Easter*, we find the *Quartodecimans*<sup>e</sup> justifying the day on which they observed it from the *Acts* of *Pilat*, wherein they gloried that they had found the truth. Whether these were the *Acts* of *Pilat*, to which *Justin* appealed, or rather those *Acts* of *Pilat* drawn up and published by the command of <sup>f</sup> *Maximinus*, *Dioclesians* successor, in disparagement of our Lord and his Religion, is uncertain, but the latter of the two far more probable. However *Pilats* Letter to *Tiberius* (or, as he is there called *Claudis*) at this day extant in the *Anacephaleosis*<sup>g</sup> of the younger *Egesippus*, is of no great credit, though that Author challenges greater antiquity then some allow him, being probably contemporary with *S. Ambrose*, and by many, from the great conformity of stile and phrase, thought to be *S. Ambrose* himself, who with some few additions compiled it out of *Josephus*. But then it is to be considered, whether that *Anacephaleosis* be done by the same, or (which is most probable) by a much later hand. Some other particular passages concerning our Saviour are taken notice of by *Gentile* Writers, the appearance of the Star by *Calcidius*, the murder of the Infants by *Macrobius*, the Eclips at our Saviours Passion by *Phlegon Trallianus* (not to speak of his miracles frequently acknowledged by *Celsus*, *Julian*, and *Porphry*) which I shall not insist upon.

<sup>a</sup> *Annal. l. 15. c. 44. p. 319.*

<sup>b</sup> *H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 2. p. 40. vid. Oros. adv. Pag. l. 7. c. 4. fol. 293.*

<sup>c</sup> *Apolog. c. 5. p. 6. Or. c. 21. p. 20.*

<sup>d</sup> *Apolog. II. p. 76.*

<sup>e</sup> *Ap. Epiph. Hæres. l. p. 182.*

<sup>f</sup> *Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 9. c. 5. p. 350.*

<sup>g</sup> *Ad calcem l. de Excid. t. 6. Hieros. p. 683.*

VI. IMMEDIATELY after our Lords Ascension (from whence we date the next period of the Church) the Apostles began to execute the Powers intrusted with them. They presently filled up *Judas* his vacancy by the election of a new Apostle, the lot falling upon *Matthias*, and he was numbred with the eleven Apostles. Being next endued with power from on high (as our Lord had promised them) furnished with the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, they set themselves to preach in places of the greatest concourse, and to the faces of their greatest enemies. They who but a while before fled at the first approach of danger, now boldly plead the cause of their crucified Master, with the immediate hazard of their lives. And that nothing might interrupt them in this employment, they instituted the Office of *Deacons*, who might attend the inferiour Services of the Church while they devoted themselves to what was more immediately necessary to the good of souls. By which prudent course Religion got ground apace, and innumerable Converts were daily added to the Faith: till a Persecution arising upon *S. Stephen's* Martyrdom, banished the Church out of *Jerusalem*, though this also proved its advantage in the event and issue, Christianity being by this means the sooner spread up and down the neighbour Countries. The Apostles notwithstanding the rage of the Persecution, remained still at *Jerusalem*, onely now and then dispatching some few of their number to confirm and settle the Plantations, and to propagate the Faith, as the necessities of the Church required. And thus they continued for near twelve years together, our Lord himself having commanded them not to depart *Jerusalem* and the parts thereabouts, till twelve years after his Ascension, as the ancient Tradition mentioned both by *Apollonius*, and *Clement Alexandrinus* informs us. And now they thought it high time to apply themselves to the full execution of that Commission which Christ had given them, to go teach and baptize all Nations. Accordingly having settled the general affairs and concerns of the Church, they betook themselves to the several Provinces of the *Gentile* World, preaching the Gospel to every Nation under Heaven, so that even in a literal sense, their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the World. "Infinite multitudes of people in all Cities and Countries (says *Eusebius*) like Corn into a well-filled Granary, being brought in by that grace of God that brings salvation. And they whose minds were heretofore distempered and over-run with the error and idolatry of their Ancestors, were cured by the Sermons and Miracles of our Lords Disciples, and shaking off those chains of Darkness and Slavery which the merciless Demons had put upon them, freely embraced and entertained the knowledge and service of the onely true God, the great Creator of the World, whom they worshiped according to the holy Rites and Rules of that divine and wisely contrived Religion which our Saviour had introduced into the World. But concerning the Apostles travels, the success of their Ministry, the Places and Countries to which they went, the Churches they planted, their Acts and Martyrdoms for the Faith, we have given an account in a Work peculiar to that Subject, so far as the Records of those times have conveyed any material notices of things to us. It may suffice to observe, that God was pleased to continue *S. John* to a very great age, beyond any of the rest, that he might superintend and cultivate, confirm and establish what they had planted, and be as a stand-

<sup>a</sup> Ap. Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 5. c. 18. p. 186.  
<sup>b</sup> Stromat. l. 6. p. 636. vid. Life of S. Peter, Sect. 11. num. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. 2. c. 3. p. 41.

ing and lively Oracle, to which they might from all parts have recourse in any considerable doubts and exigences of the Church, and that he might seal and attest the truth of those things, which men of corrupt and perverse minds, even then began to call in question.

VII. HENCE then we pass on to survey the state of the Church from the Apostolic Age till the times of *Constantine*, for the space of at least two hundred years. And under this period we shall principally remarque two things. What progress the Christian Religion made in the World. Secondly, What it was that contributed to so vast a growth and increase of it. That Christianity from the nature of its precepts, the sublimeness of its principles, its contrariety to the established Rites and Religions of the World, was likely to find bad entertainment, and the fiercest opposition, could not but be obvious to every impartial considerer of things; which accordingly came to pass. For it met with all the discouragement, the secret undermining, and open assaults which malice and prejudice, wit and parts, learning and power were able to make upon it. Notwithstanding all which, it lift up its head, and prospered under the greatest oppositions. And the triumph of the Christian Faith will appear the more considerable, whether we regard the number and quality of its Converts, or the vast circumference to which it did extend and diffuse itself. Though it appeared under all manner of disadvantages to recommend itself, yet no sooner did it set up its Standard, but persons from all parts, and of all kind of principles and educations began to flock to it, so admirably affecting very many both of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians* (as *Origen*<sup>a</sup> tells *Celsus*) and they both wise and unwise, that they contended for the truth of their Religion even to the laying down their lives, a thing not known in any other Profession in the World. And <sup>b</sup> elsewhere he challenges him to shew such an unspeakable multitude of *Greeks* and *Barbarians* reposing such a confidence in *Aesculapius*, as he could of those that had embraced the Faith of the holy *Jesus*. And when *Celsus* objected that Christianity was a clandestine Religion, that sculked and crept up and down in corners; *Origen* answers, That the Religion of the Christians was better known throughout the whole World, then the dictates of their best Philosophers. Nor were they onely mean and ignorant persons that thus came over, but (as <sup>c</sup> *Arnobius* observes) men of the acutest parts and learning; *Orators*, *Grammarians*, *Rhetoricians*, *Lawyers*, *Physicians*, *Philosophers*, despising their formerly-beloved sentiments, sate down here. *Tertullian* addressing himself to the *Roman* Governours in behalf of the Christians, assures them, that although they were of no long standing, yet that they had filled all places of their Dominions, their Cities, Islands, Castles, Corporations, Councils, Armies, Tribes, Companies, the Palace, Senate, and Courts of Judicature: that if they had a mind to revenge themselves, they need not betake themselves to clancular and sculking Arts, their numbers were great enough to appear in open Arms, having a Party not in this or that Province, but in all quarters of the World: nay, that naked as they were, they could be sufficiently revenged upon them; for should they but all agree to retire out of the *Roman* Empire, the World would stand amazed at that solitude and desolation that would ensue upon it, and they would have more Enemies then Friends or Citizens left among them. And he bids the *President Scapula* consider, that if he went on with the Persecution, what he would do with those many thousands both of men

<sup>a</sup> Contr. Cels. l. 1. p. 21, 22.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. l. 3. p. 124.

<sup>c</sup> Ib. l. 1. p. 7.

<sup>d</sup> Adv. Gent. l. 2. p. 21.

<sup>e</sup> Apol. c. 37. p. 30.

<sup>f</sup> Adv. Scap. l. 2. p. 71.

and women, of all ranks and ages, that would readily offer themselves, what Fires and Swords he must have to dispatch them. Nor is this any more than what *Pliny* himself confesses to the Emperour, that the case of the Christians was a matter worthy of deliberation, especially by reason of the multitudes that were concerned, for that many of each Sex, of every age and quality were and must be called in question, this *Superstition* having infected and over-run not the City onely, but Towns and Countries, the Temples and Sacrifices being generally desolate and forsaken.

VIII. NOR was it thus onely in some Parts and Provinces of the Roman Empire, but in most Nations and Countries. *Justin Martyr* tells the Jew, that whatever they might boast of the universality of their Religion, there were many places of the World whither neither they nor it ever came: whereas there was no part of mankind, whether *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, or by what name soever they were called, even the most rude and unpolished Nations, where Prayers and Thanksgivings were not made to the great Creator of the World through the name of the crucified *Jesus*. The same *Bardeanes* the Syrian, *Justins* contemporary, affirms, that the followers of the Christian Institution, though living in different parts of the World, and being very numerous in every Climat and Countrey, were yet all called by the name of Christians. So *Laſantius*, the Christian Law (*says he*) is entertained from the rising of the Sun to the going down thereof, where every Sex, and Age, and Nation, and Countrey does with one heart and soul worship God. If from generals we descend to particular Places and Countries, *Irenæus*, who entered upon the See of *Lyons Ann.Chr. CLXXIX.* affirms, that though there were different languages in the World, yet that the force of Tradition, (or that Doctrin that had been delivered to the Church) was but one and the same; that there were Churches settled in *Germany, Spain, France, in the East, in Egypt and Ijbia*, as well as in the middle of the World. *Tertullian*, who probably wrote not above twenty years after *Irenæus*, gives us in a larger account. "Their sound" (*says he*) *went through all the Earth, and their words to the ends of the World.* For in whom but Christ did all Nations believe? *Parthians, Medes, Elamites, the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia, of Pontus, Asia, and Pamphylia, those who dwell in Egypt, Afric, and beyond Cyrene, strangers at Rome, Jews at Jerusalem, and other Nations; as also now the Getuli, and the Mauri, the Spaniards, and the Gauls, yea and those places of Britain, which were unapproachable by the Roman Armies, are yet subdued to Christ; the Sarmate also and the Daci, the Germans and the Seythians, together with many undiscovered Countries, many Islands and Provinces unknown to us, which he professes himself unable to reckon up. In all which places (says he) the name of Christ reigns, as before whom the Gates of all Cities are set open, and to whom none are shut; before whom Gates of Brass fly open, and bars of iron are snapt asunder. To which* *Arnobius* adds the *Indians, the Persians, the Sere, and all the Islands and Provinces, which are visited by the rising or setting Sun, yea, and Rome it self, the Emperess of all.*

IX. FROM *Tertullians* account we have a most authentic testimony how early Christianity stretched it self over this other World, having before his time conquered the most rough and inaccessible parts of *Britain*

tain to the banner of the Cross, which may probably refer to the conversion of King *Lucius* (the first Christian King that ever was) a potent and considerable Prince in this Island, who embraced the Christian Religion about the year CLXXXVI. and sent a solemn Embassie to *Eleutherius*, Bishop of *Rome*, for some who might further instruct him and his people in the Faith; who accordingly dispatched *Faganus* and *Derwianus* hither upon that errand. Not that this was the first time that the Gospel made its way through the *ὠκεανὸς ἀπέραντος* (as *Clemens* calls the *British Ocean*, and so the Ancients constantly stile it) the unpassable Ocean, and those worlds which are beyond it; that is, the *Britannic Islands*: it had been here many years before, though probably stifled and overgrown with the ancient Paganism and Idolatry. *St. Clemens* tells us of *St. Paul*, that he preached both in the *East* and *West*; and having instructed the whole world in righteousness, made his way to the utmost bounds of the *West*: by which he must either mean *Spain*, or more probably *Britain*, and it may be both. Accordingly *Theodoret* speaking of his coming into *Spain*, says, that besides that, he brought great advantage to the *Illes of the Sea*; and he reckons the *Cimbri* and the *Britains* among the Nations which the Apostles (and he particularly mentions the *Tent-maker*) converted to the Christian Faith. If after all this, it were necessary to enter into a more minute and particular disquisition, I might enquire not only in what Countries, but in what Towns and Cities in those Countries Christianity fixed it self, in what places Episcopal Sees were erected, and what succession of Bishops are mentioned in the Records of the Church; but that this would not well consist with the designed shortness of this Introduction, and would be more perhaps than the Readers patience would allow.

X. THE shadows of the night do not more naturally vanish at the rising of the Sun, than the darkness of Pagan Idolatry and Superstition fled before the Light of the Gospel; which the more it prevailed, the clearer it discovered the folly and impiety of their worship: Their solemn Rites appeared more trifling and ridiculous, their Sacrifices more barbarous and inhumane, their *Demons* were expelled by the meanest Christian, their Oracles became mute and silent, and their very Priests began to be ashamed of their Magic Charms and Conjurations; and the more prudent and subtle heads among them, who stood up for the Rites and Solemnities of their Religion, were forced to turn them into mystical and allegorical meanings, far enough either from the apprehension or intention of the vulgar. The truth is, the Devil, who for so many ages had usurped an Empire and tyranny over the souls of men, became more sensible every day, that his Kingdom shook; and therefore sought, though in vain, by all ways to support and prop it up. Indeed some time before our Saviours Incarnation the most celebrated Oracle at *Delphos* had lost its credit and reputation, as after his appearance in the world they sunk and declined every day; whereof their best Writers universally complain, that their gods had forsaken their Temples, and Oracular Recesses, and had left the world in darkness and obscurity; and that their Votaries did in vain solicit their Counsels and answers. *Plutarch*, who lived under *Trajan*, wrote a particular Tract (still extant) concerning the ceasing of Oracles, which he endeavours to resolve partly into natural, partly into moral, partly into political causes, though all his Philology was too short to give a just and satisfactory account of it.

(b)

One

Περὶ τῶν ἐκ-  
αίσιπ. Κρησπ.  
p. 419.

\* Prepar.  
Evang. l. 5.  
c. 17. p. 207.

One cause he assigns of it is, the death and departure of those *Demons*, that heretofore presided over these Oracles. To which purpose he relates a memorable passage, concerning a voice that called three times aloud to one *Thamnis* an *Egyptian* Ship-master and his company, as they sailed by the *Echinade* Islands, commanding him when they came near to *Palodes* to make Proclamation, that *the great Pan was dead*, which he did; and the news was entertained not with the resentment of one or two, but of many, who received it with great mourning and consternation. The circumstances of this story he there reports more at large, and adds, that the thing being published at *Rome*, *Thamnis* was sent for by *Tiberius*, to whom he gave an account, and satisfied him in the truth of it. Which circumstance of time *Eusebius* observes corresponds with our Lords conversing in the world, when he began openly to dispossess *Demons* of that power and tyranny which they had gained over mankind. And (if the calculation which some make, hit right) it fell in about the time of our Saviours Passion, who led captivity captive, spoiled principalities and powers, and made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in his Cross, and by his Death destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil.

XI. HOWEVER that the silence of Oracles, and the enervating the power of *Demons* was the effect of the Christian Religion in the world, we need no more then the plain confession of *Porphyry* himself (truth will sometimes extort a confession out of the mouth of its greatest enemy) who says, that *now its no wonder if the City for so many years has been overrun with sickness, Æsculapius and the rest of the gods having withdrawn their converse with men: For that since Jesus began to be worshipped, no man hath received any public help or benefit by the gods.* A great argument, as *Eusebius* well urges, of our Saviours Divine authority, and the truth of his Doctrine. For when (says he a little before) such numbers of fi-

ctitious deities fled at our Lords appearance, who would not with admiration behold it as an uncontrollable demonstration of his truly saving and excellent Religion, whereby so many Churches and Oratories through all the world both in Cities and Villages, and even in the Deserts and Solitudes of the most barbarous Nations have been erected and consecrated to the great Creator, and the only Sovereign of the World: when such multitudes of Books have been written, containing the most incomparable rules and institutions to form mankind to a life of the most perfect Virtue and Religion, precepts accommodate not to men only, but to women and children: when he shall see that the Oracles and Divinations of the *Demons* are ceased and gone; and that the Divine and Evangelical virtue of our Saviour no sooner visited mankind, but they began to leave off their wild and frantic ways of worship, and to abhor those humane sacrifices (many times of their dearest relations) wherewith they had been wont to propitiate and atone their bloody and merciless *Demons*, and into which their wisest and greatest men had been bewitched and seduced. I add no more but *S. Chrysostom*'s challenge, "Judge now with me, O thou incredulous Jew, and learn the excellency of the truth; what Impostor ever gathered to himself so many Churches throughout the world, and propagated his worship from one end of it

\* Orat. III.  
adv. Judæos,  
p. 420. Toim. I.

"it to the other, and subdued so many Subjects to his Crown, even when thousands of impediments lay in the way to hinder him? certainly no man: a plain evidence that Christ was no Impostor, but a Saviour and Benefactor, and the Author of our life and happiness.

XII. WE have seen with what a mighty success Christianity displayed its banners over the world; let us next consider what it was that contributed to so vast an increase and propagation of it. And here not to insist upon the blessing of the Divine Providence, which did immediately superintend its prosperity and welfare, nor upon the intrinsic excellency of the Religion it self, which carried essential characters of Divinity upon it, sufficient to recommend it to every wise and good man, there were five things among others that did especially conduce to make way for it; the miraculous powers then resident in the Church, the great learning and abilities of its champions and defenders, the indefatigable industry used in propagating of it, the incomparable lives of its professors, and their patience and constancy under sufferings. It was not the least means that procured the Christian Religion a just veneration from the world, the miraculous attestations that were given to it. I shall not here concern myself to shew, that miracles truly and publicly wrought are the highest external evidence that can be given to the truth of that Religion, which they are brought to confirm; the force of the argument is sufficiently pleaded by the Christian Apologists. That such miraculous powers were then ordinary in the Church, we have the concurrent testimonies of all the first Writers of it. *Justin Martyr* tells the Emperor and the Senate, that our Lord was born for the subversion of the *Demons*, which they might know from the very things done in their sight; for that very many who had been vexed and possessed by *Demons*, throughout the world, and in this very City of theirs, whom all their exorcists and conjurers were not able to relieve, had been cured by several Christians through the name of *Jesus* that was crucified under *Pontius Pilate*; and that at this very time they still cur'd them, disarming and expelling the *Demons* out of those whom they had possess'd. The same he affirms in his discourse with *Trypho* the Jew, more than once, that the Devils trembled and stood in awe of the power of Christ; and to this day being adjured by the name of *Jesus Christ* crucified under *Pontius Pilate* the Procurator of *Judea*, they were obedient to Christians. *Irenæus* assures us that in his time, the Christians enabled by the Grace of Christ, raised the dead, ejected *Demons*, and unclean spirits; the persons so dispossessed coming over to the Church: others had Visions and the gift of Prophecy; others by Imposition of hands healed the Sick, and restored them to perfect health. But I am not able (says he) to reckon up the number of those gifts, which the Church throughout the world receiving from God, does every day freely exercise in the name of *Jesus Christ* crucified under *Pontius Pilate*, to the benefit of the world. *Tertullian* challenges the Roman Governors to let any possessed person be brought before their own Tribunals, and they should see, that the spirit being commanded to speak, by any Christian, should as truly confess himself to be a Devil, as at other times he falsely boasted himself to be a God. And he tells *Scapula*, that they rejected, disgraced, and expelled *Demons* every day, as most could bear them witness. *Origen* bids *Celsus* take notice, that whatever he might think of the reports which the Gospel makes concerning our Saviour; yet that it was the great and magnificent

\* Apol. I. p. 47.

\* Dial. com  
Tryph. p. 247.  
c. p. 302.

\* Adv. Heres.  
l. 2. c. 56. p. 215.  
c. 57. p. 218.

\* Apol. c. 23.  
p. 22.

\* Ad Scap. c. 2.  
p. 6.  
Contr. Celj. l. 2.  
p. 80.

nificent work of *Jesus*, by his name to heal even to this day, whom God pleased; that he himself had seen many, who by having the name of God and Christ called over them, had been delivered from the greatest evils, frenzy and madness, and infinite other distempers, which neither men nor devils had been able to cure. What influence these miraculous effects had upon the world, he lets us know elsewhere. "The Apostles  
1b. l. 3. p. 124. "of our Lord (*says he*) without these miraculous powers would never  
Lib. 1. p. 34. "have been able to have moved their Auditors, nor persuaded them to  
 "desert the institutions of their Country, and to embrace their new  
 "Doctrine; and having once embraced it, to defend it even to death, in  
 "defiance of the greatest dangers. Yea even to this day the foot-steps  
 "of that Holy Spirit, which appeared in the shape of a Dove, are pre-  
 "served among the Christians; they exorcize *Demons*, perform many  
 "cures, and according to the will of God foresee and foretell things to  
 "come. At which, though *Celsus* and his personated *Jew* may laugh,  
 "yet I affirm further, that many even against their inclinations have been  
 "brought over to the Christian Religion, their former opposition of it  
 "being suddenly changed into a resolute maintaining of it unto death,  
 "after they have had Visions communicated to them; several of which  
 "nature we our selves have seen. And should we only reckon up those  
 "at which we our selves have been present and beheld, it may be it would  
 "only make the Infidels merry; supposing that we like ourselves did  
 "forge and feign them. But God bears witness with my conscience, that  
 "I do not endeavour by falsely-contrived stories, but by various power-  
 "ful instances to recommend the Divine Religion of the Holy Jesus.  
 More testimonies of this kind I could easily produce from *Minucius Felix*, *Cyprian*, *Arnobius*, and *Lactantius*; but that these are enough to my purpose.

XIII. ANOTHER advantage that exceedingly contributed to the triumph of Christianity, was the singular learning of many, who became champions to defend it: For it could not but be a mighty satisfaction, especially to men of ordinary capacities, and mean employments (which are the far greatest part of mankind) to see persons of the most smart and subtil reasonings, of the most acute and refined understandings, and consequently not easily capable of being imposed upon by arts of sophistry and plausible stories, trampling upon their former sentiments and opinions, and not only entertaining the Christian Faith, but defending it against its most virulent opposers. 'Tis true indeed the Gospel at its first setting out was left to its own naked strength, and men of the most unpolisht breeding made choice of to convey it to the world, that it might not seem to be an humane artifice, or the success of it be ascribed to the parts and powers of man. But after that for an hundred years together it had approved it self to the world, and a sharper edge was set upon the malice and keenness of its adversaries, it was but proper to take in external helps to assist it. And herein the care of the Divine providence was very remarkable, that as miracles became less common and frequent in the Church, God was pleased to raise up even from among the *Gentiles* themselves, men of profound abilities, and excellent learning, who might τοῖς ὀκείοις πλεονὺς βάλλειν, (as *Julian* said of the Christians of his time) beat them at their own weapons, and wound them with arrows drawn out of their own quiver; and it was high time to do so: for the *Gentiles* did not only attack the Christians and their Religion by  
 methods

\* Theod. H.  
 Eccl. l. 3. c. 8.  
 p. 131.

methods of cruelty, and by arts of insinuation, not only object what wit and subtilty could invent, to bear any shadow and pretence of reason, but load them with the blackest crimes, which nothing but the utmost malice and prejudice could ever suspect to be true. This gave occasion to the Christian Apologists, and the first Writers against the *Gentiles*, who by their learned and rational discourses assailed the Christians from the things charged against them, justified the reasonableness, excellency, and divinity of their Religion; and expos'd the folly and falshood, the brutishness and impiety, the absurd and trifling rites of the *Pagan* Worship; by which means prejudices were removed, and thousands brought over to the Faith. In this way they that rendered themselves most renowned, and did greatest service to the Christian cause, were especially these, *Quadratus* Bishop of *Athens*, and *Aristides*, formerly a famous Philosopher of that City, a man wise and eloquent, dedicated each an *Apologetic* to the Emperor *Adrian*: *Justin* the Martyr, besides several Tracts against the *Gentiles*, wrote two Apologies; the first presented to *Antoninus Pius*, the second to *M. Aurelius*, and the Senate: about which time also *Athenagoras* presented his Apology to *M. Aurelius*, and *Aurelius Commodus*: not to mention his excellent discourse concerning the Resurrection. To the same *M. Aurelius*, *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis* exhibited his *Apologetic* Oration for the Christians: under this Emperor also flourished *Apollinaris*, Bishop of *Hierapolis* in *Asia*, and dedicated to him an incomparable discourse in defence of the Christian Faith; besides five Books which he wrote against the *Gentiles*, and two concerning the truth. Not long after *Theophilus* Bishop of *Antioch* compos'd his three excellent Books for the conviction of *Autolycus*: and *Miltiades* presented an Apology (probably) to the Emperor *Commodus*. *Tatian* the Syrian, Scholar to *Justin Martyr*, a man learned and eloquent, among other things wrote a Book against the *Gentiles*, which sufficiently evidences his great abilities. *Tertullian*, a man of admirable learning, and the first of the *Latins* that appeared in this cause, under the Reign of *Severus*, published his *Apologetic*, directed to the Magistrates of the Roman Empire; besides his Books, *Ad Nationes*, *De Idololatria*, *Ad Scapulam*, and many more. After him succeeded *Origen*, whose eight Books against *Celsus* did not greater service to the Christian cause, than they did honour to himself. *Minucius Felix*, an eminent advocate at *Rome*, wrote a short, but most elegant Dialogue between *Octavius* and *Cecilius*, which (as *Lactantius* long since observed) shews, how fit and able an advocate he would have been to assert the truth, had he wholly applied himself to it. About the time of *Gallus* and *Volusian*, *Cyprian* addressed himself in a discourse to *Demetrian* the Proconsul of *Asie*, in behalf of the Christians and their Religion, and published his Tract *De Idolorum vanitate*, which is nothing but an Epitome of *Minucius* his Dialogue. Towards the close of that Age under *Dioclesian*, *Arnobius* taught Rhetoric with great applause at *Sicca* in *Afric*; and being convinc'd of the truth of Christianity, could hardly make the Christians at first believe that he was real. In evidence therefore of his sincerity, he wrote seven Books against the *Gentiles*, wherein he smartly and rationally pleads the Christian cause: as not long after his Scholar *Lactantius*, who under *Dioclesian* professed Rhetoric at *Nicomedia*, set himself to the composing several discourses in defence of the Christian, and subversion of the *Gentile* Religion. A man witty and eloquent, but more happy in attacking his Adversaries, then

\* De Instit. l. 9.  
 c. 1. p. 459.

then in establishing the Principles of his own Religion, many whereof he seems not very distinctly to have understood. To all these I may add *Apollonius*, a man versed in all kind of learning and Philosophy; and (if *St. Hierom* say right) a *Senator* of *Rome*, who in a set Oration with so brave and generous a confidence, eloquently pleaded his own, and the cause of Christianity before the Senate itself; for which he suffered as a Martyr in the Reign of *Commodus*.

XIV. AND as they thus defended Christianity on the one hand from the open assaults and calumnies of the *Gentiles*, so were they no less careful on the other to clear it from the errors and Heresies, where-with men of perverse and evil minds sought to corrupt and poison it. And the chief of those that engaged in this way were these, *Agrippa Castor*, a man of great learning, in the time of *Adrian*, wrote an accurate Refutation of *Basilius* and his Principles in xxiv. Books. *Theophilus* of *Antioch* against *Hermogenes* and *Marcion*; *Apollinaris*, *Philip* Bishop of *Gortyna* in *Crete*, *Musanius*, *Modestus*, *Rhodon*, *Tatian's* Scholar, *Miltiades*, *Apollonius*, *Serapion* Bishop of *Antioch*, and hundreds more, who engag'd against the *Marcionites*, *Montanists*, and other Heretics of those times. But the principal of all was *Irenæus*, who took to task the most noted Heresies of those Ages, and with incomparable industry and quickness of reasoning unravelled their Principles, exposed their practices, refuted their errors, whereby (as he frequently intimates) many were reduced and recovered to the Church. I might also mention several others, who though not known to have particularly adventured in either of these ways, are yet renowned for their excellent skill in all Arts and Sciences, whereby they became eminently useful to the Church. Such (besides those whereof an account is given in the following work) were *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, *Bardesanes* the *Syrian*, whose learning and eloquence were above the common standard, though he also wrote against almost all the Heresies of the Age he lived in. *Ammonius* the celebrated Philosopher of *Alexandria*, *Julius Africanus*, a man peculiarly eminent for History and Chronology; *Dorotheus* Presbyter of *Antioch*, famous for his skill in *Hebrew*, as well as other parts of learning; *Anatolius* the *Alexandrian*, whom *Eusebius* magnifies so much as the most learned man, and acute Philosopher of his age, exquisitely skill'd in Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, Logic, Physic, Rhetoric, and indeed what not? *Pierius*, Presbyter of *Alexandria*, an eloquent Preacher, and so great a Scholar, that he was commonly styled *Origen Junior*. But this is a field too large to proceed any further in, and therefore I stop here. By all which it is evident, what *St. Hierom* \* remarques, how little reason *Celsus*, *Porphyry*, and *Julian* had to clamour against the Christians, as a rude and illiterate generation, who had no Learning, no Eloquence, or Philosophy to recommend them.

\* Discant ergo Celsus, Porphyrius, Julianus, rabidi adversus Christum canes, discant eorum sectatores, qui putant Ecclesiam, nullos Philosophos & eloquentes, nullos habuisse Doctores, quanti & quales viri eam fundaverint, extraxerint, & oraverint, & desinant fidem nostram rusticæ tantum simplicitatis arguere, suamque potius imperiti-am agnoscunt. S. Hieron. præf. ad Catalog. de script. Eccles.

† Ap. Græcor. Inscript. p. 238. N. LX.

XV. A third advantage that helpt on the progress of Christianity, was the indefatigable zeal and industry used in the propagation of it. No stone was left unturn'd, no method unattempted, whereby they might reclaim men from error, and bring them over to the acknowledgment of the truth. Hence in an ancient Inscription † said to be set up in

*Spain*,

*Spain*, to the honour of *Nero*, they are described under this Character, QUI NOVAM GENERI HUM. SUPERSTITION. INCULCAB. Those who inculcated and obtruded a new Superstition upon mankind. Indeed they were infinitely zealous to gain Profelytes to the best Religion in the world. They preached it boldly, and prayed heartily for the conversion and reformation of mankind, solicited their neighbours that were yet strangers to the Faith, instructed and informed new converts, and built them up on the most holy Faith. Those that were of greater parts and eminency erected and instituted Schools, where they publicly taught those that resorted to them, grounding them in the rudiments of the Faith, and antidoting them both against Heathens on the one side, and Heretics on the other. Among us (says *Tatian* \*) not only the rich and the wealthy learn our Philosophy, but the poor are freely disciplined and instructed: we admit all that are willing to learn, whether they be old or young. And what the success was, he tells † us a little after, that all their Virgins were sober and modest, and were wont to discourse concerning divine things, even while they were sitting at their Distaffs. Nor did they content themselves only to do thus at home, many of them freely exposing themselves to all manner of hazards and hardships: no pains were thought great, no dangers considerable, no difficulties insuperable, that they might enlarge the bounds of the Gospel, travelling into the most barbarous Nations, and to the remotest corners of the world. "The divine and admirable Disciples of the Apostles (says ‡ *Eusebius*) built up the superstructures of those Churches, the foundations whereof the Apostles had laid in all places where they came: § they every where promoted the publication of the Gospel, sowing the seeds of that heavenly Doctrine throughout the whole world. For "their minds being inflamed with the love of a more divine Philosophy, "according to our Lords counsel, they distributed their estates to the "poor; and leaving their own Countries, took upon them the office of "Evangelists; preaching Christ, and delivering the Evangelical Writings to those who had not yet so much as heard of the Christian Faith. "And no sooner had they founded the Faith in any foreign Countries, and "ordained guides and Pastors, to whom they committed the care of "those new Plantations, but they presently betook themselves to other "Nations, ratifying their Doctrine with the miraculous powers of that "Divine Spirit that attended them: so that as soon as ever they began "to preach, the people universally flocked to them, and cheerfully and "heartily embraced the worship of the true God, the great Creator of "the world. In the number of these Evangelical Missionaries, that were of the first Apostolical succession, were *Silas*, *Sylvanus*, *Crescens*, *Andronicus*, *Trophimus*, *Marcus*, *Aristarchus*, &c. as afterwards *Pantænus* who went into *India*, *Pothinus* and *Irenæus* from *Smyrna* into *France*, each successively becoming Bishop of *Lyons*, and infinite others mentioned in the Histories and Martyrologies of the Church, who counted not their lives to be dear unto them, so that they might finish their course with joy, and make known the mystery of the Gospel to the ends of the earth.

XVI. FOURTHLY, Christianity recommended it self to the world by the admirable lives of its professors, which were so truly consonant to all the laws of virtue and goodness, as could not but reconcile the wiser and more unprejudiced part of the *Gentile* world to a better opinion of it, and vindicate it from those absurd and senseless cavils that

\* Orat. contr. Græc. p. 167.

† Ibid. p. 168.

‡ H. Eccles. l. 3. c. 37. p. 109.

that were made against it. For when they saw Christians every where so seriously devout and pious, so incomparably chaste and sober, of such humble and mortified tempers, so strictly just and righteous, so kind and charitable, not to themselves only, but to all mankind, they concluded there must be something more than humane in it: as indeed no argument is so convictive, as a demonstration from experience. Their singular piety; and the discipline of their manners weighed down all the disadvantages they were under. The divine and most admirable Apostles of Christ (says *Eusebius*\*) how rude soever they were in speech, were yet τὸν βίον ἀκρῶς καὶ καθαμένους, ἐν ἀρετῇ πάσῃ τοῖς ψυχῶς κατηρτισμένοι, of the most pure and holy lives, and had their minds adorned with all sorts of virtue. And such generally were the Christians of the succeeding Ages; they did not entertain the world with a parcel of good words and a plausible story, but shewed their Faith by their works, and proved the divinity of their Religion by the heavenliness of their lives. We (says the Christian in *Minucius Felix*†) despise the pride and superciliousness of Philosophers, whom we know to be debauched persons and always eloquent against those vices of which themselves are most guilty. For we measure not wisdom by mens garbs and habits, but by their mind and manners; nor do we speak great things so much as live them, glorying that we have attained what they earnestly sought, but could never find. Christians were then the only persons that really were what they pretended to, men heartily reformed from vice to virtue: “Being persuaded (as *Justin Martyr* tells † the Emperors) by the Word, we have renounced the Demons, and through the Son worship the only and unbegotten Deity: and we who heretofore took pleasure in adulteries, do now embrace the strictest chastity; and who were addicted to magic arts, have devoted our selves to the benign and immortal God: we who valued estate and riches before all things in the world, do now cast what we have in common, distributing to every one according to his need: we who by hatred and slaughters mutually raged against each other, and refus’d to sit at the same fire with those who were not of our own tribe, since Christ’s appearing in the world, familiarly converse together, pray for our enemies, and for the conversion of those that unjustly hate us, endeavouring to persuade them to live according to the excellent precepts of Christ, that so they may have just ground to hope for the same rewards with us from the great judge of the world. Indeed strange was the efficacy of the Christian

Doctrine over the minds of men, which the Christian Apologists at every turn plead as an uncontrollable evidence of their Religion; that it made all sorts of persons that complied with it, chaste and temperate, quiet and peaceable, meek and modest, and afraid of the least appearance and colour of what was evil. When the Heathens derided them for the mean and unpompous solemnities of their Religion, they universally declared, that God respected no man for any external excellencies or advantages, it was the pure and the holy soul he de-

lighted in; that he stood in no need of blood or smoke, perfumes and incense; that the greatest and best sacrifice was to offer up a mind truly devoted to him: that meekness and kindness, an humble heart, and an inno-

innocent life, was the sacrifice with which God was well pleased, and infinitely beyond all *Holocausts* and Oblations; that a pious and devout mind was the fittest Temple for God to dwell in, and that to do ones duty, to abstain from sin, to be intent upon the offices and ministrations of Prayer and Praise, is the truest Festival; yea, that the whole life of a good man is nothing else but a holy and festival solemnity. This was the Religion of Christians then, and it rendred their profession amiable and venerable to the world; and forced many times its most violent opposers to fall down, and say that God was in them of a truth. But the less of this argument is said here, a full account having been given of it in a work peculiar to this subject.

XVII. FIFTHLY, the Disciples of this holy and excellent Religion gained innumerable Profelytes to their party by their patience and constancy under sufferings. They were immutably resolved to maintain their station, notwithstanding all the attempts made to beat them from it. They entertained the fiercest threatnings with an unshaken mind, and fearlessly beheld the racks and engins prepared for them; they laugh’d at torments, and courted flames, and went out to meet Death in its blackest dress: they died rejoicing, and triumphed in the midst of the greatest tortures; which hapning for some ages almost every day, could not but convince their enemies that they were in good earnest, that they heartily believed their Religion to be true, and that there must be a divine and supernatural power going along with it, that could support them under it; which *Justin Martyr* confesses, was one main inducement of his conversion to Christianity. What particular methods of cruelty were used towards the Primitive Christians, and with how brave and generous a patience, with what evenness and tranquillity of mind they bore up under the heaviest and acutest torments, we have sufficiently declared in another place: and therefore shall here only take a short survey of those ten famous *Persecutions*, that so eminently exercised the faith and patience of the Primitive Saints, and then collect the force of the argument resulting from it. And this the rather, because it will present us with the best prospect of the state of the Church in those early ages of it. As to the particular dates and periods of some of these persecutions, different accounts are assigned by *Sulpitius Severus*, *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, *Hierom*, and others; we shall follow that which shall appear to be most likely and probable.

XVIII. THE first that raised a general Persecution against the Christians, was *Nero*, as *Tertullian* † tells the *Gentiles*; and for the truth of it, † *Apol. c. 5. p. 6.* he refers them to their own public *Archives* and Records. A Prince of that wild and ungovernable temper, of such brutish and extravagant manners, that their own Writers scruple not to style him, a beast in humane shape, and the very monster of mankind. He was guilty of the most unbounded Pride and Ambition, Drunkenness, Luxury, and all manner of debauchery, Sodomy and Incest, which he attempted to commit with his own Mother. But cruelty seemed to predominate among his other vices; besides infinite others, he dispatched the greatest part of the Senate, put to death his Tutor *Seneca* and his Wife, *Lucan* the Poet; nay, violated all the Laws of Nature, in falling upon his own near Relations: he was privy to, if not guilty of the death of his Father *Claudius*; kill’d his two Wives, *Octavia* and *Poppæa*, and murdered *Antonia*, because refusing to succeed in their bed; he poisoned his Brother *Britannicus*: and

(c)

\* *ubi sup. c. 24. p. 94.*

† *M. Fel. Dial. non longe à fin. p. 31.*

‡ *Apol. II. p. 61.*

*Tertul. Apol. c. 3. p. 4. ad Nation. c. 1. p. 41. Orig. contr. Cels. l. 1. p. 9. 15, 21, 36, 50, 53. lib. 2. p. 61. 85, 88, 110. lib. 3. p. 128, 147, 152, 157. lib. 4. p. 167. lib. 6. p. 206. lib. 7. p. 364. lib. 8. p. 409. & alibi passim. Lactant. lib. 3. c. 26. p. 328. lib. 4. c. 3. p. 351.*

*J. Mart. Orat. ad Græc. p. 40. Athenag. Legat. p. 13. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 7. p. 706, 709, 714, 719, 728. Minuc. Fel. p. 26. 30. Arnob. adv. Gent. l. 7. p. 104. Orig. contr. Cels. l. 8. p. 385, 389, 392. Lactant. l. 1. c. 20. p. 108. l. 6. c. 1. p. 540. c. 24. p. 636. Epitom. c. 2. p. 736.*

*Prim. Christ. Part. II. Ch. 7.*

and to compleat all his villanies, fell next upon his own Mother *Agrippina*, whom he hated for her free reproving his looseness and extravagancy; and having first spoil'd her of all public honors, and caused her to be openly disgraced and derided, then thrice attempted her life by poison, he at last sent an assassin to stab her. And the tradition then went, that not content to do this, he himself came and beheld her naked corps, contemplating and handling its several parts; commending some and dispraising others. And if thus barbarous and inhumane towards his own Kindred and Subjects, we cannot think he was overfavourable to Christians; wanting this title (says *Ensebius* \*) to be added to all the rest, to be styled the first Emperor that became an enemy to the Christian Religion, publishing Laws and Edicts for the suppressing of it; and prosecuting those that professed it, with the utmost rigor in every place; and that upon this occasion. Among infinite other instances of this madness and folly, he took up a resolution to burn *Rome*, either as being offended with the narrowness of the streets, and the deformity of the buildings, or ambitious to become the author of a more stately and magnificent City, and to call it after his own name. But however it was, he caused it to be set on fire, about the XIX. of July, Ann. *Christi*. LXIV. The conquering flames quickly prevailed over that City, that had so often triumphed over the rest of the world, in six or seven days spoiling and reducing the far greatest part of it (ten *Regions* of fourteen) into ashes; laying waste Houses and Temples, and all the venerable Antiquities and Monuments of that place, which had been preserved with so much care and reverence for many ages; himself in the mean while from *Mecenas* his Tower beholding the sad spectacle with pleasure and delight, and in the habit of a Player, singing the destruction of *Troy*. And when the people would but have searched the ruins of their own houses, he forbade them, not suffering them to reap what the mercy of the flames had spared. This Act (as well it might) expos'd him to all the hatred and detestation, wherewith an injur'd and abused people could resent it, which he endeavoured to remove by large promises, and great rewards, by consulting the *Sibylline Books*, and by public supplications and sacrifices to the gods. Notwithstanding all which, *Tacitus* <sup>b</sup> tells us, the people still believed him to be the author of the mischief. This not succeeding, he sought to clear himself by deriving the *odium* upon the Christians, whom he knew to be sufficiently hateful to the people, charging them to have been the incendiaries, and proceeding against them with the most exquisite torments. Having apprehended some, whom they either forced or persuaded to confess themselves guilty, by their means great numbers of others were betrayed; whom *Tacitus* confesses, that not the burning of the City, but the common hatred made criminal. They were treated with all the instances of scorn and cruelty; some of them were wrapt up in the skins of Wild Beasts, and worried by Dogs; others crucified; others burnt alive, being clad in paper coats, dipt in pitch, wax, and such combustible matter; that when day-light fail'd, they might serve for torches in the night. These spectacles *Nero* exhibited in his own Gardens, which yet the people entertained with more pity than pleasure; knowing they were done not for the public benefit, but merely to gratifie his own private rage and malice. Little better usage did the Christians meet with in other parts of the Empire, as appears from the inscription <sup>c</sup> found at *Clunia* in *Spain*, dedicated

\* *H. Ecclesi. l. 2. c. 25. p. 67.*

<sup>b</sup> *Annal. l. 15. c. 44. p. 319.*

<sup>c</sup> *Ant. Constant. loc. super. citat.*

to *Nero* in memory of his having cleared the Province of those that had introduced a new Superstition amongst mankind. Under this Persecution suffered *Tecla*, *Torques*, *Torquatus*, *Marcellus*, and several others mentioned in the antient Martyrologies, especially the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*; the one upon the Cross, the other by the Sword.

XIX. THE troublesome vicissitudes and revolutions of affairs that hapned under the succeeding Emperors, *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*; and the mild and merciful disposition of *Vespasian* and *Titus*, gave some rest to the Christians: till *Domitian* succeeding, began a SECOND PERSECUTION. A man of a temper vastly different from that of his Father, and his Brother; for though at first he put on a plausible carriage, yet he soon left off the vizor, and appeared like himself; lazy and unactive, ill-natur'd and suspicious, griping and covetous, proud and insolent: yea, so vainly ambitious as to affect Divinity, in all public Edicts assuming to himself, and in all Petitions and Addresses requiring from others the titles of *Lord* and *God*. He never truly loved any man; and when he most pretended it, it was a sure sign of that mans ruine. His cruelty he exercis'd first upon flies, thousands whereof he dispatched every day; next upon men, and those of all ranks and states: putting to death the most illustrious Senators, and persons of the greatest honour and nobility upon the most trifling pretences; and many times for no cause at all. In the fierceness and brutality of his temper he equall'd *Nero*, *Portio Neronis de crudelitate*, as *Tertullian* styles him; <sup>Loc. super. citat.</sup> nay, in this exceeded him: that *Nero* was content to command execution to be done at a distance, while *Domitian* took pleasure in beholding his cruelties exercised before his eyes: An argument of a temper deeper died in blood. But the Christians, alas, bore the heaviest load of his rage and malice, whom he every where persecuted either by death or banishment. Under him S. *John* the Evangelist was sent for to *Rome*, and by his command thrown into a Cauldron of boiling oil: in the midst whereof, when the Divine Providence had miraculously preserved him, he immediately banished him into *Patmos*. He put to death his cousin-german *Fl. Clemens* (at that time *Consul*) for being a Christian, and banished his Wife *Fl. Domitilla* (his own kinswoman also) upon the same account into the Island *Pandataria*. At length his brutish and bloody practices rendred him intolerable to his own friends and servants, who conspir'd against him (his own Wife *Domitia* being of the confederacy) and slew him. His successor *Nerva* abrogated his Acts, and recalled those whom he had proscribed and banished; among whom S. *John* taking the benefit of that Act of Revocation, quitted *Patmos*, and returned to *Ephesus*.

XX. THE THIRD PERSECUTION commenced under *Trajan*, whom *Nerva* had adopted to be his Successor. A Prince he was of excellent and incomparable virtues, whose justice and impartiality, gentleness and modesty, munificence and liberality, kindness and affability rendred him infinitely dear and acceptable to the people; the extravagancies of his Predecessors not a little contributing to sweeten his Government to them. He was mild and dispassionate, familiar and courteous; he shewed a great reverence to the Senate, by whose advice he usually acted; and they to requite him, gave him the title of *Optimus*, as whom they judged the best of all their Princes. He conversed freely and innocently with all men, being desirous rather to be beloved, than

than either fear'd or honour'd by the people. The glory of all which is exceedingly stain'd in the Records of the Church by his severe proceedings against the Christians. He looked upon the Religion of the Empire as daily undermin'd by this new way of Worship, that the numbers of Christians grew formidable, and might possibly endanger the peace and tranquillity of the Roman State; and that there was no better way to secure to himself the favour of the gods, especially in his Wars, than to vindicate their cause against the Christians. Accordingly therefore he issued out orders to proceed against them, as *illegal Societies*, erected and acting contrary to the Laws; in which number all Colleges and Corporations were accounted, that were not settled either by the Emperors constitution, or the Decree of the Senate; and the persons frequenting them adjudged guilty of High Treason. Indeed the Emperors (as we have elsewhere observed) were infinitely suspicious of such meetings, as which might easily conspire into Faction and Treason: and therefore when *Pliny* interceded with *Trajan* in behalf of the City of *Nicomedia*, that being so subject to fires, he would constitute a corporation of *Smiths*, though but a small number, which might be easily kept in order, and which he promised to keep a particular eye upon: The Emperor answered, By no means, for we ought to remember (*says he*) that that Province, and especially those Cities are greatly disturbed by such kind of Factions; and whatever the title or the occasion be, if they meet together, they will be *Heteriæ*, though less numerous than the rest. That they look'd upon the Christian Assemblies as in the number of these unlawful Corporations; and that under this pretence *Trajan* endeavoured to suppress them, will appear from *Pliny's* Letter to him. In the mean time he commanded them either to offer sacrifice to the gods, or to be punished as contemners of them. The people also in several places by popular tumults falling foul upon them. The chief of those who obtained the Crown of Martyrdom under him, were *S. Clemens* Bishop of *Rome*, *S. Simcon* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and *S. Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch*, whom *Trajan* himself condemned, and sent to *Rome*, there to be thrown to wild Beasts.

XXI. THE Persecution rag'd, as in the other parts of the Empire, so especially in the Provinces of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, where *Pliny* the younger (who had some time since been *Consul*) then governed as *Pro-Prætor* with *Consular* power and dignity. Who seeing vast multitudes of Christians indicted by others, and pressing on of themselves to execution, and that to proceed severely against all that came, would be in a manner to lay waste those Provinces, he thought good to write to the Emperor about this matter; to know his pleasure in the case. His Letter, because acquainting us so exactly with the state of the Christians, and the manner of proceeding against them, and giving so eminent a testimony to their innocency and integrity, we shall here insert.

C. PLI-

## C. PLINIUS to the Emperor TRAJAN.

It is my custom, Sir, in all affairs wherein I doubt, to have recourse to you. For who can better either sway my irresolution, or instruct my ignorance? I have never been heretofore present at the examination and trial of Christians; and therefore know not what the crime is, and how far it is wont to be punished, or how to proceed in these enquiries. Nor was I a little at a loss, whether regard be to be had to difference of age, whether the young and the weak be to be distinguished from the more strong and aged? whether place may be allowed to repentance, and it may be of any advantage to him, who once was a Christian, to cease to be so? Whether the name alone without other offences, or the offences that go along with the name, ought to be punished? In the mean time towards those who as Christians have been brought before me, I have taken this course; I asked them whether they were Christians? if they confessed it, I asked them once and again, threatening punishment; if they persisted, I commanded them to be executed. For, I did not at all doubt but that, whatever their confession was, their stubbornness and inflexible obstinacy ought to be punished. Others there were guilty of the like madness, whom because they were Roman Citizens, I adjudged to be transmitted to Rome. While things thus proceeded, the error, as is usual, spreading farther, more cases did ensue. A nameless Libel was presented, containing the names of many who denied themselves to be, or to have been Christians. These, when after my example they invoked the gods, and offered Wine and Incense to your Statue (which for that purpose I had commanded to be brought together with the images of the gods) and had moreover blasphemed Christ (which its said none that are true Christians can be compelled to do) I dismiss'd; others mentioned in the Libel confessed themselves Christians, but presently denied it, that they had indeed been such, but had renounced it; some by the space of three years, others many years since, and one five and twenty years ago. All which paid their reverence and veneration to your Statue, and the images of the gods, and blasphemed Christ. They affirmed that the whole sum of that Sect or error lay in this, that they were wont upon a set solemn day to meet together before Sun-rise, and to sing among themselves a Hymn to Christ, as the God whom they worshipped, and oblige themselves by an Oath, not to commit any wickedness, but to abstain from Theft, Robbery, Adultery, to keep Faith, and when required, to restore any pledge intrusted with them. Which done, then to depart for that time, and to meet again at a common meal, to partake of a promiscuous and harmless food; which yet they laid aside, after I had published an Edict, forbidding, according to your order, the *Heteriæ* (or unlawful Assemblies) to be kept. To satisfy my self in the truth hereof, I commanded two Maidens called Deaconesses, to be examined upon the Wrack. But I perceived nothing but a lewd and immoderate Superstition, and therefore surceasing any farther process, I have sent to pray your advice: For the case seemed to me very worthy to be consulted about; especially considering the great numbers that are in danger: for very many of all ages and ranks, both men and women are, and will be called in question: the contagion of this Superstition having over-spread not only Cities, but Towns and Country Villages, which yet seems possible to be stopt and cur'd. It's very evident that the Temples, which were almost quite forsaken, begin

\* L. 1. c. 3.  
ff. de Colleg. &  
corp. Lib. 47.  
tit. 22.  
\* Ulpian de off.  
procons. l. 6. ib.  
l. 2.  
c. Lib. 10. pp. 151.  
42, & 43.

to be frequented, that the holy Rites and Solemnities of a long time neglected are set on foot again, and that Sacrifices are from all parts brought to be sold, which hitherto found very few to buy them. Whence 'tis easie to conjecture, what multitudes of persons might be reclaim'd, if place be given to repentance.

This Letter was written, as is probable, about the year of our Lord CVII. Traj. IX. Trajan lying then at Antioch, in order to his Wars in the East, and where the Persecution was very hot. By which 'tis evident, what unreasonable and inveterate prejudices even the more moderate and ingenuous part of the Gentile-world had entertained against the Christian Religion; that though so innocent and unblamable, as to extort an honourable Character from its greatest enemies, and most malicious Apostates, though wracks and tortures could force out nothing to its disadvantage; yet rather than not express their resentments (what was unbecoming men of parts and breeding) they loaded it with ill names and hard words. Pliny we see here scruples not to style it not only an error, but madness, and a wicked and immoderate Superstition, charging the constant profession of it, for stubbornness, and an incurable obstinacy, what in it self was the effect of the most brave and generous resolution. And the very same civility it found from his two intimate friends, Tacitus and Suetonius, the one whereof calls it a <sup>a</sup> detestable, the other a <sup>b</sup> novel and mischievous Superstition. By this account also we see, that though the severity of the Persecution might tempt some to turn Renegades, yet that so vast was the spread which Christianity had made in those parts, that this great man knew not how to deal with them. To direct him therefore in this affair, the Emperor returned this following Rescript.

### TRAJAN to PLINY, Greeting.

AS to the manner of your procedure, my Secundus, in examining the causes of those who have been brought before you for being Christians, you have taken the course which you ought to take: for no certain and general Law can be so framed, as shall provide for all particular cases. Let them not be sought for; but if they be accus'd and convicted, let them be punished: yet so, that if any denies himself to be a Christian, and shall give evidence of it by doing sacrifice to our gods, although heretofore he has been suspected, let him be pardoned upon his repentance. But as for Libels, published without the name of the Authors, let them not be valid as to the Crimes they charge; for that were an ill precedent, and is not the usage of our Reign.

<sup>c</sup> Apol. c. 2. c. 3. Tertullian speaking of this Imperial Edict, calls it "A sentence founded by a strange necessity: it allows them not to be sought for, as if they were innocent, and yet commands them to be punished, as if they were guilty: it spares and rages, dissembles, and yet punishes. Why does he intangle himself in his own censure? if he condemns them, why does he not hunt them out? if he thinks them not to be search'd out, why does he not acquit them? Where Tertullian seems to

to argue more like an Orator than Logician. For Trajan might be unwilling the Christians should be nicely hunted out, and yet not think them innocent: he could not find them guilty of any enormous crime, but only of a strange and novel Superstition: and therefore while they conceal'd themselves, did not think it reasonable that they should be left to the malice and rapine of busie under-officers, who acted under the Presidents and Governours of Provinces, meer Sycophants and calumniators, ἀναιδέως συκοφανταὶ ἐ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων θεσῶν, as <sup>a</sup> Melito styles them in his Apology to M. Antoninus, impudent accusers, and ravenous devourers of other mens estates, of whom he complains, that under a pretence of the Imperial Edicts they day and night openly spoil and plunder the harmless and the innocent. These Trajan might think fit to restrain; but where there was notoriety of fact, where Christians were duly cited before the public Tribunals, and the charge substantially made good, there they were to be left to the sentence of the Law. But however it was, by this means the edge of their enemies fury was taken off; and though the popular rage might in some particular places still continue, yet the general force and rigour of the Persecution did abate and cease.

XXII. TRAJAN dying at Selinus in Cilicia, Adrian (whom he had adopted) succeeded in the Empire. A Prince of excellent parts, and no inconsiderable learning, μεσιωκότα βασιλεὺς, as <sup>b</sup> Athenaus calls him, a Prince greatly devoted to the Muses, and yet one in whom 'tis hard to say, whether vice or virtue had the upper hand; and which is more, who seemed to reconcile most vices with their contrary virtues. He highly honoured the Senate, without whose Authority he would never transact any affairs of moment; and upon solemn days would condescend to wait upon the Consuls to their own houses; and yet was proud and vainglorious, and ambitious of honour, which he greedily catcht at upon every little occasion. He was magnificent in his works, and liberal in his gifts; but withal, envious, detracting from the glory of his Predecessor, censuring and discommending the most eminent Artists in all kind of faculties. He familiarly conversed with his friends, visited them in their sickness many times twice or thrice a day, treated them with the freedom and kindness of companions; and yet he was fierce and cruel: as is evident by the many persons of nobility and renown whom he put to death. But we have noted enough of his character elsewhere, in the life of S. Quadratus. He was addicted to Magic, and a great zealot for Religion; especially the Rites of Greece: but despis'd and hated all other Religions, upon which account he was no good friend to Christians. In his time, a FOURTH PERSECUTION was rais'd against them, and so Sulpitius Severus <sup>c</sup> positively calls it. I know Eusebius followed by Orosius and some others, assigns the fourth Persecution to the Reign of M. Aurelius; but whoever impartially considers the state of things, will see that it ought to be fixed here. 'Tis true, we do not find any new Laws which this Emperor made against the Christians, but the Laws of his Predecessors were still in force, and the people in most places were ready enough to run upon this errand of their own accord, and to sacrifice the poor innocent Christians to their own spight and malice. Whence Eusebius speaking of the Apologies presented to this Emperor, says, <sup>d</sup> it was because wicked and ill-minded men began to vex and disturb the Christians. And S. Hierom <sup>e</sup> more particularly

<sup>a</sup> Ap. Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 4. c. 26. p. 147.

<sup>b</sup> Deipn. l. 8. c. 16. p. 361.

<sup>c</sup> H. Sacr. l. 2. p. 142.

<sup>d</sup> H. Eccles. l. 4. c. 3. p. 116.  
<sup>e</sup> De script in Quadrat.

<sup>a</sup> Tacit. Annal. l. 15. c. 44. p. 219.  
<sup>b</sup> Sueton. in Neron. c. 16. p. 571.

larly tells us, that the zeal which the Emperor shewed in being initiated into the holy mysteries and the Rites of Greece, gave opportunity and encouragement to the people (though without any particular Warrant) to fall upon them: and this he elsewhere \* calls a *most grievous Persecution*. And so indeed it was, as is evident, not only from the Apologies which both *Quadratus* and *Aristides* presented to the Emperor in behalf of the Christians, but that when *Arrius Antoninus* (whom most suppose to have been the same with him that succeeded *Adrian*) was *Proconsul* of *Asia*, and severely prosecuted the Christians there, all the Christians of the City where he resided as one man beset his Tribunal, openly confessing themselves to be Christians. He amazed at the multitude, caus'd some few of them to be executed, telling the rest, that if they had a mind to end their lives, they had Precipices and Halters enough at home, and need not crowd thither for an execution. Nay so high did it arise, that *Serenius Granianns*, one of the following *Proconsuls* was forced to write to *Adrian* for its mitigation: which the Emperor accordingly commanded by a *Rescript*, directed to *Minnicius Fundanus*, *Granianns* his Successor in that Province, as he did also to several others; as *Melito* particularly tells us in his Apology. But though the fire seem'd to be pretty well quenched at present, yet did it break out again in the succeeding Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, devouring many, whose sufferings are recorded in the Martyrologies of the Church; and for the stopping whereof, *Justin Martyr* exhibited an Apology to this Emperor, which produced that excellent Letter of his to the *Common Council* of *Asia*, in favour of the Christians, which we have exemplified in the life of *Justin Martyr*.

XXIII. *TO Antoninus Pius* succeeded *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, and his Brother *L. Verus*. *M. Aurelius* was a person of whom the Writers of his life deservedly speak great things. He was a good man, and a great Philosopher, and whom the Historian \* says, 'tis easier to admire, than to commend. But he was infinitely superstitious in his Religion, and therefore easily blown up by the Priests and Philosophers that were about him into a prejudice against Christianity, and persuaded to set on foot the FIFTH PERSECUTION against the Christians, whom he endeavoured to curb and suppress by new Laws and Edicts, exposing them to all the malice and fierceness of their enemies. The Persecution began in the *Eastern* parts about the seventh year of his Reign, where it continued almost all his time; and not content to stay there, spread it self into the *West*, especially *France*, where it rag'd with great severity. That the conflict was very sharp and fierce, may be guess'd at by the crowd of Apologies that were presented to him by *Justin Martyr*, *Melito*, *Athenagoras*, and *Apollinaris*. In *Asia* *S. Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyna* was first condemned to the fire, and then run through with a Sword, with twelve more from *Philadelphia*, who suffered with him, and *Germanicus* who a little before was devoured by wild Beasts. At *Rome*, besides *Ptolomy* and *Lucius*, *Justin the Martyr* with his six companions, *Charito*, *Charitina*, *Enelpistus*, *Hierax*, *Peon*, and *Valerianus* were beheaded. In the *French* persecution suffered *Vettius Epagathus*, a young man of incomparable piety and magnanimity; *Blandina* a Lady of singular virtue, who after infinite and inexpressible torments was tied to a beam in fashion of a Cross, and thrown to wild Beasts; *Biblis*, who though at first through frailty she denied the Faith, yet recovered her

her courage, and expir'd in the midst of the acutest tortures. *Pothinus* Bishop of *Lyons* above XC. years old beaten and ston'd to death. *Santus* a Deacon of *Vien*, together with *Maturus*, expos'd in the *Amphitheater*, tormented, and imprison'd several days together, presented to wild Beasts, plac'd in an iron chair red hot, and at last run through with a Spear. *Attalus* a *Roman* Citizen disgracefully led up and down in triumph, roasted in an iron chair, and then beheaded; as was also *Alexander* the Physician, a *Phrygian*, who readily profess'd himself a Christian: and *Ponticus* a youth of fifteen years of age, who through all the methods of cruelty and torment, which might have shaken a maturer age, entred into the Kingdom of heaven. A larger and more particular account of all whose Martyrdoms is recorded in the Letter written by the Churches of *Lyons* and *Vien* in *France*, to those of *Asia* and *Phrygia*, yet extant in *Eusebius*. At length the Emperor seems to have relaxed the Persecution, inclined to it, as is thought, by the remarkable victory which he gained in his German Wars, by the Prayers of the Christian Legion, when the fortunes of the *Roman* Empire lay at stake, and the Christians so signally, so immediately engaged heaven in its rescue and deliverance, by supplying them with rain, and fighting against the enemy with lightning and thunder. Whereupon the Emperor is said to have written to the Senat, acknowledging the greatness of the blessing, and commanding all just favour and indulgence to be shewed to the Christians. The substance of the story is universally own'd by the *Gentile* Writers, though out of spite to the Christians they either ascribe it to the power of Magic, or the prevalency of the Emperors own prayers. That there were such Letters written, is plain, in that *Tertullian* \* who liv'd but a little after, cites them, and appeals to them; though I confess little stress can be laid upon the Epistle that is extant at this day. There is still extant a Law of *M. Aurelius*, and his Brother *Verus*, permitting those who follow the *Jewish* Superstition to obtain honours, and granting them guards to defend them from wrong and injury. By this very learned men \* understand Christians, at least equally with the *Jews*; these two being commonly confounded by the Writers of those times, and *Superstition* the word by which they usually denote Christianity. But however it was, this Law was made before that German Victory, *M. Aurelius* not being engaged in that War, till after the death of his Brother *Verus*.

XXIV. THE Christian Affairs were tolerably quiet and peaceable during the reigns of *Commodus*, *Ael. Pertinax*, and *Julian*, till *Severus* got into the Throne; A Prince witty and learned, prudent and politic, hardy and valiant, but withal crafty and subtil, treacherous and unfaithful, bloody and passionate, and as the Historian \* observes, of a nature truly answering to his name, *Vere Pertinax, vere Severus*. Under him began the SIXTH PERSECUTION: for though at first he shewed himself favourable to the Christians, yet afterwards he changed his mind, and gave ear to those who traduced them as an impious and infamous generation; a people that designed nothing but Treason and Rebellion against the State. Whereupon he not only suffered his Ministers and Governours of Provinces to treat them with all imaginable cruelty; but he himself gave out Edicts, forbidding any under the most terrible penalties to profess either the *Jewish* or *Christian* Religion; which were executed with that rigor and inhumanity, that the Christians of those days verily believed that the times of *Antichrist* did then

(d)

take

\* Epist. ad  
Mign. Orat.  
p. 327. Tom. 2.  
b Tertull. lib.  
ad Scapul. c. 4.  
p. 71.

c Euseb. H.  
Tom. lib. 8.  
p. 1919.

\* Apol. c. 5.  
p. 6. vide lib. ad  
Scap. c. 4. p. 71.  
b Ap. Iulian.  
l. 3. ff. S. 3.  
lib. 50. Tit. 2.  
c Aleut. dis-  
posit. l. 3. c. 8.  
d August. ad  
Madel. p. 336.  
Petit. de jur.  
Princip. c. 6.  
vide Selden de  
Synedr. l. 1. c. 8.  
p. 233. Raynaud.  
Indic. SS.  
Lugd. proleg. 3.  
p. 52.

\* Spartian. in  
vit. Sever. c. 14.  
p. 349.

take place. Martyrs of note whom this Persecution sent to heaven, were *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, *Leonidas* *Origen's* Father beheaded at *Alexandria*, *Serenus*, *Heraclides*, *Heron*, another *Serenus*, and *Herais* a *Catechumen*, all *Origen's* Scholars, *Potamiana* an illustrious Virgin, and her Mother *Marcella*, after various torments, committed to the flames: and *Basilides* one of the Officers that had led them to execution. *Felicitas* and *Perpetua* two noble Ladies, at *Tuburbis* in *Mauritania*, the one brought to bed but the day before, the other at that time a Nurse. *Speratus* and his companions beheaded at *Carthage*, by the command of *Saturninus* the *Proconsul*. *Irenæus* Bishop of *Lyons*, and many thousands of his people martyred with him, whose names and sufferings though unknown to us, are honourably written in the *Book of life*.

XXV. THE next that created any disturbance to the Christians, was *Maximinus*, by birth a *Thracian*; a man of base and obscure originals, of a mean and sordid education: he had been first a Shepherd, then a High-way man, and last of all a Souldier: He was of strength and stature beyond the ordinary size and standard; and his manners

were as robust and boisterous as his constitution, and favoured wholly of the rudeness of his Education. Never did a more cruel Beast (says the Historian\*) tread upon the earth, relying altogether upon his strength, and upon that account reckoning himself almost immortal. He seiz'd upon whatever came in his way, plundering and destroying without any difference, without any Process or form of Law: his strength was the law of justice, and his will the measure of his actions. He spared none, but especially killed all that knew any

thing of his mean descent, that none might reproach him with the obscurity of his birth. Having slain his Master *Alexander Mammæus*, that excellent and incomparable Prince, he usurped the Government, and manag'd it suitable to his own maxim, that the Empire could not be maintained but by cruelty. The SEVENTH PERSECUTION was raised by him. Indeed *Sulpitius Severus* admits not this into the number, and therefore makes no more than nine Pagan Persecutions, reserving the tenth for the times of *Antichrist*. But *Eusebius*† expressly affirms, that *Maximinus* stirr'd up a Persecution against the Christians, and that out of hatred to his Predecessor, in whose Family many Christians had found shelter and patronage, but that it was almost wholly levelled against the Bishops and Ministers of Religion, as the prime authors and propagators of Christianity. Whence *Firmilian* Bishop of *Cappadocia*, in his Letter to *S. Cyprian*,‡ says of it, that it was not a general, but a local Persecution, that rag'd in some particular places, and especially in that Province where he liv'd, *Serenianus* the President driving the Christians out of all those Countries. He adds, that many dreadful Earthquakes happening in those parts, whereby Towns and Cities were overturned and swallowed up, added life and vigor to the Persecution, it being usual with the *Gentiles*, if a Famine or Pestilence, an Earthquake or Inundation happened, presently to fall foul upon the Christians, and conclude them the causes of all those evils and mischiefs that came upon the world. And this *Origen*§ meant when he tells us, that he knew some places overturned with earthquakes, the cause whereof the Hea-

\* Ο ὁ Μαξιμῖανος παραλαβὼν τὸ ἀρχαῖον, πολλὰ καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐποιήσατο, τετραχίτων καὶ μὲν πολλὰ φοβῶν τῇ ὕψει, χρονοῦντος ἔτι καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πέντε ἡμέρας βασιλείας, εἰς τυραννίδα καὶ αὐτοκράτειαν μεταγενέσθαι ἐπειροῦτο, δυσμενέειαν ἑαυτοῦ συνιέναι, ὅτι τὸ πρῶτον οὐκ εὐτελείας τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἰς πᾶσι τοῖς πύργοις ἤλασε, φύσει δὲ τὸ πρῶτον, ὡς αὐτὸς καὶ τὸ ἦθος, βαρύνοντος. τὸ δὲ φονικὸν πλεονέκτημα καὶ ἐπιχρῆστον, κεραιόταν ἐπιείκτο δι' αὐτοκράτειαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον βεβαιώσας. Herod. lib. 7. in Maxim. p. 253.  
† Capitol. in vit. Maxim. c. 9. p. 609.

† H. Eccl. l. 6. c. 38. p. 228.

‡ Inter Epist. Cypri. p. 146.

§ Hom. xxxviii. l. 1. Math. fol. 25. p. 2.

Heathens cast upon the Christians; for which their Churches were persecuted and burnt to the ground, and that not only the common people; but the wiser sort among them did not stick openly to affirm, that these things came for the sake of the Christians. Hereupon he wrote his Book *De Martyrio*, for the comfort and support of those that suffered in this evil time.

XXVI. AFTER *Maximinus* reign'd *Pupienus* and *Balbinus*, to them succeeded *Gordian*, and to him *Philip*: all which time for at least ten years together, the Church enjoy'd a competent calmness, and tranquillity; when *Decius* was in a manner forced in his own defence to take the Empire upon him. A man of great activity and resolution, a stout Commander, a wise and prudent Governour, so universally acceptable for his modest and excellent carriage, that by the Sentence of the Senate he was voted not inferiour to *Trajan*, and had the Title of *Optimus* adjudged to him. But he was a bitter and implacable enemy to Christians, against whom he rais'd the EIGHTH PERSECUTION, which proved, though the shortest, the hottest of all the Persecutions that had hitherto afflicted and oppressed the Church. The Ecclesiastic Historians generally put it upon the account of *Decius* his hatred to his Predecessor *Philip*, for being a Christian; whereas it is more truly to be ascribed to his zeal for the cause of declining Paganism, which he saw fatally undermin'd by Christianity, and that therefore there was no way to support the one, but by the ruine of the other. We have more than once taken notice of it in some of the following Lives, and therefore shall say the less here. *Decius* reigned somewhat above two years, during which time the storm was very black and violent, and no place but felt the dreadful effects of it. They were every where driven from their houses, spoil'd in their estates, tormented in their bodies, whips and prisons, fires and wild beasts, scalding pitch and melted wax, sharp stakes and burning pincers were but some of the methods of their treatment; and when the old ones were run over, new were daily invented and contriv'd. The laws of nature and humanity were broken down, friend betray'd his friend, and the nearest relative his own Father or Brother. Every one was ambitious to promote the Imperial Edicts, and thought it meritorious to bring a Christian to the stake. This Persecution swept away at *Alexandria*, *Julian*, *Chronion*, *Epimachus*, *Alexander*, *Ammon*, *Zeno*, *Ptolomy*, *Ammonaria*, *Mercuria*, *Isidore*, and many others mentioned by *Dionysius* Bishop of that Church; at *Carthage*, *Mappalicus*, *Bassus*, *Fortunio*, *Paulus*, *Donatus*, *Martialis*, &c. it crown'd *Babylas* Bishop of *Antioch*, *Alexander* of *Jerusalem*, *Fabian* Bishop of *Rome*, *Victoria*, *Anatolia*, *Parthenius*, *Marcellianus*, and thousands more: *Nicephorus* affirming it to be easier to count the Sands of the shore, than to reckon up all the Martyrs that suffered under this Persecution. Not to say any thing of those incredible numbers of Confessors that were beaten, imprisoned, tormented; nor of the far greater number of those who betook themselves to a voluntary exile; chusing rather to commit themselves to the barrenness of Rocks and Mountains, and the mercy of wild beasts, than to those that had put off all reason and humanity. Among whom was *Paul of Thebais*, a youth of XV. years of age, who withdrew himself into the Egyptian Desarts, where finding a large and convenient Cavern in a Rock (which heretofore had been a

† Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 6. c. 39. p. 234. Chron. ad Ann. CCLII. Oros. l. 7. c. 21. fol. 310. Niceph. l. 5. c. 27. p. 377.

† Lib. 5. c. 29. p. 379.

private mint-house in the time of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*) he took up his abode and residence, led a solitary and Anchoritic course of life, and became the Father of *Hermites*, and those who afterwards were desirous to retire from the world, and to resign up themselves to solitude, and a more strict mortified life. In this pious and devout retirement he continued till he was CXIII. years of age, and in the last period of his life was visited by *Antonius*, who had spent the greatest part of XC. years in those desert places, and who now performed the last offices to him in committing his dead body to the earth.

XXVII. *GALLUS* succeeded *Decius* as in his Government, so in his enmity to Christians, carrying on what the other had begun. But the cloud soon blew over; for he being cut off, was succeeded by *Valerian*, who entered upon the Empire with an universal applause and expectation. In the beginning of his reign he was a great Patron of Christians, whom he treated with all offices of kindness and humanity, entertaining them in his own family; so that his Court seemed to be a little Church for Piety, and a Sanctuary for refuge to good men. But, alas, this pleasant Scene was quickly over; seduced by a chief Magician of *Egypt*, who persuaded him that the only way to prosper his affairs, was to restore the *Gentile Rites*, and to suppress Christianity, so hateful to the gods, he commenced a NINTH PERSECUTION, wherein he prosecuted the Christians with all imaginable fury in all parts of the Empire. With what fierceness it rag'd in *Egypt*, is largely related by *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, and we have in a great part noted in his Life. It's needless (*says he*\*) particularly to reckon up the Christians that suffered in this Persecution: only this you may observe, that both men and women, young and old, Souldiers and Country people, persons of all ranks and ages, were some of them scourg'd and whipped, others beheaded, others overcoming the violence of flames, received the crown of Martyrdom. *Cyprian* elegantly and passionately bewails the miseries and sufferings which the Martyrs underwent, in his Letter to *Nemesian*, and the rest that were condemned to the mines. Nor did he himself escape, being beheaded at *Carthage*, as *Xistus* and *Quartus* had been before him, and the three hundred Martyrs *De Massa Candida*, who rather than do Sacrifice, chearfully leapt into a mighty pit of burning Lime, kindled for that purpose, and were immediately stifled in the smoke and flames. In *Spain* suffered *Fruktuosus* Bishop of *Tarragon*, together with his two Deacons, *Augurinus* and *Eulogius*, at *Rome*, *Xistus* the Bishop, and *S. Laurence* his Deacon and Treasurer of that Church; at *Casarea*, *Priscus*, *Malchus*, and *Alexander*, who asham'd to think that they lay idle and secure, while so many others were contending for the Crown, unanimously went to the Judg, confess'd they were Christians, received their Sentence, and underwent their Martyrdom. But the Divine Providence, which sometimes in this world pleads the cause of oppressed innocence, was resolved to punish the Emperor for his causeless cruelty towards those, whose interest with heaven (while he continued favourable to them) had secured his happiness: and therefore did not only suffer the *Northern Nations* to break in upon him, but he himself was taken prisoner by *Sapor* King of *Persia*, who treated him below the rate of the meanest slave, used him as his foot-stool to get on horse-back, and after several years captivity caus'd him to be flay'd alive, and rub'd with salt, and so put a period to his

\* *Epist. ad Domit. & Did. ap. Euseb. l. 7. c. 11. p. 260.*

his miserable life. A fair warning to his Son *Gallienus*, who growing wiser by the mischiefs and miscarriages of his Father, stopt the Persecution, and restor'd peace and security to Christians.

Οὕτως, τὴν ὅσῃν κείσιν ὕψις, ἀλλὰ ἀχμαλώτης τε καὶ Νεκρὸς ἀρδὴς ὡς αὐτῇ περιεβλεπόμενος καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ βασιλικῷ κόσμῳ. Τέλει δ' ὑπὸ Σαπῶρος Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐκδερβῶναι καλεσθεὶς καὶ παρεχόμενος, ἔπαιον τ' οὐκ οὐκ δυνάμενος ἐπιστῆσαι αὐτόν. *Constant. M. Orat. ad SS. Cœlum, cap. 24. pag. 600.*

XXVIII. A long peace and prosperity (for except a little disturbance in the time of *Aurelian*, they met with no opposition through the reigns of *Gallienus*, *Claudius*, *Tacitus*, *Florianus*, *Probus*, *Carus*, and *Numerian*) had somewhat corrupted the manners of Christians, and therefore God was pleased to permit a TENTH PERSECUTION to come upon them to purge and winnow the rubbish and the chaff: the Ulcer began to putrefie, and it was time to call for the Knife and the Caustic. It began under *Dioclesian* and his Colleague *Maximian*. *Dioclesian* was a Prince active and diligent, crafty and subtil, fierce in his nature, but which he knew how cunningly to dissemble. His zeal for the *Pagan Religion* engag'd him with all possible earnestness to oppose Christianity, which he carried on with a high hand, it being as the last, so the fiercest Persecution, like the last efforts of a dying enemy, that summons all his strength to give the parting blow. *Dioclesian* then residing at *Nicomedia* published his Edicts about the very solemnity of our Saviours Passion, commanding the Christian Churches to be pulled down, their Bibles to be burnt, the better sort of them to be branded with infamy, the vulgar to be made slaves; as by subsequent orders he commanded the Bishops to be every where imprisoned, and forced to Sacrifice. But these were but a *preludium* to what followed after, other Proclamations being put forth, commanding those that refus'd to offer Sacrifice to be expos'd to all manner of torments. 'Twere endless to reckon up particular persons that suffered in this evil time. *Eusebius* who liv'd under this very Persecution, has recorded a vast number of them, with the Acts of their Martyrdom; too many to account for in this place. It may suffice to note from him, that they were scourged to death, had their flesh torn off with pincers, or rak'd off with pieces of broken pots, were cast to Lions and Tygers, to wild Boars and Bears, provoked and enrag'd with fire to set upon them, burnt, beheaded, crucified, thrown into the Sea, torn in pieces by the distorted boughs of Trees, or their legs miserably distended in the Stocks, roasted at a gentle fire, or by holes made on purpose had melted lead poured into their bowels. But impossible it is to conceive, much more to express the cruelties of that time. *Eusebius* himself who saw them, tells us, that they were innumerable, and exceeded all relation. All which he assures they endured with the most admirable and undaunted patience; they throng'd to the Tribunals of their Judges, and freely told them what they were; despis'd the threatnings and barbarity of their enemies, and received the fatal and decretory Sentence with a smile; when persuaded to be tender of their lives, and to compassionate the case of their Wives and Children, they bore up against the temptation with a manly and Philosophic mind, μᾶλλον δ' εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ φιλοθέῳ ψυχῇ, as he adds, yea rather with a soul truly pious and devoted unto God; so that neither fears nor charms could take hold upon them, at once giving undeniable evidences both of their own courage and fortitude, and of that Divine and unconceivable power of our Lord that went along with them.

\* *lib. 8. c. 12. p. 307.*

them. The acutest torments did not shake the firmness and stability of their minds, but they could with as much unconcernedness lay down their lives (as *Origen*<sup>a</sup> tells *Celsus*) as the best Philosopher could put off his coat. They valued their innocence above their ease, or life it self, and sufficiently shewed they believed another state, by an argument beyond what any institution of Philosophy could afford. "The great Philosophers of the *Gentiles* (as *Eusebius*<sup>b</sup> reasons in this matter) as much as they talk of immortality, and the happiness of the future state, did yet shew that they look'd upon it only as a childish and a trifling report: whereas amongst us even boys and girls, and as to outward appearance, the meanest and rudest persons, being assisted by the power and aid of our Blessed Saviour, do by their actions, rather than their words, demonstrate the truth of this great Principle, the immortality of the Soul. Ten years this Persecution lasted in its strength and vigor, under *Dioclesian* in the East, and *Maximian* in the West; and they thought, it seems, they had done their work, and accordingly tell the world in some ancient Inscriptions, that they had utterly defaced the name and superstition of the Christians, and had restored and propagated the worship of the gods. But were miserably mistaken in the case; and as if weary of the work, laid down their purple, and retir'd to the solitudes of a private life. And though *Galerius*, *Maximianus*, *Jovius Maximinus*, *Maxentius*, and *Licinius* did what they could to set the Persecution on foot again, yet all in vain; both they and it in a very few years expiring and dwindling into nothing.

XXIX. THUS we have seen the hardships and miseries, the torments and sufferings which the Christians were exposed to for several ages, and with how invincible a patience they went through with them. Let us now a little review the argument, and see what force and influence it had to convince the world of the truth of their Religion, and bring in Converts to the Faith. *Tertullian*<sup>c</sup> tells the *Gentiles*, "That all their cruelty was to no purpose, that it was but a stronger invitation to bring over others to the party; that the oftner they mowed them down, the faster they sprang up again; and that the blood of Christians was a seed that grew up into a more plentiful harvest; that several among the *Gentiles* had exhorted their auditors to patience under suffering, but could never make so many Profelytes with all their fine discourses, as the Christians did by their actions: that that very obstinacy which was so much charged upon them was a tutor to instruct others. For who when they beheld such things, could not but be powerfully mov'd to enquire what really was within? who when he had once found it, would not embrace it? and having once embraced it, not be desirous to suffer for it; that so he may obtain the full Grace of God, and the pardon of his sins assured by the shedding of his blood. *Lactantius*<sup>d</sup> mannares this argument with incomparable eloquence and strength of reason: his discourse is somewhat long, but not unworthy the Readers consideration. "Since our number (*says he*) is always increased from amongst the Votaries of the Heathen deities, and is never lessened, no not in the hottest Persecution, who is so blind and stupid, as not to see in which party true Wisdom does reside? But they, alas, are blinded with rage and malice, and think all to be fools, who when 'tis in their power to escape punishment, chuse rather to be tortured and to die; when as they might perceive by this, that that can be no such folly, wherein so many thousands throughout the whole world do so unanimously conspire. Suppose that

<sup>a</sup> *Contr. Cels.* l. 7. p. 357.

<sup>b</sup> *Præpar. Evan.* l. 1. c. 4. p. 13.

<sup>c</sup> *Ap. Genter.* pag. CCLXXX. num. 3. & 4.

<sup>d</sup> *Apolog. c. ult.* p. 40.

<sup>e</sup> *De Justit.* l. 5. c. 13. p. 494.

"women through the weakness of their Sex may miscarry (and they are pleased sometimes to style this Religion an *effeminate* and *old-wives Superstition*) yet certainly men are wiser. If children and young men may be rash, yet at least those of a mature age and old men have a more stable judgment. If one City might play the fool, yet innumerable others cannot be supposed to be guilty of the same folly. If one Province, or one Nation should want care and providence, yet all the rest cannot lack understanding to judge what is right. But now when the Divine Law is entertain'd from the rising of the Sun, to the going down thereof, and every Sex, Age, Nation and Country serves God with one heart and Soul; when there is every where the same patience, and contempt of death, they ought to consider that there is some reason for it, and that it is not without cause, that it is maintained even unto death: that there is some fixed foundation when a Religion is not only not shattered by injuries and persecutions, but always increased and rendred more firm and stable. When the very common people see men torn in pieces by various engins of torment, and yet maintain a patience unconquerable in the midst of their tir'd tormentors; they cannot but think what the truth is, that the consent of so many, and their perseverance unto death, cannot be in vain, nor that patience it self, without the Divine assistance, should be able to overcome such exquisit tortures. High-way men and persons of the most robust constitutions are not able to bear such pulling asunder; they roar, and groan, and sink under pain, because not furnished with a Divine patience. But our very children (to say nothing of our men) and our tender women, do by silence conquer their tormentors; nor can the flames extort one sigh from them. Let the *Romans* go now, and boast of their *Mutius* and their *Regulus*, one of which delivered up himself to be put to death by his enemies, because he was ashamed to live a prisoner; the other thrust his hand into the fire when he saw he could not escape death. Behold, with us the weaker Sex, and the more delicate age suffers the whole body to be torn and burnt; not because they could not avoid it if they would, but voluntarily, because they trust in God. This is true virtue, which Philosophers in vain only talk of, when they tell us, that nothing is so suitable to the gravity and constancy of a wise man, as not by any terrors to be driven from his sentiments and opinions; but that it is vertuous, and great indeed, to be tortur'd and die, rather than betray ones Faith, or be wanting in his duty, or do any thing that's unjust or dishonest, though for fear of death, or the acutest torment, unless they thought their own Poet rav'd, when he said,

*Justum & tenacem propositi virum,  
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,  
Non vultus instantis tyranni  
Mente quatit solida.*

The Just man that resolved stands,  
Not Tyrants frowns, nor fierce commands,  
Nor all the peoples rage combin'd,  
Can shake the firmness of his mind.

"Than which nothing can be more truly said, if meant of those, who refuse no tortures, nor death it self, that they may preserve fidelity

*Horat. Carm.* l. 3. Od. 3 p. 154.

"delity and justice; who regard not the command of Tyrants, nor the Swords of the Governors, that they may with a constant mind pre-serve real and solid liberty, wherein true Wisdom alone is to be maintained. Thus far that elegant Apologist. And certainly the truth of his reasonings was abundantly verified by the experience of the World, Christians getting ground, and conquering opposition by nothing more, than their patience and their constancy, till they had subdued the Empire it self to the acknowledgment of the truth. And when once the great *Constantine* had entertained Christianity, it went along with wind and tide, and bore down all before it. And surely it might be no unpleasant survey, to consider what was the true state of *Paganism* under the first Christian Emperors, and how and by what degrees that Religion, which for so many ages had governed the world, slunk away into obscurity and silence. But this is a business without the bounds of my present enquiry to search into.

*The end of the INTRODUCTION.*

THE

# THE LIFE OF S. STEPHEN THE PROTOMARTYR.



Act. vii. LIX. And they stoned STEPHEN, calling vpon God, and saying, Lord Iesus receive my spirit. *AC. Bingham, sculpsit*

*The violent opposition that Christianity at its first appearance met with both from Jews and Gentiles. St. Stephens Kindred unknown. One of the Seventy. The great Charity of the Primitive Believers. Diffention between the*

the Hebrews and Grecians. Hellenists who. The Original of Deacons in the Christian Church. The nature of their Office: the number and qualification of the Persons. Stephens eminent accomplishments for the place. The envy and opposition of the Jews against him. The Synagogue of the Libertines, what. Of the Cyrenians, Alexandrians, &c. Their dispute with St. Stephen, and the success of it. False Witnesses suborned to depose against him. The several parts of their charge considered. The mighty veneration of the Jews for their Temple and the Mosaic Institutions. Its destruction by Titus; and their attempts to rebuild it under Julian frustrated by a miracle. Stephens Apology before the Sanhedrin. The Jews rage against him. He is encouraged by a vision. Stoning to death, what kind of punishment; the manner of it among the Jews. St. Stephens Martyrdom. His Character, and excellent virtues. The time and place of his suffering. The place and manner of his burial. His body first discovered, when and how. The Story of its translation to Constantinople. The miracles said to be done by his Reliques, and at his Memorials. Several reported by St. Augustin. What credit to be given to them. Miracles how long, and why continued in the Church. The vain pretences of the Church of Rome.

I.



He Christian Religion being designed by God for the reformation of Mankind, and the rooting out that Barbarism and Idolatry wherewith the World was so over-grown, could not but meet with opposition, all corrupt Interests conspiring to give it no very welcom entertainment. Vice and Errour had too long usurped the Throne, to part with it by a tame and easie resignation, but would rather summon all their Forces against a Doctrin, that openly proclaimed the subversion and ruine of their Empire. Hence *this Sect was every where spoken against*, equally opposed both by Jew and Gentile. The Gentiles despised it for its lateness and novelty, as having no antiquity to recommend it, nor could they endure that their Philosophy, which then every where ruled the Chair, should be controlled by a plain simple Doctrin, that pretended to no elaborate Schemes, no insinuating strains of Eloquence, no nice and subtile arts of Reasoning, no abstruse and sublime Speculations. The Jews were vexed to see their expectations of a mighty Prince who should greatly exalt their State, and redeem it from that oppression and slavery under which it groaned, frustrated by the coming of a *Messiah*, who appeared under all the circumstances of meanness and disgrace; and who was so far from rescuing them from the power of the *Roman Yoke*, that for their obstinacy and unbelief he threatned the final and irrevocable ruine of their Countrey, and by the Doctrin he published plainly told them he intended to abolish those ancient *Mosaic Institutions*, for which they had such dear regards, and so solemn a Veneration. Accordingly when he came amongst them, they entertained him with all the instances of cruelty and contempt, and whatever might expose him to the scorn and odium of the People; they vilified and reproached his person, as but the son of a Carpenter, a Glutton and a Drunkard, a Traitor and an *Enemy unto Caesar*; they sleighted his Doctrin as the talk onely of a rude and illiterate person, traduced his Miracles as tricks of Imposture, and the

the effects of a black Confederacy with the infernal Powers. And when all this would not do, they violently laid hands upon him, and took away his life. And now one would have thought their spite and fury should have cooled and died: but malice and revenge are too fierce and hot to stop at the first attempt. On they resolve to go in these bloody methods, and to let the World see that the Disciples and Followers must expect no better then their Master, it was not many Moneths before they took occasion to refresh their rage in St. Stephens Martyrdom: the History of whose Life and Death we now come to relate, and to make some brief Remarks upon it.

II. THE sacred Story gives us no particular account either of the Countrey or Kindred of this Holy man. That he was a Jew is unquestionable, himself sufficiently owns the relation in his Apology to the People, but whether originally descended of the stock of *Abraham*, or of Parents incorporated and brought in by the gate of Proselytism, whether born at *Jerusalem*, or among the dispersed in the Gentile Provinces is impossible to determine. *Baronius* (grounding his conjecture upon an Epistle of *Lucian*, of which more afterwards) makes him to have been one of *Gamaliels* Disciples, and fellow-Pupil with St. *Paul*, who proved afterwards his mortal enemy: but I must confess, I find not in all that Epistle the least shadow of probability to countenance that conjecture. Antiquity \* makes him, probably enough, to have been one of the LXX Disciples, chosen by our Lord as Co-adjutors to the Apostles in the Ministry of the Gospel: and indeed his admirable knowledge in the Christian Doctrin, his singular ability to defend the cause of Christs Messiahship against its most acute opposers, plainly argue him to have been some considerable time trained up under our Saviours immediate institutions. Certain it is, that he was a man of great zeal and piety, endowed with extraordinary measures of that divine Spirit that was lately shed upon the Church, and incomparably furnished with miraculous powers, which peculiarly qualified him for a place of honour and usefulness in the Church, whereto he was advanced upon this occasion.

III. THE Primitive Church among the many instances of Religion for which it was famous and venerable, was for none more remarkable then their Charity, they lived and loved as Brethren, *were of one heart and one soul, and continued together with one accord*. Love and Charity were the common soul that animated the whole body of Believers, and conveyed heat and vital spirits to every part. They prayed and worshipped God in the same place, and fed together at the same table. None could want, for *they had all in common*. The rich sold their estates to minister to the necessities of the poor, and deposited the money into one common Treasury, the care whereof was committed to the Apostles, to see distribution made as every ones case and exigency did require. But in the exactest harmony there will be some jars and discord, heaven onely is free from quarrels, and the occasions of offence. The Church increasing every day by vast numbers of Converts to the Faith, the Apostles could not exactly superintend the disposure of the Churches stock, and the making provision for every part, and were therefore probably forced to take in the help of others, sometimes more and sometimes less, to assist in this affair. By which means a due equality and proportion was not observed, but either through favour and partiality, or the oversight of

Ad Ann.  
XXXIV. n.  
275, 298.

\* Epiph. Hæres.  
XX. p. 27. Do-  
roth. Synops. de  
Vit. App. in  
Bibl. PP. Tom. 3.  
p.

A. 6. 1.

those that managed the matter, some had larger portions, others less relief than their just necessities called for. This begat some present heats and animosities in the first and purest Church that ever was, the *Grecians* murmuring against the *Hebrews*, because their *Widows* were neglected in the daily ministrations.

Joh. 7. 35.

IV. WHO these *Grecians* or *Hellenists* were, opposed here to the *Hebrews*, however a matter of some difficulty and dispute, it may not be unuseful to enquire. The opinion that has most generally obtained, is that they were originally *Jews* born and bred in *Grecian* or *Heathen* Countries, of the dispersed among the *Gentiles* (the διασπορά τῶν Ἑλλήνων, the word Ἑλλῆνες in the stile of the New Testament, as also in the Writings of the Fathers, being commonly used for the *Gentile* World) who accommodated themselves to their manner of living, spake the *Greek* Language, but altogether mixed with *Hebraisms* and *Jewish* forms of speech, (and this called *Lingua Hellenistica*) and used no other Bible but the *Greek* Translation of the *Septuagint*. A notion which *Salmasius* has

Comment. de  
Hellenist. Qu. 1.  
233. 4. 5. p. 232.  
et. vid. etiam  
inter alios Be-  
r. Camer. in  
loc.

taken a great deal of pains to confute, by shewing that never any People went under that notion and character, that the *Jews* in what parts of the World soever they were, were not a distinct Nation from those that lived in *Palestine*; that there never was any such peculiar distinct *Hellenistic* Dialect, nor any such ever mentioned by any ancient Writer; that the Phrase is very improper to express such a mixt Language, yea rather that Ἑλληνιστής implies one that studies to speak pure *Attic* *Greek*. Probable therefore it is, that they were not of the *Hebrew* race, but *Greek* or *Gentile* Proselytes, who had either themselves, or in their Ancestors deserted the Pagan Superstitions, and imbodyed themselves into the *Jewish* Church, taking upon them Circumcision and the observation of the Rites of the *Mosaic* Laws (which kind the *Jews* call יְהוּדִים *Proselytes of Justice*;) and were now converted to Christianity. That there were at this time great numbers of these Proselytes at *Jerusalem*, is evident; and strange it were, if when at other times they were desirous to have the Gospel preached to them, none of them should have been brought over to the Faith. Even among the *seven* made choice of to be *Deacons* (most, if not all, of whom we may reasonably conclude to have been taken out of these *Grecians*) we find one expressly said to have been a *Proselyte of Antioch*, as in all likelihood some if not all the other might be Proselytes of *Jerusalem*. And thus where ever we meet with the word Ἑλληνιστής or *Grecians* in the History of the *Apostolic Acts* (as 'tis to be met with in two places more) we may, and in reason are to understand it. So that these *Hellenists* (who spake *Greek*, and used the Translation of the *LXX*) were *Jews* by Religion, and *Gentiles* by descent; with the Ἑλλῆνες or *Gentiles* they had the same common Original, with the *Jews* the same common Profession; and therefore are not here opposed to *Jews*, (which all those might be stiled, who embrace *Judaism* and the Rites of *Moses*, though they were not born of *Jewish* Ancestors) but to the *Hebrews*, who were *Jews* both by their Religion and their Nation. And this may give us some probable account, why the *Widows* of these *Hellenists* had not so much care taken of them as those of the *Hebrews*, the persons with whom the *Apostles* in a great measure intrusted the ministrations, being kinder to those of their own Nation, their Neighbours, and it may be Kindred, then

A. 1. 29.  
11. 20.

then to those who onely agreed with them in the profession of the same Religion, and who indeed were not generally so capable of contributing to the Churches Stock as the native *Jews*, who had Lands and Possessions, which they sold and laid at the *Apostles* feet.

V. THE peace and quiet of the Church being by this means a little ruffled and discomposed, the *Apostles*, who well understood how much Order and Unity conduced to the ends of Religion, presently called the Church together, and told them, that the disposing of the Common Stock, and the daily providing for the necessities of the Poor, however convenient and necessary, was yet a matter of too much trouble and distraction to consist with a faithful discharge of the other parts and duties of their Office, and that they did not judge it fit and reasonable to neglect the one, that they might attend the other; that therefore they should chuse out among themselves some that were duly qualified, and present them to them, that they might set them apart peculiarly to superintend this affair, that so themselves being freed from these incumbences, might the more freely and uninterruptedly devote themselves to prayer and preaching of the Gospel. Not that the *Apostles* thought the care of the Poor an Office too much below them, but that this might be discharged by other hands, and they, as they were obliged, the better attend upon things of higher importance, Ministeries more immediately servicable to the souls of men. This was the first original of *Deacons* in the Christian Church, they were to serve *Tables*, that is, to wait upon the necessities of the Poor, to make daily provisions for their public Feasts, to keep the Churches Treasure, and to distribute to every one according to their need. And this admirably agrees to one ordinary notion of the word Διάκονος in Foreign Writers, where 'tis used for that peculiar Servant who waited at Feasts, whose Office it was to distribute the portions to every Guest, either according to the command of the Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, the *Orderer* of the Feast, or according to the rule of Equality, to give every one alike. But though 'tis true this was a main part of the *Deacons* Office, yet was it not the whole. For had this been all, the *Apostles* needed not to have been so exact and curious in their choice of persons, seeing men of an ordinary rank and of a very mean capacity might have served the turn, nor have used such solemn Rites of Consecration to Ordain them to it. No question therefore but their serving *Tables* implied also their attendance at the *Table* of the Lords Supper. For in those days their *Agape* or common *Love-Feasts*, (whereat both Rich and Poor sat down together) were at the same time with the Holy Eucharist, and both administered every day, so that their ministrations respected both the one and the other. And thus we find it was in the practice of the Church: for so *Justin Martyr* tells us it was in his time, that when the President of the Assembly had consecrated the Eucharist, the *Deacons* distributed the Bread and the Wine to all that were present, and after carried them to those who were necessarily absent from the Congregation. Nor were they restrained to this one particular Service, but were in some cases allowed to Preach, Baptize, and Absolve Penitents, especially where they had the peculiar warrant and authority

Μοῖρα κρείων, ἡ ἴσιν ἄπαν' εἰ Διάκονοι  
σεῖς ἔχειν μινδὲν μινδὲν. Μὴ τὸ μὲν με-  
λα, τὸ δὲ κομιδὴν μικρὰ ᾤεσθαι δεῖν, ἀλλ'  
ἰσότης ἐστὶ πάντων. Lucian. Chronotol. seu  
de Iegg. Saturnal. Tom. 2. p. 823.

Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Διακόνους εὐλαβεῖν  
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ἀρξέμεν  
καὶ τὸ βραχμάτων καὶ ποσῶν (h. e. non solum)  
εἰς τὴν Διάκονον, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ὑπακούειν.  
ὅθεν ἐν οὐρανῷ συλλάττωσιν τὰ ἐγκαλήματα ὡς  
πρός. Ignat. Epist. ad Trall. Append. Miller.  
p. 17.

Ap. II. p. 97.

city of the Bishop to bear them out : nor need we look far beyond the present Story to find *St. Philip*, one of the Deacons here elected, both preaching the Gospel, and baptizing Converts with great success.

VI. THAT this excellent Office might be duly managed, the Apostles directed and enjoined the Church to nominate such persons as were fitted for it, pious and good men, men of known honesty and integrity, of approved and untainted reputations, furnished and endowed with the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, wise and prudent men, who would discreetly discharge the trust committed to them. The number of these persons was limited to *seven*, probably for no other reason but because the Apostles thought these sufficient for the business; unless we will also suppose the whole body of Believers to have been disposed into seven several Divisions, for the more orderly and convenient managery of their common Feasts, and distributions to the Poor, and that to each of these a Deacon was appointed to superintend and direct them; without further designing any peculiar Mystery, which \* some would fain pick out of it. However the Church thought good for a long time to conform to this Primitive Institution, inasmuch that the Fathers of the † *Neo-Cæsarean* Council ordained, that in no City, how great soever, there should be more than seven *Deacons*, a Canon which they found upon this place : and .*Sozomen* tells us that in his time, though many other Churches kept to no certain number, yet that the Church of *Rome* in compliance with this *Apostolical* example, admitted no more than seven Deacons in it. The People were infinitely pleased with the order and determination which the Apostles had made in this matter, and accordingly made choice of seven, whom they presented to the Apostles, who (as the solemnity of the thing required) first made their address to Heaven by Prayer for the divine blessing upon the undertaking, and then laid their hands upon them, an ancient symbolic Rite of Investiture and Consecration to any extraordinary Office. The issue of all was, that the Christian Religion got ground and prospered, Converts came flocking over to the Faith, yea very many of the *Priests* themselves, and of their Tribe and Family, of all others the most zealous and pertinacious asserters of the *Mosaic* Constitutions, the bitterest adversaries of the Christian Doctrine, the subtlest defenders of their Religion, laid aside their prejudices, and embraced the Gospel. So uncontrollable is the efficacy of divine truth, as very often to lead its greatest enemies in triumph after it.

VII. THE first and chief of the persons here elected, (who were all chosen out of the LXX Disciples, as \* *Epiphanius* informs us,) and whom the Ancients frequently stile *Arch-deacon*, as having the πρῶτος (as † *Chrysostom* speaks) the Primacy and Precedence among these new-elected Officers, was our *St. Stephen*, whom the Author of the Epistle to .*Hero* under the name of *Ignatius*, as also the *Interpolator* of that to the .*Trallians* makes in a more peculiar manner to have been Deacon to *St. James*, as Bishop of *Jerusalem*. He is not onely placed first in the Catalogue, but particularly recommended under this character, *a man full of Faith, and of the Holy Ghost*; he was exquisitely skilled in all parts of the Christian Doctrine, and fitted with great eloquence and elocution to declare and publish it; enriched with many miraculous gifts and powers, and a spirit of courage and resolution to encounter the most potent opposition. He preached and pleaded the cause

cause of Christianity with a firm and undaunted mind, and that nothing might be wanting to render it effectual, he confirmed his doctrine by many publick and unquestionable miracles, plain evidences and demonstrations of the truth and divinity of that Religion that he taught. But Truth and Innocency, and a better Cause, is the usual object of bad mens Spight and Hatred. The zeal and diligence of his Ministry, and the extraordinary success that did attend it, quickly awakened the malice of the *Jews*, and there wanted not those that were ready to oppose and contradict him. So natural is it for Error to rise up against the Truth, as Light and Darkness mutually resist and expel each other.

VIII. THERE were at *Jerusalem* besides the Temple, where Sacrifices and the more solemn parts of their Religion were performed, vast numbers of Synagogues for Prayer and Expounding of the Law, whereof the *Jews* themselves tell us there were not less than CCCCLXXX in that City. In these, or at least some apartments adjoining to them, there were *Schools* or *Colledges* for the instruction and education of Scholars in their Laws: many whereof were erected at the charges of the *Jews* who lived in Foreign Countries, and thence denominated after their names; and hither they were wont to send their Youth to be trained up in the knowledge of the Law, and the mysterious Rites of their Religion. Of these, five combined together to send some of their Societies to encounter and oppose *St. Stephen*. An unequal match! ἀνδρῶν ἀσεβειῶντων Πεντάπολις (as *Chrysostom* calls it) a whole Army of wicked adversaries, the chief of five several Synagogues are brought out against one, and him but a stripling too, as if they intended to oppress him rather with the number of assailants, then to overcome him by strength of Argument.

IX. THE first of them were those of the *Synagogue of the Libertines*; but who these Libertines were, is variously conjectured. Passing by *Junius* his conceit of *Labra* signifying in the *Ægyptian* Language the whole Precinct that was under one Synagogue, whence *Labrateni*, or corruptly (says he) *Libertini* must denote them that belonged to the *Synagogue of the Egyptians*, omitting this as altogether absurd and fantastical, besides that the *Synagogue of the Alexandrians* is mentioned afterwards; *Suidas* tells us 'twas the name of a Nation, but in what part of the World this People or Countrey were, he leaves us wholly in the dark. Most probably therefore it relates to the *Jews* that were emancipated and set at liberty. For the understanding whereof we must know that when *Pompey* had subdued *Judea*, and reduced it under the *Roman* Government, he carried great numbers of *Jews* captive to *Rome*, as also did those Generals that succeeded him, and that in such multitudes, that when the *Jewish* State sent an Embassy to *Augustus*, *Josephus* tells us, that there were about eight thousand of the *Jews* who then lived at *Rome*, that joined themselves to the Embassadors at their arrival thither. Here they continued in the condition of Slaves, till by degrees they were manumitted and set at liberty, which was generally done in the time of *Tiberius*, who (as *Philo* informs) suffered the *Jews* to inhabit the *Transjordan* Region: most whereof were *Libertines*, such who having been made Captives by the Fortune of War, had been set free by their Masters, and permitted to live after the manner of their Ancestors. They had their *Prosencha's* or Oratories, where they assembled, and performed their devotions according to the Religion of their Country: every year

\* *Ud. Baron. ad Ann. 112. n. 7. Tom. 2.*

† *Conc. Neo-Cæs. can. 15. Conc. Tom. 1. Col. 1484. .*Hist. Eccl. lib. 7. c. 19. p. 734.**

\* *Herod. XX. p. 27.*

† *Homil. XV. in Act. p. 555.*

.*Epist. ad Heron. in Bibl. PP. Gr. Lat. p. 37. .*1 p. ad Thall. p. 6. lib.**

*Orat. in S. Steph. Tom. 6. p. 276.*

*Jun. in loc. 6 in Gen. 8. 4.*

*Suid. in voc. Λιβέρτιν.*

*Antiquit. Jud. lib. 17. c. 12. p. 610.*

*Phil. de leg. ad Gal. p. 785.*

\* Tac. Annal.  
lib. 2. c. 85. p.  
88.  
† Sueton. in vit.  
Tib. c. 36 p. 334.  
Antiq. l. 18.  
c. 5. p. 623.

year they sent a Contribution in stead of first-fruits to *Jerusalem*, and deputed certain persons to offer sacrifices for them at the Temple. Indeed afterwards (as we find in \* *Tacitus* and † *Suetonius*) by an Order of Senate he caused four thousand *Libertini generis*, of those *Libertine Jews*, so many as were young and lusty, to be transported into *Sardinia* to clear that Island of Robbers (the occasion whereof is related by .*Josephus*) and the rest, both *Jews* and *Profelytes*, to be banished the City, *Tacitus* adds, *Italy* it self. This occasion, I doubt not, many of these *Libertine-Jews* took to return home into their own Countrey, and at *Jerusalem* to erect this Synagogue for themselves and the use of their Countreymen who from *Rome* resorted thither, stiling it from themselves, the *Synagogue of the Libertines*; and such questionless *St. Luke* means, when among the several Nations that were at *Jerusalem* at the day of *Pentecost*, he mentions *Strangers of Rome*, and they both *Jews* and *Profelytes*.

Ap. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. 16. c. 10. p. 561.

A. A. 2. 10.

A. A. 13. 1. 11. 19, 20

X. THE next Antagonists were of the *Synagogue of the Cyrenians*, that is, *Jews* who inhabited *Cyrene*, a noted City of *Libya*, where (as appears from a Rescript of *Augustus*) great numbers of them did reside, and who were annually wont to send their holy Treasure or accustomed Offerings to *Jerusalem*, where also (as we see) they had their peculiar Synagogue. Accordingly we find among the several Nations at *Jerusalem*, those who dwelt in the parts of *Libya* about *Cyrene*. Thus we read of *Simon of Cyrene*, whom the *Jews* compelled to bear our Saviours Cross; of *Lucius of Cyrene*, a famous Doctor in the Church of *Antioch*; of men of *Cyrene*, who upon the persecution that followed *St. Stephens* death, were scattered abroad from *Jerusalem*, and preached as far as *Phenice*, *Cyprus*, and *Antioch*. The third were those of the *Synagogue of the Alexandrians*, there being a mighty intercourse between the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* and *Alexandria*, where what vast multitudes of them dwelt, and what great privileges they enjoyed, is too well known to need insisting on. The fourth were them of *Cilicia*, a known Province of the lesser *Asia*, the Metropolis whereof was *Tarsus*, well stored with *Jews*; it was *S. Pauls* birth-place, whom we cannot doubt to have born a principal part among these assailants, finding him afterwards so active and busie in *S. Stephens* death. The last were those of the *Synagogue of Asia*: where by *Asia* we are probably to understand no more then part of *Asia* properly so called, (as that was but part of *Asia minor*) viz. that part that lay near to *Ephesus*, in which sense 'tis plain *Asia* is to be taken in the New Testament. And what infinite numbers of *Jews* were in these parts, and especially at *Ephesus*, the History of the Apostles Acts does sufficiently inform us.

Loc. supra citat.

XI. These were the several parties that were to take the Field, persons of very different Countries, men skilled in the subtleties of their Religion, who all at once rose up to dispute with *Stephen*. What the particular subject of the disputation was, we find not, but may with *St. Chrysostom* conceive them to have accosted him after this manner. "Tell us, "Young man, what comes into thy mind thus rashly to reproach the "Deity? Why dost thou study with such cunningly-contrived dis- "courses to inveigle and persuade the People? and with deceitful mi- "racles to undo the Nation? Here lies the crisis of the Controversie. "Is it like that he should be God, who was born of *Mary*, that the ma- "ker of the World should be the son of a Carpenter? was not *Bethlehem* "the place of his Nativity, and *Nazareth* of his education? canst thou  
imagine

"imagine him to be God, that was born upon Earth? who was so poor "that he was wrapt up in swaddling cloths and thrown into a manger? "who was forced to fly from the rage of *Herod*, and to walk away his "pollution by being baptized in *Jordan*? who was subject to hunger "and thirst, to sleep and weariness? who being bound, was not able to "escape, nor being buffeted, to rescue or revenge himself? who when "he was hanged, could not come down from the Cross, but underwent "a cursed and a shameful death? wilt thou make us believe that he is "in Heaven, whom we know to have been buried in his Grave? that "he should be the Life of the Dead, who is so near akin to Mortality "himself? Is it likely that God should suffer such things as these? would "he not rather with an angry breath have struck his adversaries dead at "the first approach, and set them beyond the reach of making attempts "upon his own person? either cease therefore to delude the People "with these impostures, or prepare thy self to undergo the same fate.

XII. IN answer to which we may imagine *S. Stephen* thus to have re-plied upon them. "And why, Sirs, should these things seem so incre- "dible? have you not by you the Writings of the Prophets? do you "not read the Books of *Moses*, and profess your selves to be his Disci- "ples? did not *Moses* say, a Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto "you of your brethren, like unto me, him shall ye hear? Have not the Pro- "phets long since foretold that he should be born at *Bethlehem*, and "conceived in the womb of a Virgin? that he should fly into *Egypt*, that "he should bear our griefs and carry our sorrows? that they should pierce "his hands and his feet, and hang him on a tree? that he should be bu- "ried, rise again, and ascend up to Heaven with a shout? Either now "shew me some other in whom all these Prophecies were accomplished, "or learn with me to adore as God our crucified Saviour. Blind and "ignorant that you are of the predictions of *Moses*, you thought you "crucified a meer man, but had you known him, you would not have "crucified the Lord of Glory: you denied the Holy One, and the Just, "and desired a Murderer to be granted to you, but put to death the "Prince of Life.

XIII. THIS is the sum of what that ingenious and eloquent Fa-ther conceives *S. Stephen* did, or might have returned to their Enquiries. Which whatever it was, was delivered with that life and zeal, that evi- dence and strength of reason, that freedom and majesty of elocution, that his Antagonists had not one word to say against it; they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake. So particularly did our Lord make good what he had promised to his Disciples, Settle it in your hearts, not to meditate before what you shall answer, for I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gain-say nor resist. Hereupon the men presently began to retreat, and departed the Lists, equally divided between shame and grief. Ashamed they were to be so openly baffled by one single adversary; vexed and troubled that they had not carried the day, and that the Religion which they opposed had hereby received such signal credit and confirmation. And now being no longer able ἀντιφθγγεῖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ (as the addition in some very ancient Manuscript Copies does elegantly express it) with open face to resist the truth, they betake themselves to clancular Arts, to sly and sinister Designs, hoping to accomplish by craft and subtlety what they could not carry by fairness and force of reason.

Luke 21. 14, 15.

Cod. Bezae MS. Or 2 Cod. H. Steph.

*ubi supra, pag.*  
278.

XIV. TO this purpose they tamper with men of debauched profligate Consciences, to undermine him by false accusations, that so he might fall as a Sacrifice to their spite and malice, and that by the hand of public Justice. S. *Chrysostom* brings them in with smooth and plausible insinuations encouraging the men to this mischievous attempt. "Come on, worthy and honourable Friends, lend your assistance to our declining cause, and let your Tongues minister to our Counsels and Contrivances. Behold a new Patron and Advocate of the GALILEEAN is started up: one that worships a God that was buried, and preaches a Creator shut up in a Tomb; who thinks that he whom the Souldiers despised and mocked upon Earth, is now conversing with the Host of Angels in Heaven, and promises that he shall come to judge the World, who was not able to vindicate and right himself: His Disciples denied him, as if they thought him an Impostor, and yet this man affirms, that every tongue shall confess and do homage to him: himself was not able to come down from the Cross, and yet he talks of his second coming from Heaven; the vilest miscreants reproached him at his death, that he could not save either himself or them, and yet this man peremptorily proclaims him to be the Saviour of the World. Did you ever behold such boldness and impudence? or have you ever heard words of so much madness and blasphemy? Do you therefore undertake the cause, and find out some specious colour and pretence, and thereby purchase to your selves glory and renown from the present Generation.

XV. THE Wretches were easily persuaded to the undertaking, and to swear whatever their Tutors should direct them. And now the cause is ripe for action, the case is divulged, the Elders and the Scribes are dealt with, (and a little Rhetoric would serve to persuade them) the people possessed with the horror of the Fact, the Sanhedrim is summoned, the Malefactor haled to the Bar, the Witnesses produced, and the charge given in. *They suborned men which said, we have heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses and against God; the false witnesses said, this man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place and the Law: for we have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered us:* that is, (that we may still proceed with that excellent man in opening the several parts of the charge) "he has dared to speak against our wise and great Lawgiver, and blasphemed that Moses, for whom our whole Nation has so just a veneration; that Moses who had the whole Creation at his beck, who freed our Ancestors from the house of bondage, and with his rod turned the Waters into Walls, and by his prayer drowned the Egyptian Army in the bottom of the Sea; who kindled a fiery Pillar for a light by night, and without plowing or sowing fed them with Manna and Bread from Heaven, and with his rod pierced the Rock and gave them drink. But what do we speak of Moses, when he has whetted his tongue, and stretched it out against God himself, and set up one that is dead as an Anti-god to the great Creator of the World? He has not blushed to reproach the Temple, that holy place, where the divine Oracles are read, and the Writings of the Prophets set forth, the Repository of the Shew-bread and the Heavenly Manna, of the Ark of the Covenant, and the Rod of Aaron; where the hoary and venerable heads of the High-priests, the dignity of the Elders, and the honour

"of

"of the Scribes is seen: this is the place which he has reviled and set at naught; and not this onely, but the Law it self; which he boldly declares to be but a shadow, and the ancient Rites but types and figures: he affirms the Galileean to be greater then Moses, and the Son of Mary stronger then our Law-giver; he has not honoured the dignity of the Elders, nor had any reverence to the society of the Scribes. He threatens us with a dead Master; the young man dreams sure, when he talks of Jesus of Nazareth rising again, and destroying this holy place: he little considers with how much wisdom it was contrived, with what infinite charges it was erected, and how long before it was brought to its perfection. And yet forsooth, this Jesus of Nazareth must destroy it, and change the customs which Moses delivered to us: our most holy Sabbath must be turned out of doors, Circumcision abolished, the New-Moons rejected, and the Feast of Tabernacles laid aside; our Sacrifices must no longer be accepted with God, our Sprinklings and solemn Purgations must be done away: as if we knew not this Nazarene's end, and as if one that is dead could revenge himself upon them that are living. How many of the ancient Prophets and Holy men have been cruelly murdered, whose death none ever yet undertook to revenge? and yet this man must needs appear in the cause of this crucified Nazarene, and tell us of a dead man that shall judge us: Silly Impostor! to fright us with a Judge who is himself imprisoned in his own Grave.

XVI. This then is the sum of the charge, that he should threaten the ruine of the Temple, and the abolition of the Mosaic Rites, and blasphemously affirm that Jesus of Nazareth should take away that Religion which had been established by Moses, and by God himself. Indeed the Jews had an unmeasurable reverence and veneration for the Mosaic Institutions, and could not with any patience endure to hear of their being laid aside, but accounted it a kind of blasphemy so much as to mention their dissolution. Little thinking in how short a time these things which they now so highly valued should be taken away, and their Temple it self laid level with the ground. Which a few years after came to pass by the Roman Army under the Conduct of Titus Vespasian the Roman General, when the City was sacked, and the Temple burnt to the ground. And so final and irrevocable was the sentence by which it was doomed to ruine, that it could never afterwards be repaired, Heaven it self immediately declaring against it. Inasmuch that when Julian the Emperour, out of spite and opposition to the Christians, was resolved to give all possible encouragement to the Jews, and not only permitted but commanded them to rebuild the Temple, furnishing them with all charges and materials necessary for the Work, (hoping that hereby he should prove our Saviour a false Prophet) no sooner had they begun to clear the Rubbish, and lay the Foundation, but a terrible Earthquake shattered the Foundation, killed the Undertakers, and shaked down all the buildings that were round about it. And when they again attempted it the next day, great balls of fire suddenly breaking out from under the Foundations consumed the Workmen and those that were near it, and forced them to give over the attempt. A strange instance of the displeasure of Heaven towards a place which God had fatally devoted to destruction. And this related not onely by Christian \*Writers, but as to the substance of it, by the Heathen

\*Socrat. H. Ecc.  
l. 3. c. 20. p. 193.  
Socr. H. E. l. 5.  
c. 22. p. 631.

\* Histo-

\* *A. Marcell. l. 23. non longe ab init.* \* Historian himself. And the same curse has ever since pursued and followed them, they having been destitute of Temple and Sacrifice for sixteen hundred years together. "Were that bloody Sanhedrim now

† *Greg. Nyssen. Orat. in S. Steph. Tom. 2. p. 791.* "in being, and here present, (says one of the † Ancients speaking of this accusation) I would ask them about those things for which they were here so much concerned, what is now become of your once famous and renowned Temple? where are those vast stones, and incredible Piles of building? where is that Gold that once equalled all the other materials of the Temple? what are become of your legal Sacrifices? your Rams and Calves, your Lambs and Heifers, Pigeons, Turtles, and Scape-goats? if they therefore condemned Stephen to die, that none of these miseries might befall them, let them shew which of them they avoided by putting him to death; but if they escaped none of them, why then did they imbrue their hands in his innocent blood?

XVII. THE Court being thus set, and the Charge brought in and opened, that nothing might be wanting to carry on their mock Scene of Justice, they give him liberty to defend himself. In order whereunto while the Judges of the Sanhedrim earnestly lookt upon him, they discovered the appearances of an extraordinary splendor and brightness upon his face, the innocency of his cause and the clearness of his conscience manifesting themselves in the brightness and cheerfulness of his countenance. The High-priest having asked him whether guilty or not, he in a large discourse pleaded his own cause to this effect: "That what apprehensions soever they might have of the stateliness and magnificence of their Temple, of the glory and grandeur of its services and ministrations, of those venerable customs and usages that were amongst them, as if they looked upon them as indispensably necessary, and that 'twas blasphemy to think, God might be acceptably served without them; yet that if they looked back to the first originals of their Nation, they would find, that God chose Abraham to be the Father and Founder of it, not when he lived in a Jerusalem, and worshipped God with the pompous services of a Temple, but when he dwelt among the Idolatrous Nations: that then it was that God called him from the impieties of his Fathers house, and admitted him to a familiar acquaintance and intercourse with himself; wherein he continued for many years without any of those external and visible Rites which they laid so much stress upon; and that when at last God entered into Covenant with him, to give his posterity the Land of Canaan, and that in his seed all the Nations of the Earth should be blessed, he bound it upon him with no other ceremony, but onely that of Circumcision, as the Badge and Seal of that federal compact that was between them: that without any other fixed Rite but this, the succeeding Patriarchs worshipped God for several Ages, till the times of Moses, a wise, learned, and prudent person, to whom God particularly revealed himself, and appointed him Ruler over his People, to conduct them out of the House of Bondage, a great and famous Prophet, and who was continually inculcating this Lesson to their Ancestors, *A Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your Brethren like unto me, him shall ye hear*; that is, that God in the latter days would send amongst them a mighty Prophet, who should do as Moses had done, introduce new Rites, and set up more excellent Institutions and ways of Worship, to whom they should yield all diligent attention, and ready obedience: "that

"that when their fore-fathers had frequently lapsed into Idolatry, God commanded Moses to set up a Tabernacle, as a place of publick and solemn Worship, where he would manifest himself, and receive the addresses and adorations of his People; which yet however was but a transient and temporary ministration, and though erected by the immediate order of God himself, was yet after some years to give place to a standing Temple designed by David, but built by Solomon; stately indeed and majestick, but not absolutely necessary, seeing that infinite Being that made the World, who had the heaven for his throne, and the earth for his footstool, could not be confined within a material Temple, nor tied to any particular way of worship; and that therefore there could be no such absolute and indispensable necessity for those Mosaic Rites and Ceremonies, as they pretended; especially when God was resolved to introduce a new and better Scene and state of things. "But it was the humour of this loose and unruly, this refractory and undisciplinable generation, (as it ever had been of their Ancestors) to resist the Holy Ghost, and oppose him in all those methods, whereby he sought to reform and reclaim them; that there were few of the Prophets whom their fore-fathers had not persecuted, and slain them that had foretold the Messiah's coming, the just and the holy Jesus, as they their unhappy posterity had actually betrayed and murdered him, without any due reverence and regard to that Law, which had been solemnly delivered to them by the ministry of Angels, and which he came to fulfil and perfect.

XVIII. THE holy man was going on in the Application, when the patience of his Auditors, which had hitherto holden out, at this began to fail; that fire which gently warms at a distance, scorches when it comes too near; their consciences being sensibly stung by the too near approach of the truths he delivered, they began to fume and fret, and express all the signs of rage and fury. But he regardless of what was done below, had his eyes and thoughts directed to a higher and a nobler object, and looking up saw the heavens opened, and some bright and sensible appearances of the divine majesty, and the holy Jesus clothed in the robes of our glorified nature, not sitting (in which sense he is usually described in Scripture) but standing (as ready to protect and help, to crown and reward his suffering servant) at the right hand of God. So easily can Heaven delight and entertain us in the want of all earthly comforts, and divine consolations are then nearest to us, when humane assistances are farthest from us. The good man was infinitely ravished with the Vision, and it inspired his soul with a fresh zeal and courage, and made him long to arrive at that happy place, and little concerned what use they would make of it, he could not but communicate and impart his happiness; the Cup was full, and it easily overflowed; he tells his adversaries what himself beheld, *Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the son of man standing on the right hand of God.*

XIX. THE Heavenly Vision had very different effects, it encouraged Stephen, but enraged the Jews, who now taking it *pro confesso* that he was a blasphemer, resolved upon his death, without any further process. How furious and impatient is mis-guided Zeal! they did not stand to procure a Warrant from the Roman Governour (without whose leave they had not power to put any man to death) nay they had not the patience to stay for the judicial sentence of the Sanhedrim, but acted

acted the part of Zealots, (who were wont to execute vengeance upon Capital Offenders without staying for the ordinary formalities of Justice) and raising a great noise and clamour, and stopping their ears, that they might hear no further blasphemies, and be deaf to all cries for mercy, they unanimously rushed upon him. But Zeal is superstitious in its maddest fury: they would not execute him within the Walls, lest they should pollute the holy City with his blood, but hurried him *without the City*, and there fell upon him with a shower of stones. Stoning was one of the four Capital punishments among the Jews, inflicted upon greater and more enormous crimes, especially Blasphemy, Idolatry, and strange Worship: and the Jews tell us of many particular circumstances used in this sort of punishment. The Malefactor was to be led out of the Consistory, at the door whereof a person was to stand with a Napkin in his hand, and a man on Horse-back at some distance from him, that if any one came and said, he had something to offer for the deliverance of the Malefactor, upon the moving of the Napkin the Horseman might give notice, and bring the offender back. He had two grave persons to go along with him to exhort him to confession by the way; a Crier went before him, proclaiming who he was, what his crime, and who the Witnesses; being come near the place of execution (which was two cubits from the ground) he was first stripped, and then stoned, and afterwards hanged, where he was to continue till Sun-set, and then being taken down, he and his Gibbet were both buried together.

Vid. P. Fag. in  
Exod. 21. 16.

Deut. 17. 7.

Act. 22. 20.

XX. SUCH were their customs in ordinary cases, but alas their greediness of St. Stephens blood would not admit these tedious proceedings; onely one formality we find them using, which the Law required, which was, that *the hands of the Witnesses should be first upon him, to put him to death, and afterward the hands of all the People*: a Law surely contrived with great Wisdom and Prudence, that so the Witness, if forsworn, might derive the guilt of the blood upon himself, and the rest be free; *so thou shalt put the evil away from among you*. Accordingly here the Witnesses putting off their upper garments (which rendred them less nimble and expedite, being loose and long, according to the mode of those Eastern Countries) laid them down at Sauls feet, a zealous Youth, at that time Student under Gamaliel, the fiery zeal and activity of whose temper made him busie no doubt in this, as we find he was in the following Persecution. An action which afterwards cost him tears and penitent reflections, himself preferring the Indictment against himself; *When the blood of thy Martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him*. Thus prepared they began the Tragedy, whose example was soon followed by the multitude. All which time the innocent and holy man was upon his knees, sending up his prayers faster to Heaven than they could rain down Stones upon him, piously recommending his own soul to God, and charitably interceding for his Murderers, that God would not charge this guilt upon them, nor severely reckon with them for it: and then gave up the Ghost, or as the sacred Historian elegantly expresses it, *fell asleep*. So soft a pillow is death to a good man, so willingly, so quietly does he leave the World, as a weary Labourer goes to bed at night. What Storms or Tempests soever may follow him while he lives, his Sun in spite of all the malice and cruelty of his enemies sets serene and calm; *Mark the perfect and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace*.

XXI. THUS

XXI. THUS died S. Stephen, the Protomartyr of the Christian Faith, obtaining  $\Theta$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\phi\epsilon\epsilon\delta\upsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\nu$   $\Sigma\eta\mu\alpha\upsilon\omicron\nu$  (says Eusebius) a reward truly answering to his name, a **Crown**. He was a man in whom the Vertues of a divine life were very eminent and illustrious; *a man full of Faith, and of the Holy Ghost*. Admirable his Zeal for God and for Religion, for the propagating whereof he refused no pains, declined no troubles or difficulties: his courage was not baffled either with the angry frowns, or the fierce threatnings of his enemies, nor did his spirit sink, though he stood alone, and had neither Friend nor Kinsman to assist and comfort him; his constancy firm and unshaken, notwithstanding temptations on the one hand, and the dangers that assaulted him on the other: in all the oppositions that he met with, under all the torments and sufferings that he underwent, he discovered nothing but the meek and innocent temper of a Lamb, never betraying one passionate and revengeful word, but calmly resigned up his soul to God. He had a charity large enough to cover the highest affronts, and the greatest wrongs and injuries that were put upon him; and accordingly after the example of his Master, he prayed for the pardon of his Murderers, even while they were raking in his blood. And the effectual fervent prayer of the righteous man availed much; Heaven was not deaf to his Petition, as appeared in the speedy conversion of S. Paul, whose admirable change we may reasonably suppose to have been the birth of the good mans dying groans, the fruit of his Prayer and Interest in Heaven. And what set off all these excellencies, he was not elated with lofty and arrogant conceits, nor thought more highly of himself than he ought to think, esteeming meanly of, and preferring others before himself. And therefore the Author of the *Apostolic Constitutions* brings in the Apostles commending S. Stephen for his humility, that though he was so great a person, and honoured with such singular and extraordinary Visions and Revelations, yet never attempted any thing above his place, did not consecrate the Eucharist, nor confer Orders upon any; but (as became a Martyr of Christ  $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha\nu$   $\delta\omicron\mu\omega\varsigma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu$ , to preserve Order and Decency) he contented himself with the station of a Deacon, wherein he persevered to the last minute of his life.

XXII. HIS Martyrdom hapned (say some) three years after our Saviours Passion, which Eusebius Bishop of Antioch (if that Epistle were his cited by Nicephorus, which 'tis probable enough was not) extends to no less than seven years. Doubtless a very wide mistake. Sure I am Eusebius affirms, that it was not long after his ordination to his Deacons Office, and the Author of the *Excerpta Chronologica* published by Scaliger more particularly, that it was some few days less than eight moneths after our Lords Ascension. He is generally supposed to have been young at the time of his Martyrdom; and Chrysostom makes no scruple of styling him *young man* at every turn, though for what reason, I confess I am yet to learn. He was martyred without the Walls, near the Gate on the North side, that leads to Cedar, (as Lucian tells us) and which was afterwards called S. Stephens Gate; anciently (say some) stiled the Gate of Ephraim, or as others the Valley Gate, or the Fish Gate which stood on the East side of the City, where the place we are told is still shewed, where S. Paul fate when he kept

Ego sum Iesus Nazarenus, quem tu persequeris. Quid mihi & tibi? Quare te erigis contra me, ad tanta mala quae commisi in me? Olim quidem debui perdere te, sed Stephanus meus oravit pro te. O Saul tupe rapax, comediisti; expecta paululum, & digeres. Dicam plane, elisus est filius perditionis. Nam si Sanctus STEPHANUS sic non orasset, Ecclesia PAULUM non haberet. Sed ideo eritutus est Paulus, quia in terra inclinatus exauditus est Stephanus. Quod fecit persecutor, patitur praedicator. August. Sermon. 1. de S. Steph. Tom. 10. col. 1168.

Lib. 8. cap. 46. Concil. Tom. 1. col. 509.

H. Eccl. 1. 2. c. 3. p. 134. Loc. supr. laudat.

Ad calc. Chron. Euseb. p. 82.

Orat. in S. Steph. ubi supr.

Ep. de Invent. S. Steph. ap. Sur.

ad Aug. 3. Bed. de loc. S. c. 1.

p. 263. T. 3. Broc. descript. Terr. f.

p. m. 328. Convic. Itin. l. 2. c. 11. p. 259.

the clothes of them that slew him. Over this place (wherever it was) the Empress *Eudocia* Wife of *Theodosius*, when she repaired the Walls of *Jerusalem*, erected a beautiful and stately Church to the honour of *S. Stephen*, wherein she herself was buried afterwards. The great Stone upon which he stood while he suffered Martyrdom, is <sup>b</sup> said to have been afterwards removed into the Church built to the honour of the Apostles upon Mount *Sion*, and there kept with great care and reverence: yea one of the Stones wherewith he was killed, being preserved by some Christian, was afterwards (as we are told) carried into *Italy*, and laid up as a choice Treasure at *Ancona*, and a Church there built to the memory of the Martyr.

XXIII. THE Church received a great wound by the death of this pious and good man, and could not but express a very deep resentment of it: *Devout men* (probably Profelytes) carried *Stephen* to his burial, and made great lamentation for him. They carried, or as the word *ἑτάθησαν* properly signifies, they dressed him up, and prepared the dead body for the burial. For we cannot reasonably suppose, that the *Jews* being at this time so mightily enraged against him, the *Apostles* would think it prudent further to provoke the exasperated humour by making a solemn and pompous Funeral. His burial (if we might believe <sup>a</sup> one of the Ancients, who pretends 'twas revealed to him in a Vision by *Gamaliel*, whom many of the Ancients make to have been a Christian Convert) was on this manner. The *Jewish Sanhedrim* having given order that his Carcass should remain in the place of its Martyrdom to be consumed by wild Beasts; here it lay for some time night and day, untouched either by Beast or Bird of prey. Till *Gamaliel* compassionating the case of the holy Martyr, persuaded some religious Christian Profelytes, who dwelt at *Jerusalem*, and furnished them with all things necessary for it, to go with all possible secrecy and fetch off his body. They brought it away in his own Carriage, and conveyed it to a place called *Caphargamala*, (corruptly, as is probable, for *Caphargamaliel*, otherwise *כפר נמלי* properly signifies the *Town of Camels*) that is, the *Village of Gamaliel*, twenty miles distant from *Jerusalem*; where a solemn mourning was kept for him seventy days at *Gamaliel's* charge, who also caused him to be buried in the *East side* of his own Monument, where afterwards he was

interred himself. The *Greek Menaon* adds, that his body was put into a Coffin made of the wood of the Tree called *Persea*, (this was a large beautiful *Egyptian* Tree, as *Theophrastus* tells us, of which they were wont to make Statues, Beds, Tables, &c.) though how they came by such very particular intelligence (there being nothing

of it in *Gamaliel's* Revelation) I am not able to imagine. \* *Johannes Phocas*, a *Greek* Writer of the middle Age of the Church, agrees in the relation of his Interment by *Gamaliel*, but adds, that he was first buried in Mount *Sion*, in the house where the Apostles were assembled when our Lord came in to them, the doors being shut, after his resurrection, and afterwards removed by *Gamaliel* to another place, which (says he) was on the left side the City, as it looks towards *Samaria*, where a famous Monastery was built afterwards.

XXIV. BUT where ever his body was interred, it rested quietly for several Ages, till we hear of its being found out in the reign of *Honorius*; for

<sup>a</sup> *Euagr. H. Eccl.*  
l. 1. c. 22. p. 280.

<sup>b</sup> *Bed. lib. cap. 3.*  
p. 364.

<sup>c</sup> *Bar. not. in*  
*Martyr Rom. ad*  
*Aug. 3. p. 475.*  
*ex Martyrol.*  
*S. Cyriac.*

<sup>d</sup> *Lucian. Ep.*  
*de invent. S.*  
*Stephani sup.*  
*& apud Bar. ad*  
*Ann. 415. p. 371.*  
*vid. Niceph. l. 14*  
*c. 9. Tom. 2. p.*  
*454.*

\* *Ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἀποστολὴν αὐτοῦ ἀντίπαλον καὶ ταλαίων, ὃ γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἀνεπαύσατο. (ὡς κομίζετο τὸ ἱερὸν ἔκλειον σελήνωμα ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἐυλαβῶν ἐν γλῶσσῳ ἱερῷ. Πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ φῶς. Menaon Græcor. τῇ κς' τοῦ Δεκάμεβρ. sub lit. Σ. 111.*

<sup>e</sup> *Hist. Plant. l. 4. c. 2. p. 286.*

\* *Ἐκφρασις τοῦ ἀγ. τέκνοντος &c.*  
c. 14. p. 19. Edit.  
Allat.

*Ibid. c. 15. p. 25.*

for then as *Sozomen* informs us, it was discovered at the same time with the bones of the Prophet *Zachary*, an account of both which he promises to give; and having spoken of that of the Prophet, there abruptly ends his History. But what is wanting in him is fully supplied by other hands, especially the forementioned *Lucian*, Presbyter of the Town of *Caphargamala* in the Diocess of *Jerusalem*, who is very large and punctual in his account, the sum whereof (so far as concerns the present case, and is material to relate) is this. Sleeping one night in the *Baptistery* of his Church, (this was *Ann. CCCCXV. Honor. Imper. XXI.*) there appeared to him a grave venerable old man, who told him he was *Gamaliel*, bad him go to *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and will him to remove his remains and some others (whereof *S. Stephen* was the principal) that were with him from the place where they lay. Three several times the Vision appeared to him before he would be fully satisfied in the thing, and then he acquainted the Bishop with it, who commanded him to search after the place. After some attempts, he found the place of their repository, and then gave the Bishop notice, who came and brought two other Bishops, *Eleutherius* of *Sebastia*, and *Eleutherius* of *Hiericho*, along with him. The Monument being opened, they found an Inscription upon *S. Stephens* Tomb-stone in deep Letters, *CELEI*, signifying (says mine Author) the *Servant of God*; at the opening of the Coffin there was an Earthquake, and a very pleasant and delightful fragrance came from it, and several miraculous cures were done by it. The remains being closed up again (onely some few bones, and a little of the dust that was taken out, and bestowed upon *Lucian*) were with great triumph and rejoicing conveyed to the Church that stood upon Mount *Sion*, the place where he himself while alive had discharged the Office of a Deacon. I add no more of this, but that this Story is not onely mentioned by *Photius*, and before him by *Marcellinus Comes*, sometimes *Chancellor* or Secretary to *Justinian*, afterwards Emperour (who sets it down as done in the very same year, and under the same Consuls wherein *Lucian's* Epistle reports it) but before both by *Gemadius* Presbyter of *Marseilles*, who lived *Ann. CCCCXC.* and many years before, and consequently not long after the time of *Lucian* himself; who also adds, that *Lucian* wrote a relation of it in *Greek* to all the Churches, which *Avitus* a *Spanish* Presbyter translated into *Latine*, whose Epistle is prefixed to it, wherein he gives an account of it to *Balchonius* Bishop of *Braga*, and sent it by *Orosius* into *Spain*.

XXV. THESE remains (whether before or after, the Reader must judge by the sequel of the Story, though I question whether he will have faith enough to believe all the circumstances of it) were translated to *Constantinople* upon this occasion. *Alexander* a Nobleman of the *Senatorial* Order, having a particular veneration for the *Protomartyr*, had erected an Oratory to him in *Palestine*, commanding that himself when dead being put into a Coffin like that of *S. Stephen*, should be buried by him. Eight years after, his Lady (whose name, say some, was *Juliana*) removing to *Constantinople*, resolved to take her husbands body along with her: but in a hurry she chanced to mistake *S. Stephens* Coffin for that of her husband, and so set forward on her journey. But it soon betrayed it self by an extraordinary odor, and some miraculous effects: the same whereof flying before to *Constantinople*, had prepared the people to conduct it with great joy and solemnity into the *Imperial Palace*.

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Which

<sup>a</sup> *H. Eccl. l. 9. c.*  
16, 17. p. 817.

<sup>b</sup> *Vid. loc. sup.*  
*cit. & Phot.*  
*cod. CLXXI.*  
*col. 383.*

<sup>c</sup> *Loc. citat.*  
<sup>d</sup> *Marcel. Chron.*  
*Ind. l. XIII. p.*  
*m. 17.*  
<sup>e</sup> *De Script. Eccl.*  
*c. 46, 47. p. 55.*

<sup>f</sup> *Niceph. H. Eccl.*  
*lib. 14. c. 9. p.*  
*454. Tom. 2.*  
*Eadem habet*  
*Menaon Græc.*  
*Αὐγὴς. τῇ β.*  
*sub. lit. β'. 15.*

Which yet could not be effected: for the sturdy Mules that carried the Treasure being come as far as *Constantines Baths*, would not advance one step further. And when unreasonably whipped and pricked, they spake aloud, and told those that conducted them that the Martyr was to be reposed and interred in that place. Which was accordingly done, and a beautiful Church built there. But certainly they that first added this passage to the Story, had been at a great loss for invention had not the Story of *Balaams Ass* been upon record in Scripture. I confess \* *Baronius* seems not over-forward to believe this relation, not for the trifling and ridiculous improbabilities of it, but onely because he could not well reconcile it with the time of its being first found out by *Lucian*. Indeed my Authors tell us, that this was done in the time of *Constantine*, *Metrophanes* being then Bishop of *Constantinople*, and that it was onely some part of his remains buried again by some devout Christians, that was discovered in a Vision to *Lucian*, and that the Empress *Pulcheria*, by the help of her Brother *Theodosius*, procured from the Bishop of *Jerusalem* the Martyrs right hand, which being arrived at *Constantinople*, was with singular reverence and rejoicing brought into the Palace, and there laid up, and a stately and magnificent Church erected for it, set off with all rich and costly ornaments and advantages.

XXVI. • **AUTHORS** mention another remove *Ann.CCCCXXXIX.* (and let the curious and inquisitive after these matters reconcile the different accounts) of his remains to *Constantinople* by the Empress *Eudocia*, Wife to *Theodosius*, who having been at *Jerusalem* upon some pious and charitable designs, carried back with her to the Imperial City the remains of *S. Stephen*, which she carefully laid up in the Church of *S. Laurence*. The *Roman* Martyrology says, that in the time of Pope *Pelagius* they were removed from *Constantinople* to *Rome*, and lodg'd in the Sepulchre of *S. Laurence* the Martyr in *agro Verano*, where they are honoured with great piety and devotion. But I find not any Author near those times mentioning their translation into any of these *Western* parts, except the little parcel which *Orosius* brought from *Jerusalem* (whither he had been sent by *S. Augustin* to know *S. Hieroms* sense in the Question about the Original of the Soul) which he received from *Avitus*, who had procured it of *Lucian*, and brought it along with him into the *West*, that is, into *Afric*, for whether it went any further, I find not.

XXVII. **AS** for the miracles reported to have been done by the remains of this Martyr, *Gregory* Bishop of *Tours*, and the Writers of the following Ages have furnished the World with abundant instances, which I insist not upon, Superstition having been the peculiar genius and humour of those middle Ages of the Church, and the Christian World miserably over-run with an excessive and immoderate Veneration of the Reliques of departed Saints. However I can venture the Readers displeasure for relating one, and the rather because 'tis so solemnly averred by *Baronius* himself. *S. Gaudiosus* an *African* Bishop, flying from the *Vandalic* Persecution, brought with him a Glass Vial of *S. Stephens* blood to *Naples* in *Italy*, where it was famous especially for one miraculous effect, that being set upon the *Altar*, at the time of *Mass* it was annually wont upon the *third of August* (the day whereon *S. Stephens* body was first discovered) to melt and bubble, as if it were but newly shed.

But

But the miracle of the miracle lay in this, that when Pope *Gregory* the XIII. reformed the *Roman Kalendar*, and made no less then ten days difference from the former, the blood in the Vial ceased to bubble upon the third of *August* according to the old computation, and bubbled upon that that fell according to the new Reformation. A great justification I confess (as *Baronius* well observes) of the divine Authority of the *Gregorian Kalendar*, and the Popes Constitutions: but yet it was ill done to set the *Kalendar*s at variance, when both had been equally justified by the miracle. But how easy it was to abuse the World with such tricks, especially in these later Ages, wherein the Artifice of the Priests was arrived to a kind of perfection in these affairs, is no difficult matter to imagin.

XXVIII. **LET** us then look to the more early Ages, when Covetousness and Secular Interests had not so generally put men upon Arts of craft and subtlety; and we are told both by *Lucian* and *Photius*, that at the first discovery of the Martyrs body many strange miraculous cures were effected, seventy three healed onely by smelling the odor and fragrancy of the body; in some *Demons* were cast out, others cured of Illues of Blood, Tumours, Agues, Fevers, and infinite other distempers that were upon them. But that which most sways with me, is what *S. Augustin* reports of these matters; who seems to have been inquisitive about matters of Fact, as the Argument he managed did require. For being to demonstrate against the Gentiles that miracles were not altogether ceased in the Christian Church, among several others he produces many instances of Cures miraculously done at the remains of *S. Stephen*, brought thither (as before we noted) by *Orosius* from *Jerusalem*; all done thereabouts, and some of them in the place where himself lived, and of which (as he tells us) they made Books, which were solemnly published, and read to the People, whereof (at the time of his Writing) there were no less then seventy written of the Cures done at *Hippo* (the place where he lived) though it was not full two years since the memorial of *S. Stephens* Martyrdom had begun to be celebrated in that place, besides many whereof no account had been given in writing. To set down all were to tire the Readers patience beyond all recovery, a few onely for a specimen shall suffice. At the *Aqua Tibilitana Projectus* the Bishop bringing the remains of the Martyr, in a vast multitude of People a blind woman desiring to be brought to the Bishop, and some Flowers which she brought being laid upon them, and after applied to her eyes, to the wonder of all she instantly received her sight. *Lucillus* Bishop of *Synica* near *Hippo*, carrying the same remains, accompanied with all the people, was suddenly freed from a desperate disease, under which he had a long time laboured, and for which he even then expected the Chirurgeons Knife. *Eucharis* a *Spanish* Presbyter, then dwelling at *Calama* (whereof *Possidius* who wrote *S. Augustins* Life was Bishop) was by the same means cured of the Stone, which he had a long time been afflicted with, and afterwards recovered of another distemper, when he had been given over for dead. *Martialis* an ancient Gentleman in that place of great note and rank, but a Pagan, and highly prejudiced against the Christian Faith, had been often in vain solicited by his Daughter and her Husband (both Christians) to turn Christian, especially in his sickness, but still resented the motion with indignation. His Son-in-law went to the place dedicated to *S. Stephens*

D 2

Martyr-

Martyrdom, and there with prayers and tears passionately begged of God his Conversion. Departing he took some Flowers thence with him, which at night he put under his Fathers head; who slept well, and in the morning called for the Bishop, in whose absence (for he was at that time with *S. Augustin* at *Hippo*) the Presbyters were sent for; at whose coming he acknowledged himself a Christian, and to the joy and admiration of all, was immediately baptized. As long as he lived he often had these words in his mouth, and they were the last words that he spake (for he died not long after) *O Christ receive my spirit*, though utterly ignorant that it was the Protomartyrs dying speech.

XXIX. MANY passages of like nature he relates done at his own See at *Hippo*, and this among the rest. Ten children of eminency at *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* (all the children of one man) had for some notorious misdemeanour after their Fathers death been cursed by their Mother, whereupon they were all seized with a continual trembling and shaking in all parts of their body. Two of these, *Paulus* and *Palladia*, came over into *Afric*, and dwelt at *Hippo*, notoriously known to the whole City. They arrived fifteen days before *Easter*, where they frequented the Church, especially the place dedicated to the Martyrdom of *S. Stephen* every day, praying that God would forgive them, and restore them to their health. Upon *Easter-day* the Young man praying as he was wont at the accustomed place, suddenly dropt down, and lay like one asleep, but without any trembling, and awaking found himself perfectly restored to health, who was thereupon with the joyful acclamations of the People brought to *S. Augustin*, who kindly received him, and after the public devotions were over, treated him at Dinner, where he had the whole account of the misery that befel him. The day after, when the narrative of his Cure was to be recited to the People, his sister also was healed in the same manner and at the same place, the particular circumstances of both which *S. Augustin* relates more at large.

XXX. WHAT the judicious and unprejudiced Reader will think of these and more the like instances there reported by this good Father, I know not, or whether he will not think it reasonable to believe, that God might suffer these strange and miraculous cures to be wrought in a place where multitudes yet persisted in their *Gentilism* and infidelity, and who made this one great objection against the Christian Faith, that whatever miracles might be heretofore pretended for the confirmation of Christian Religion, yet that now they were ceased, when yet they were still necessary to induce the World to the belief of Christianity. Certain it is, that nothing was done herein, but what did very well consist with the wisdom and the goodness of God, who as he is never wont to be prodigal in multiplying the effects of his omnipotent power beyond a just necessity, so is never wanting to afford all necessary evidences and methods of conviction. That therefore the unbelieving World (who made this the great refuge of their infidelity) might see that his arm was not grown effete and weak, that he had not left the Christian Religion wholly destitute of immediate and miraculous attestations, he was pleased to exert these extraordinary powers, that he might baffle their unbelief, and silence their objections against the divinity of the Christian Faith. And for this reason God never totally withdrew the power of working Miracles from the Church, till the World was in a manner wholly subdued to the faith of Christ. And then he left it

to

to be conducted by more humane and regular ways, and to preserve its Authority over the minds of men by those standing and innate characters of Divinity, which he has impressed upon it. 'Tis true that the Church of *Rome* still pretends to this power, which it endeavours to justify by appealing to these and such like instances. But in vain, and to no purpose; the pretended miracles of that Church being generally trifling and ludicrous, far beneath that gravity and seriousness that should work upon a wise and considering mind, the manner of their operation obscure and ambiguous, their numbers excessive and immoderate, the occasions of them light and frivolous, and after all, the things themselves for the most part false, and the reports very often so monstrous and extravagant, as would choke any sober and rational belief, so that a man must himself become the greatest miracle that believes them. I shall observe no more, then that in all these cases related by *S. Augustin*, we never find that they invoked or prayed to the Martyr, nor begged to be healed by his merits or intercession, but immediately directed their addresses to God himself.

THE

THE LIFE OF  
**S. P H I L I P**  
 THE  
 DEACON and EVANGELIST.



*His Birth-place. The confounding him with S. Philip the Apostle. His election to the Office of a Deacon. The dispersion of the Church at Jerusalem. Philips preaching at Samaria. Inveterate prejudices between the Samari-*

Samaritans and the Jews. The great success of S. Philips Ministry. The Impostures of Simon Magus, and his embracing Christianity. The Christians at Samaria confirmed by Peter and John. Philip sent to Gaza. His meeting with the Æthiopian Eunuch. What Æthiopia here meant. Candace who. The Custom of retaining Eunuchs in the Courts of the Eastern Princes. This Eunuch who. His Office. His Religion and great piety. His Conversion and Baptism by S. Philip. The place where he was baptized. The Eunuchs return, and propagating Christianity in his own Country. Philips journey to Cæsarea, and fixing his abode there. His four daughters Virgin-Prophets. His death.

Epist. l. i. Ep. 449. ad Antioch. p. 95.



I. PHILIP was born (as Isidore the Pelusiote plainly intimates) at Cæsarea, a famous Port-Town between Joppa and Ptolemais in the Province of Samaria; but whether he had any other warrant for it then his own conjecture, I know not, there being some circumstances however that make it probable. He has been by some both formerly and of later times for want of a due regard to things and persons, carelessly confounded with S. Philip the Apostle. A mistake of very ancient date, and which seems to have been embraced by some of the most early Writers of the Church. But whoever considers that the one was an Apostle, and one of the Twelve, the other a Deacon only, and one of the Seven, chosen out of the People, and set apart by the Apostles, that they themselves might attend the more immediate Ministeries of their Office, that the one was dispersed up and down the Countrey, while the other remained with the Apostolical Colledge at Jerusalem, that the one though commissioned to Preach and to Baptize, could not impart the Holy Ghost (the peculiar prerogative of the Apostolical Office) will see just reason to force him to acknowledge a vast difference between them. Our S. Philip was one of the Seventy Disciples, and S. Stephens next Colleague in the Deacons Office, erected for the conveniency of the Poor, and assisting the Apostles in some inferiour Services and Ministrations: which shews him to have been a person of great esteem and reputation in the Church, endowed with miraculous powers, full of Wisdom, and of the Holy Ghost; which were the qualifications required by the Apostles in those who were to be constituted to this place. In the discharge of this Ministry he continued at Jerusalem for some moneths after his election, till the Church being scattered up and down, he was forced to quit his station: as what wonder if the Stewards be dismissed, when the Household is broken up?

II. THE Protomartyr had been lately sacrificed to the rage and fury of his Enemies: but the bloody Cloud did not so blow over, but increased into a blacker tempest. Cruelty and revenge never say it is enough, like the temper of the Devil, whose malice is insatiable and eternal. Stephens death would not suffice, the whole Church is now shot at, and they resolve (if possible) to extirpate the Religion it self. The great Engineer in this Persecution was Saul, whose active and fiery genius, and passionate concern for the Traditions of the Fathers, made him pursue the design with the Spirit of a Zealot, and the rage of a Mad-man. Having furnished himself with a Commission from the Sanhedrim, he quickly put it in execution, broke open Houses, seized whoever he met with

with, that looked but like a Disciple of the crucified Jesus, and without any regard to Sex or Age, beat, and haled them unto prison, plucking the Husband from the bosom of his Wife, and the Mother from the embraces of her Children, blaspheming God, prosecuting and being injurious unto men, breathing out nothing but slaughter and threatnings where-ever he came; whence Eusebius calls it the first and most grievous Persecution of the Church. The Church by this means was forced to retire, the Apostles onely remaining privately at Jerusalem, that they might the better superintend and steer the affairs of the Church, while the rest were dispersed up and down the neighbouring Countries, publishing the glad tidings of the Gospel, and declaring the nature and design of it in all places where they came; so that what their Enemies intended as the way to ruine them, by breaking the knot of their Fellowship and Society, proved an effectual means to enlarge the bounds of Christianity. Thus excellent perfumes, while kept close in a box, few are the better for them, whereas being once, whether casually or maliciously spilt upon the ground, the fragrant scent presently fills all corners of the house.

III. AMONG them that were thus dispersed was our Evangelist, so stiled not from his Writing, but preaching of the Gospel. He directed his journey towards the Province of Samaria, and came into a City of Samaria (as those words may be read) probably Gitton, the birth-place of Simon Magus; though it's safest to understand it of Samaria it self. This was the Metropolis of the Province, had been for some Ages the Royal Seat of the Kings of Israel, but being utterly destroyed by Hyrcanus, had been lately re-edified by Herod the Great, and in honour of Augustus (Σέβαςτος) by him stiled Sebaste. The Samaritans were a mixture of Jews and Gentiles, made up of the remains that were left of the Ten Tribes which were carried away captive, and those Heathen Colonies which the King of Babylon brought into their room; and their Religion accordingly was nothing but Judaism blended with Pagan Rites, though so highly prized and valued by them, that they made no scruple to dispute place, and to vie with the Worship of the Temple at Jerusalem. Upon this account there had been an ancient and inveterate pique and quarrel between the Jews and them, so as utterly to refuse all mutual intercourse with each other. Hence the Samaritan Woman wondred, that our Lord being a Jew, should ask drink of her, who was a Woman of Samaria; for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans. They despised them at the rate of Heathens, devoted them under the most solemn execrations, allowed them not to become Proselytes, nor to have any Portion in the Resurrection of the Just, suffered not an Israelite to eat with them, no nor to say Amen to their Blessing, nor did they think they could fasten upon our Saviour a greater Character of reproach, then to say that he was a Samaritan, and had a Devil. But God regards not the prejudices of men, nor always with-holds his kindness from them, whom we are ready to banish the Lines of Love and Friendship. 'Tis true the Apostles at their first mission were charged not to go in the way of the Gentiles, nor to enter into any City of the Samaritans. But when Christ by his death had broken down the partition wall, and abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances, then the Gospel came and preached peace as well to them that were afar off, as to them that were nigh. Philip therefore freely preached

II. Ecclesi. 4. 1. p. 39.

Joh. 4. 9.

Matth. 10. 5.

Eph. 2. 14, 15.

& seq.

preached the Gospel to these *Samaritans*, so odious, so distastful to the *Jews*: to which he effectually prepared his way by many great and uncontrollable miracles, which being arguments fitted to the capacities, and accommodate to the senses of the meanest, do easiliest convey the truth into the minds of men. And the success here was accordingly, the people generally embracing the Christian Doctrine, while they beheld him curing all manner of diseases, and powerfully dispossessing *demons*, who with great horror and regret were forced to quit their residence, to the equal joy and wonder of that place.

IV. IN this City was one *Simon*, born at a Town not far off, who by Sorcery and Magic Arts had strangely insinuated himself into the reverence and veneration of the People. A man crafty and ambitious, daring and insolent, whose Diabolical sophistries and devices, had for a long time so amazed the eyes of the Vulgar, that they really thought him (and for such no doubt he gave out himself) to be the supreme Divinity, probably magnifying himself as that divine Power, that was to visit the *Jews* as the *Messia*, or the Son of God; among the *Samaritans*, giving out himself to be the Father, (as *Irenæus* assures us,) ὁ ἡ ὄντων Θεόν, as his Countryman *Justin Martyr* tells us the People worshipped him, as the first and chiefest Deity; as afterwards among the *Gentiles* he stiled himself the *Holy Ghost*. And what wonder if by this train of Artifices the People were tempted and seduced to admire and adore him. And in this case things stood at *S. Philips* arrival, whose greater and more unquestionable miracles quickly turned the Scale. Imposture cannot bear the too near approach of Truth, but flies before it, as darkness vanishes at the presence of the Sun. The People sensible of their error, universally flocked to *S. Philips* Sermons, and convinced by the efficacy of his Doctrine, and the power of his Miracles, gave up themselves his Converts, and were by Baptism initiated into the Christian Faith: Yea the *Magician* himself astonished at those mighty things which he saw done by *Philip*, professed himself his Profelyte and Disciple, and was baptized by him; being either really persuaded by the convictive evidence of Truth, or else for some sinister designs craftily dissembling his Belief and Profession of Christianity. A piece of Artifice which *Eusebius* tells us, his Disciples and Followers still observed in his time, who in imitation of their Father, like a Pest or a Leprosie, were wont to creep in among the Christian Societies, that so they might with the more advantage poison and infect the rest, many of whom having been discovered, had with shame been ejected and cast out of the Church.

V. THE fame of *S. Philips* success at *Samaria* quickly flew to *Jerusalem*, where the Apostles immediately took care to dispatch some of their own number to confirm these new Converts in the Faith. *Peter* and *John* were sent upon this errand, who being come, prayed for them, and laid their hands upon them, ordaining probably some to be Governors of the Church, and Ministers of Religion; which was no sooner done, but the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost fell upon them. A plain evidence of the Apostolic Power: *Philip* had converted and baptized them, but being onely a *Deacon*, (as *Epiphanius* and *Chrysostom* truly observe) could not confer the Holy Ghost, this being a faculty bestowed onely upon the Apostles. *Simon* the *Magician* observing this, that a power of working miracles was conveyed by the imposition of the

the Apostles hands, hoped by obtaining it to recover his credit and reputation with the people; to which end he sought by such methods as were most apt to prevail upon himself, to corrupt the Apostles by a sum of money, to confer this power upon him. *Peter* resented the motion with that sharpness and severity that became him, told the Wretch of the iniquity of his offer, and the evil state and condition he was in, advised him by repentance to make his Peace with Heaven, that if possible, he might prevent the miserable fate that otherwise did attend him. But what passed between *Peter* and this *Magician* both here, and in their memorable encounter at *Rome* (so much spoken of by the Ancients) we have related more at large in another place.

VI. WHETHER *S. Philip* returned with the Apostles to *Jerusalem*, or (as *Chrysostom* thinks) staid at *Samaria*, and the parts thereabouts, we have no intimations left upon Record. But where-ever he was, an Angel was sent to him with a message from God, to go and instruct a Stranger in the Faith. The Angel one would have thought had been most likely himself to have managed this business with success. But the wise God keeps Method and Order, and will not suffer an Angel to take that Work which he has put into the hands of his Ministers. The sum of his Commission was to go toward the South, unto the way that goes down from *Jerusalem* to *Gaza*, which is desert: A circumstance, which whether it relate to the way, or the City, is not easie to decide, it being probably true of both. *Gaza* was a City anciently famous for the strange efforts of *Sampsons* strength, for his captivity, his death, and the burial of himself and his enemies in the same Ruine. It was afterwards sacked and laid waste by *Alexander* the Great, and as *Strabo* notes, remained waste and desert in his time; the Prophetical curse being truly accomplished in it, *Gaza shall be forsaken*; a Fate which the Prophet *Jeremy* had foretold to be as certain, as if he had seen it already done, baldness is come upon *Gaza*. So certainly do the divine threatnings arrest and take hold of a proud and impenitent People; so easily do they set open the Gates for ruine to enter into the strongest and best fortified Cities, where Sin has once undermined, and stript them naked of the divine protection.

VII. NO sooner had *S. Philip* received his Orders, though he knew not as yet the intent of his journey, but he addressed himself to it, he arose and went: he did not reason with himself whether he might not be mistaken, and that be a false and deluding Vision that sent him upon such an unaccountable errand, and into a Desert and a Wilderness, where he was more likely to meet with Trees and Rocks, and wild Beasts, than Men to preach to: but went however, well knowing God never sends any upon a vain or a foolish errand. An excellent instance of obedience; as tis also recorded to *Abrahams* eternal honour and commendation, that when God sent his Warrant, he obeyed and went out, not knowing whither he went. As he was on his journey, he espied coming towards him a man of *Æthiopia*, an Eunuch of great authority under *Candace* Queen of the *Æthiopians*; who had the charge of all her treasure, and had come to *Jerusalem* to worship; though in what part of the World the Countrey here spoken of was situate (the word being variously used in Scripture) has been some dispute. *Dorotheus* and *Sophronius* of old, and some later Writers, place it in *Arabia* the Happy, not far from the *Persian Gulf*: but

<sup>a</sup> Antiquit. App. Life of S. Pet. Scil. 3. m. 1. Scil.

<sup>9</sup> n. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Homil. 19. in Alt. App. p. 585.

Εἶδες ἀγγέλους συνειρημαμένους πρὸς κηρύγματι; καὶ αὐτοὺς ἴδ' ὅτι κηρύττοντας, τούτους ὃ κληῖται, τὸ ὅτι Σαμαριτῶν καὶ ἐντετεύχον δέκνυν. Chrysost. ibid. p. 586.

<sup>c</sup> Geograph. l. 16. p. 759. Zach. 2. 4. Jer. 47. 5.

<sup>a</sup> Dorothe. Synops. p. 138. <sup>b</sup> Sophr. ap. Hier. de Scrip. Eccl. in Graec. it's sent.

<sup>a</sup> Lib. 1. c. 20. p. 115. <sup>b</sup> Apol. II. p. 69. vid. Tert. de prescri. Heret. c. 46. p. 219.

<sup>c</sup> H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 1. p. 39.

<sup>a</sup> Epiph. Heret. XXI. p. 29. <sup>c</sup> Chrys. Homil. 18. in Act. p. 78.

it's most generally conceived to be meant of the *African Æthiopia*, lying under or near the torrid Zone, the People whereof are described by *Homer*, to be ἑσπέραιοι ἀνδρῶν, the remotest part of mankind; and accordingly \* *S. Hieron* says of this *Eunuch*, that he came from *Æthiopia*, that is, *ab extremis mundi finibus*, from the farthest corners of the World. The Countrey is sometimes stiled *Cush*, probably from a mixture of the *Arabians*, who inhabiting on the other side of the *Red Sea*, might send over Colonies hither, who settling in these parts, communicated the names of *Cush* and *Sabæa* to them. The manners of the People were very rude and barbarous, and the People themselves, especially to the *Jews*, contemptible even to a Proverb; *Are ye not as the children of the Æthiopians unto me, O children of Israel, saith the Lord?* nay the very meeting an *Æthiopian* was accounted an ill omen, and an unlucky prognostication. But no Country is a Bar to Heaven, the grace of God that brings salvation plucks up the enclosures, and appears to all; so that in every Nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.

VIII. BUT we cannot reasonably suppose that it should be meant of *Æthiopia* at large, especially as parallel at this day with the *Abyssine* Empire, but rather of that part of the Countrey whose *Metropolis* was called *Meroe*, and *Saba* (as 'tis called both by *Josephus*, and the *Abyssines* themselves at this day) situate in a large Island, encompassed by the *Nile*, and the Rivers of *Astapus*, and *Astoborra*, as *Josephus* informs us; for about these parts it was (as *Pliny* tells us) that *Queens* had a long time governed under the title of *Candace*, a custom (as we find in *Strabo*) first commencing in the time of *Augustus*, when a Queen of that name having for her incomparable Vertues been dear to the People, her successors in honour of her took the title of *Candace*, in the same sense that *Ptolomy* was the common name of the Kings of *Egypt*, *Artaxerxes* of the Kings of *Persia*, and *Cæsar* of the *Roman* Emperours. Indeed

*Occumenius* was of opinion that *Candace* was only the common name of the *Queen-mothers* of *Æthiopia*, that Nation not giving the name of Fathers to their Kings, as acknowledging the Sun only for their Common Father, and their Princes the Sons of that common Parent. But in this

I think he stands alone, and contradicts the general Vote and Suffrage of the Ancients, which affirms this Nation to have been subject to Women; sure I am *Ensebins* expressly says, 'twas the custom of this Countrey to be governed by Queens even in his time. The name of the present Queen (they say) was *Lacasi*, daughter of King *Bauzena*, and that she outlived the death of our Saviour four Years.

IX. Among the great Officers of her Court she had one (if not more) *Eunuch*, probably to avoid suspicion, it being the fashion of those Eastern Countries (as it still is at this day) to employ Eunuchs in places of great trust and honour, and especially of near access to, and attendance upon Queens. For however among us the very name sounds vile and contemptible, yet in those Countries 'tis otherwise, among the *Barbarians* (says *Herodotus*) that is, the Eastern People, Eunuchs are persons of the greatest esteem and value. Our

Eunuchs name (as we find it in the Confession made by *Zaga Zabo* Embassador from the *Æthiopian*

\* Riv. ad Paul.  
Tom. 3. p. 7.

Amos 9. 7.

b Antiq. Jud.  
2. c. 5. p. 58.

c Hist. Nat. l. 6.  
c. 29. p. 105.

Ἰστέον ὅτι ὅτι Κανδάκιον Αἰθίοπες πῶς ἔστι βασιλείας μητέρας καλεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὴ πατέρας Αἰθίοπες οὐκ ἀναφέρουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὅτι οὗτος ἡλίου φεγγαδιδοῦσαν, ἐκείνη δὲ ἡ μήτηρ καλεῖσθαι Κανδάκιον. Occumen. Comment. in Act. VIII. p. 82.

d H. Eccl. l. 2. c.  
1. p. 40.

Παρεῖν τῶν βασιλευσιν τιμωτέρη εἰσι οἱ εὐνοῦχοι, πλεονεξοῦντες ἢ πάντες, ὅτι ἐνδοξάζουσιν. Herod. lib. 8.

Auctor Sinaaces, insigni familia ac privide opibus, & proxima hunc Abibus, adempte virilitatis, non despectum id apud barbaros, ultroque potentiam habet. Tacit. Ann. l. 6. c. 31. p. 182.

\* Extat ad Bzov. Anna. Eccl. ad Ann. 1524. n. XXXII. p. 543.

*pian* Emperour) was *Indich*; δυνάστης, a potent Courtier, an Officer of State of prime Note and Quality, being no less then High-Treasurer to the Queen; nor do we find that *Philip* either at his Conversion or Baptism found fault with him for his place or greatness. Certainly Magistracy is no ways inconsistent with Christianity, the Church and the State may well agree, and *Moses* and *Aaron* go hand in hand. *Peter* baptized *Cornelius*, and *S. Paul* *Sergius* the *Proconsul* of *Cyprus* into the Christian Faith, and yet neither of them found any more fault with them for their places of Authority and Power then *Philip* did here with the Lord Treasurer of the *Æthiopian* Queen. For his Religion, he was, if not a *Profelyte of Justice* (as some think) circumcised, and under an obligation to observe the Rites and Precepts of the Law of *Moses*, at least a *Profelyte of the Gate*, (in which respect it is that one of the Ancients calls him a *Jew*) entered already into the knowledge of the true God, and was now come to *Jerusalem* (probably at the solemnity of the *Pasover*, or the Feast of *Pentecost*) to give publick and solemn evidences of his devotion. Though an *Æthiopian*, and many thousand miles distant from it, though a great Statesman, and necessarily swallowed up in a croud of business, yet he came to *Jerusalem* for to worship. No way so long, so rugged and difficult, no charge or interest so dear and great, as to hinder a good man from minding the concerns of Religion. No slender and trifling pretences, no little and ordinary occasions should excuse our attendance upon places of public Worship; behold here a man that thought not much to take a journey of above four thousand miles, that he might appear before God in the solemn place of divine adoration, the place which God had chosen above all other parts of the World, to place his name there.

X. HAVING performed his homage and worship at the Temple, he was now upon his return for his own Countrey; nor had he left his Religion at Church behind him, or thought it enough that he had been there; but improved himself while travelling by the way: even while he sat in his Chariot (as *Chrysostom* observes) he read the Scriptures: a good man is not willing to lose even common minutes, but to redeem what time is possible for holy uses; whether sitting or walking, or journeying, our thoughts should be at work, and our affections travelling towards Heaven. While the *Eunuch* was thus employed, a Messenger is sent to him from God: the best way to meet with divine communications, is to be conversant in our duty. By a voice from Heaven, or some immediate inspiration, *Philip* is commanded to go near the Chariot, and address himself to him. He did so, and found him reading a Section or Paragraph of the Prophet *Isaiah*, concerning the death and sufferings of the *Messia*, his meek and innocent carriage under the bloody and barbarous violences of his enemies, who dealt with him with all cruelty and injustice. This the *Eunuch* not well understanding, nor knowing certainly whether the Prophet meant it of himself or another, desired *S. Philip* to explain it; who being courteously taken up into his Chariot, shewed him that all this was meant of, and had been accomplished in the Holy *Jesus*, taking occasion thence to discourse to him of his Nativity, his Actions and Miracles, his Sufferings and Resurrection from the dead, and his Ascension into Heaven, declaring to him the whole system of the Christian Faith. His discourse wanted not its desired

\* Pont. Diac. in  
vit. Cypri. p. 11.

b Homil. 19. in  
Act. p. 585.  
Tantus amator  
Legis divineq;  
scientie fuit, ut  
etiam in vehi-  
culo sacras li-  
teras legeret.  
Hier. Epist. ad  
Paulin. T. 3. p. 7

fired effect; the *Eunuch* was fully satisfied in the *Messiahship* and Divine Authority of our Saviour, and wanted nothing but the solemn Rite of Initiation to make him a Christian Profelyte. Being come to a place where there was conveniency of Water, he desired that he might be baptized, and having professed his Faith in the Son of God, and his hearty embracing the Christian Religion, *they both went down into the Water*, where *Philip* baptized him, and washed this *Ethiopian* white.

<sup>a</sup> Annot. in Alt.  
8.36.

<sup>b</sup> Descript. Terr.  
Sant. p. m. 330.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. de loc.  
Hebr. in voc.  
Bis. d. 66.  
<sup>d</sup> Hieron. de loc.  
Hebr. in voc.  
Bis. d. 66.

<sup>e</sup> Ad. Martyr.  
VIII. Idus Jun.  
Cotovic. itin.  
l. 2. c. 9. p. 247.

V. 39. Πρώτα ἄγιον ἐπέτισεν ὅτι ὁ Εὐδῆ-  
ρον, ὁ γὰρ ὁ Κουεὶ ἠγάπησε ὁ Φίλιπ-  
πον. Cod. Alexand. in Bibl. Reg. Angl.  
aliique plures Codd. MSS.

XI. The place where this *Eunuch* was baptized, <sup>a</sup> *Beza* by a very wide mistake makes to be the River *Eleutherus*, which ran near the Foot of Mount *Lebanon* in the most Northern Borders of *Palestine*, quite at the other end of the Countrey: <sup>b</sup> *Brocard* places it near *Nebel Escol*, or the *Torrent of the Grape*, the place whence the Spies fetched the bunch of Grapes; on the left side of which Valley about half a League runs a Brook not far from *Sicelech*, in which this *Eunuch* was baptized. But <sup>c</sup> *Eusebius* and <sup>d</sup> *S. Hierom* (followed herein by <sup>e</sup> *Ado* the Martyrologist) more probably place it near *Bethsoron*, (where we are told 'it is still to be seen at this day) a Village 20 miles distant from *Jerusalem* in the way between it and *Hebron*, near to which there was a Spring bubbling up at the foot of a Hill. *S. Hierom* adds, that it was again swallowed up in the same ground that produced it, and that here it was that *Philip* baptized the *Ethiopian*. Which was no sooner done, but Heaven set an extraordinary seal to his Conversion and Admission into the Christian Faith, especially if it be true what some very ancient *Manuscripts* add

to the passage, that being baptized, *the Holy Ghost fell upon him*, furnishing him with miraculous gifts and powers, and that *Philip* was immediately snatched away from him.

XII. Though the *Eunuch* had lost his Tutor, yet he rejoiced that he had found so great a treasure, the knowledge of Christ, and of the true way to Heaven, and he went on his journey with infinite Peace and Tranquillity of mind, satisfied with the happiness that had befallen him. Being returned into his Country, he preached and propagated the Christian Faith, and spread abroad the glad tidings of a Saviour: in which respect <sup>a</sup> *S. Hierom* styles him the *Apostle of the Ethiopians*, and the

<sup>a</sup> Com. in Esai.

53. T. 5. p. 155.

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. II. Eccl.

l. 2. c. p. 40 Cyril.

Catech. XVII. p.

457. Psal. 68.

31.

<sup>c</sup> Apud Brou.

ubi sup. vid.

Godign. de re-

bus Abyssin. l. 1.

c. 18. p. 113.

<sup>a</sup> Ancients generally make that prediction of *David* fulfilled in him, *Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God*, and hence the *Ethiopians* are wont to glory (as appears by the <sup>b</sup> Confession made by the *Abyssin* Em- ballador) that by means of this *Eunuch* they received Baptism almost the first of any Christians in the World. Indeed they have a constant tradition that for many Ages they had the knowledge of the true God of *Israel*, from the time of the Queen of *Sheba* (and *Seba* being the name of this Countrey, as we noted before, makes it probable the might govern here) her name (they tell us) was *Muqueda*, who having learnt from *Solomon* the knowledge of the Jewish Law, and received the Books of their Religion, taught them her Subjects, and sent her Son *Melech* to *Solomon* to be instructed and educated by him; the Story whereof may be read in that Confession more at large. I add no more concerning the *Eunuch* then what <sup>c</sup> *Dorotheus* and others relate, that he is reported to have suffered Martyrdom, and to have been honourably buried, and that diseases were cured, and other miracles done at his Tomb even in his time.

<sup>k</sup> Synops. u-

bi sup. vid.

ttiam Saphr. ap.

Hier. in Cris.

<sup>l</sup> Ap. Godign.

loc. cit. p. 117

The Traditions of the Countrey more particularly tell us, that the *Eunuch* being returned home, first converted his Mistress *Candace* to the Christian

Christian Faith, and afterwards by her leave propagated it throughout *Ethiopia*, till meeting with *S. Matthew* the Apostle, by their joint-endavours they expelled Idolatry out of all those parts. Which done, he crossed the Red Sea, and preached the Christian Religion in *Arabia*, *Persia*, *India*, and many other of those Eastern Nations, till at length in the Island *Taprobana*, since called *Ceylon*, he sealed his Doctrine with his blood.

XIII. GOD, who always affords what is sufficient, is not wont to multiply means farther then is necessary. *Philip* having done the errand upon which he was sent, was immediately caught and carried away, no doubt by the ministry of an Angel, and landed at *Azotus*, anciently *Asdod*, a *Philistin* City in the borders of the Tribe of *Dan*, famous of old for the Temple and residence in it of the Idol *Dagon*, and the captivity of the *Ark* kept for some time in this place, and now enlightened with *S. Philips* preaching, who went up and down publishing the Gospel in all the parts hereabouts till he arrived at *Cæsarea*. This City was heretofore called *Turris Stratonis*, and afterwards rebuilt and enlarged by *Herod the Great*, and in honour of *Augustus Cæsar*, to whom he was greatly obliged, by him called *Cæsarea*; for whose sake also he erected in it a stately palace of Marble, called *Herods Judgment Hall*, wherein his Nephew ambitious of greater honours and acclamations then became him, had that fatal execution served upon him. It was a place remarkable for many devout and pious men; here dwelt *Cornelius*, who together with his Family being baptized by *Peter*, was in that respect the first fruits of the Gentile World: hither came *Agabus* the Prophet, who foretold *S. Paul* his imprisonment and martyrdom: here *S. Paul* himself was kept prisoner, and made those brave and generous Apologies for himself, first before *Felix*, as afterwards before *Festus* and *Agrippa*. Here also our *S. Philip* had his House and Family, to which probably he now retired, and where he spent the remainder of his life: for here many years after we find *S. Paul* and his company, coming from *Ptolemais* in their journey to *Jerusalem*, entering into the house of *Philip the Evangelist*, which was one of the seven, and abiding with him; and the same man had four daughters, Virgins, which did prophesie. These Virgin-Propheteesses were endowed with the gift of foretelling future events; for though prophecy in those times implied also a faculty of explaining the more abstruse and difficult parts of the Christian Doctrine, and a peculiar ability to demonstrate Christs *Messiahship* from the predictions of *Moses* and the Prophets, and to express themselves on a sudden upon any difficult and emergent occasion, yet can we not suppose these Virgins to have had this part of the prophetic faculty, or at least that they did not publicly exercise it in the Congregation. This therefore unquestionably respected things to come, and was an instance of Gods accomplishing an ancient promise, that in the times of the *Messia*, he would pour out of his Spirit upon all flesh, on their sons, and daughters, servants and handmaidens, and they should prophecy. The names of two of these daughters the Greek *Menæon* tells us were *Hermione* and *Eutychis*, who came into *Asia* after *S. Johns* death, and the first of them died, and was buried at *Ephesus*.

XIV. HOW long *S. Philip* lived after his return to *Cæsarea*, and whether he made any more excursions for the propagation of the Faith, is not certainly known. <sup>a</sup> *Dorotheus*, I know not upon what ground, will have

Act. 21. 8. 9.

Act. 2. 17, 18.

<sup>i</sup> Synops. de Vit.  
App. loc. citat.

<sup>b</sup> Polycrat. ap. have him to have been *Bisshop of Trazellis*, a City in *Asia*: <sup>c</sup> others con-  
<sup>Paul. 1. 3. c. 31.</sup> founding him with S. Philip the Apostle, make him resident at *Hierapolis*  
<sup>p. 1. 52.</sup> in *Phrygia*, where he suffered Martyrdom, and was buried (say  
<sup>Procop. 1. 103</sup> they) together with his Daughters. Most probable it is that he died  
<sup>c. Martyr. Rom.</sup> a peaceable death at *Cæsarea*, where his Daughters were also buried, as  
<sup>ad VI. Jun. p.</sup> some ancient *Martyrologies* inform us; where his House and the apart-  
<sup>3. 19. Martyr.</sup> ments of his Virgin-Daughters were yet to be seen in <sup>d</sup> S. Hieroms time,  
<sup>Adon. VIII. 1d.</sup> visited and admired by the noble and religious *Roman Lady Paula* in her  
<sup>Jon.</sup> journey to the Holy Land.  
<sup>d Hier. Epitaph.</sup>  
<sup>Paul. ad Eu-</sup>  
<sup>stach. T. I. p.</sup>  
<sup>172.</sup>

*The End of S. PHILIP'S Life.*

THE

THE LIFE OF  
**S. BARNABAS**  
 THE  
 APOSTLE.



His Surname *Joses*. The Title of *Barnabas* whence added to him. His  
 Countrey and Parents. His Education and Conversion to Christianity.  
 His generous charity. S. Pauls address to him, after his Conversion. His  
 Com-

*Commission to confirm the Church of Antioch. His taking S. Paul into his assistance. Their being sent with contributions to the Church at Jerusalem. Their peculiar separation for the ministry of the Gentiles. Imposition of hands the usual Rite of Ordination. Their travels through several Countries. Their success in Cyprus. Barnabas at Lystra taken for Jupiter, and why. Their return to Antioch. Their Embassy to Jerusalem about the controversy concerning the legal Rites. Barnabas seduced by Peters dissimulation at Antioch. The dissension between him and S. Paul. Barnabas his journey to Cyprus. His voyage to Rome, and preaching the Christian Faith there. His Martyrdom by the Jews in Cyprus. His Burial. His body when first discovered. S. Matthews Hebrew Gospel found with it. The great privileges hereupon conferred upon the See of Salamis. A description of his person and temper. The Epistle anciently published under his name. The design of it. The practical part of it excellently managed under the two ways of Light and Darknefs.*

I.



HE proper, and (if I may so term it) original name of this Apostle (for with that title S. Luke, and after him the Ancients constantly honour him) was *Joses*, by a softer termination familiar with the Greeks for *Joseph*, and so the Kings, and several other Manuscript Copies read it. It was the name given him at his Circumcision, in honour no doubt of *Joseph*, one of the great Patriarchs of their Nation, to which after his embracing Christianity, the Apostles added that of *Barnabas*; *Joses*, who by the Apostles was surnamed *Barnabas*, either implying him a Son of Prophecy, eminent for his prophetic gifts and endowments, or denoting him (what was a peculiar part of the Prophets Office)

a Son of Consolation, for his admirable dexterity in erecting troubled minds, and leading them on by the most mild and gentle methods of persuasion: though I rather conceive him so stiled for his generous charity in refreshing the bowels of the Saints; especially since the name seems to have been imposed upon him upon that occasion. He was born in Cyprus, a noted Island in the Mediterranean Sea, lying between Cilicia, Syria, and Egypt; a large and fertile Countrey, the Theatre anciently of no less than nine several Kingdoms, so fruitful and richly furnished with all things that can minister either to the necessity or pleasure of mans life, that it was of old called *Macaria*, or *The Happy*; and the Historian reports, that *Portius Cato* having conquered this Island, brought hence, greater treasures into the Exchequer at Rome, than had been done in any other triumph. But in nothing was it more happy, or upon any account more memorable in the Records of the Church, than that it was the Birth-place of our Apostle, whose Ancestors in the troublesome times of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, or in the Conquest of Judaea by *Pompey* and the Roman Army, had fled over hither (as a place best secured from Violence and Invasion) and settled here.

II. He was descended of the Tribe of *Levi*, and the line of the Priesthood, which rendred his Conversion to Christianity the more remarkable, all interests concurring to leaven him with mighty prejudices against the

Καὶ δοκεῖ μοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς εὐαγγελιστὴν τὸ ὄνομα, ὡς σὺν τούτῳ ἔχοντος ὅτι, καὶ ἐμνήσθητο.  
Chrysost. Homil. XI. in Act. App. p. 529.

Vid. Notker.  
Martyr. ad III.  
Id. Jun. ap. C.  
Antiq. Lell.  
Tom. 6.

L. Flor. lib. 3.  
c. 9. p. 67.

the Christian Faith. But the grace of God delights many times to exert it self against the strongest opposition, and loves to conquer, where there is least probability to overcome. His Parents were rich and pious, and finding him a beautiful and hopeful youth (says my Author, deriving his intelligence concerning him, as he tells us, from *Clemens* of Alexandria, and other ancient Writers) they sent, or brought him to Jerusalem, to be trained up in the knowledge of the Law, and to that end committed him to the tutorage of *Gamaliel*, the great Doctor of the Law, and most famous Master at that time in Israel, at whose Foot he was brought up together with S. Paul; which if so, might lay an early foundation of that intimate familiarity that was afterwards between them. Here he improved in learning and piety, frequenting the Temple, and devoutly exercising himself in Fasting and Prayer. We are further told, that being a frequent Spectator of our Saviours miracles, and among the rest, of his curing the Paralytic at the Pool of *Bethesda*, he was soon convinced of his Divinity, and persuaded to deliver up himself to his discipline and institutions: and as the nature of true goodness is ever communicative, he presently went and acquainted his Sister *Mary* with the notice of the *Messia*, who hastned to come to him, and importuned him to come home to her house, where our Lord afterwards (as the Church continued to do after his decease) was wont to assemble with his Disciples, and that her Son *Mark* was that young man, who bore the Pitcher of Water, whom our Lord commanded the two Disciples to follow home, and there prepare for the celebration of the Pasover.

III. BUT however that was, he doubtless continued with our Lord to the last, and after his Ascension stood fair to be chosen one of the twelve, if it be true (what is generally taken for granted, though I think without any reason, *Chrysostom* I am sure enters his dissent) that he is the same with *Joseph* called *Barsabas*, who was put candidate with *Matthias* for the Apostolate in the room of *Judas*. However that he was one of the LXX. *Clemens Alexandrinus* expressly affirms, as others do after him. And when the necessities of the Church daily increasing, required more than ordinary supplies, he according to the free and noble spirit of those Times, having Lands of good value, sold them and laid the money at the Apostles feet. If it be enquired how a Levite came by Lands and Possessions, when the *Mosaic* Law allowed them no particular portions, but what were made by public provision, it needs no other answer then to suppose that this Estate was his Patrimonial Inheritance in Cyprus, where the Jewish Constitutions did not take place: and surely an Estate it was of very considerable value, and the parting with it a greater charity then ordinary, otherwise the sacred Historian would not have made such a particular remark concerning it.

IV. THE Church being dispersed up and down after S. Stephens Martyrdom, we have no certain account what became of him, in all probability he staid with the Apostles at Jerusalem, where we find him not long after S. Pauls Conversion. For that fierce and active Zealot being miraculously taken off in the height of his rage and fury, and putting on now the innocent and inoffensive temper of a Lamb, came after some little time to Jerusalem, and addressed himself to the Church. But they not satisfied in the reality of his change, and fearing it might be nothing but a subtle artifice to betray them, universally shunned his company; and what wonder if the harmless Sheep fled at the sight of the Wolf that

Alex. and. Manich. Excom.  
S. Barnab. inter vit. as S. Metaph. extat. ap. Str. ad Jun. XI. p. 170.  
vid. ibid. 455.

101d. n. VII.

Mark 14. 12.

101c. sup. cit. at

c. Stron. l. 2. p. 417.  
Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 1.  
p. 38. ex Clem. Hypot. l. 7. Chrys. Alex. p. 48. 537.

f 2

had

had made such havock of the Flock: till *Barnabas* presuming probably upon his former acquaintance, entered into a more familiar converse with him, introduced him to the Apostles, and declared to them the manner of his Conversion, and what signal evidences he had given of it at *Damascus* in his bold and resolute Disputations with the *Jews*.

A. R. 11. 25.

V. *THERE is that scattereth, and yet increaseth*: the dispersion of the Church by *Saul's* Persecution proved the means of a more plentiful harvest, the Christian Religion being hereby on all hands conveyed both to *Jews* and *Gentiles*. Among the rest some *Cyprian* and *Cyrenean* Converts went to *Antioch*, where they preached the Gospel with mighty success; great numbers both of *Jews* and Profelytes (wherewith that City did abound) heartily embracing the Christian Faith. The news whereof coming to the Apostles at *Jerusalem*, they sent down *Barnabas* to take an account of it, and to settle this new Plantation. Being come he rejoiced to see that Christianity had made so fair a progress in that great City, earnestly pressing them cordially and constantly to persevere in that excellent Religion which they had entertained; himself like a pious and a good man undergoing any labours and difficulties; which God was pleased to crown with answerable success, the addition of multitudes of new Converts to the Faith. But the work was too great to be managed by a single hand: to furnish himself therefore with suitable assistance, he went to *Tarsus*, to enquire for *S. Paul* lately come thither. Him he brings back with him to *Antioch*, where both of them continued industriously ministering to the increase and establishment of the Church for a whole year together; and then and there it was that the Disciples of the Holy *Jesus* had the honourable name of *Christians* first solemnly fixed upon them.

VI. IT hapned about this time, or not long after, that a severe famine (foretold by *Agabus* a *Christian Prophet* that came down to *Antioch*) pressed upon the Provinces of the *Roman Empire*, and especially *Judea*, whereby the Christians, whose estates were exhausted by their continual contributions for the maintenance of the Poor, were reduced to great extremities. The Church of *Antioch* compassionating their miserable case, agreed upon a liberal and charitable supply for their relief, which they intrusted with *Barnabas* and *Paul*, whom they sent along with it to the Governours of the Churches, that they might dispose it as necessity did require. This charitable Embassie the *Greek Rituals* no doubt respect, when in the Office at the Promotion of the *Magnus Oeconomus*, or High Steward of the Church (whose place it was to manage and dispose the Churches Revenues) they make particular mention of the *Holy and most famous Barnabas the Apostle, and generous Martyr*. Having discharged their trust, they returned back from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, bringing along with them *John surnamed Mark*, the son of *Mary*, sister to *Barnabas*, whose house was the sanctuary, where the Church found both shelter for their persons, and conveniency for the solemnities of their Worship.

*Ritual. Græc.*  
in promot. Oeconomus. p. 281.

A. R. 12. 25.

VII. THE Church of *Antioch* being now sufficiently provided of spiritual Guides, our two Apostles might be the better spared for the conversion of the Gentile World. As they were therefore engaged in the duties of Fasting and Prayer, and other public exercises of their Religion, the Spirit of God by some prophetic *afflatus* or revelation made to some of the Prophets there present, commanded that *Barnabas* and *Saul*

*Saul* should be set apart to that peculiar Ministry, to which God had designed them. Accordingly having fasted and prayed, hands were solemnly laid upon them, to denote their particular designation to that service. Imposition of hands had been a ceremony of ancient date. Even among the *Gentiles* they were wont to design persons to public Functions and Offices by lifting up, or stretching out the hand, whereby they gave their Votes and Suffrages for those employments. But herein though they did *ἰερόειν*, stretch forth, they did not lay on their hands; which was the proper Ceremony in use, and of far greater standing in the *Jewish Church*. When *Moses* made choice of the seventy Elders to be his Co-adjutors in the Government, it was (say the *Jews*) by laying his hands upon them: and when he constituted *Joshua* to be his Successor, he laid his hands on him, and gave him the charge before all the Congregation. This custom they constantly kept in appointing both Civil and Ecclesiastical Officers, and that not onely while their Temple and Polity stood, but long after the fall of their Church and State. For so *Benjamin* the *Jew* tells us, that in his time all the *Israelites of the East*, when they wanted a *Rabbin* or Teacher in their Synagogues, were wont to bring him to the ראש הנגלה as they call him the *Ἀρχηγλωτάρχης*, or Head of the Captivity, residing at *Babylon*, (at that time *R. Daniel* the son of *Hafslai*) that he might receive הסמיכה רשון power by imposition of hands to become Preacher to them. From the *Jews* it was together with some other Rites transferred into the Christian Church, in ordaining Guides and Ministers of Religion, and has been so used through all Ages and Periods to this day. Though the *ἱεροδωσία* and the *ἱερολογία* are not of equal extent in the writings and practice of the Church; the one implying the bare Rite of laying on of hands, while the other denotes Ordination it self, and the intire solemnity of the action. Whence the Apostolical Constitutor speaking of the Presbyters interest in this affair, says *ἱεροδιδάξαι ἡ ἱερολογία*, he lays on his hands, but he does not ordain; meaning it of the Custom then, and ever since, of Presbyters laying on their hands together with the Bishop in that solemn action.

*Benjamin. 2. 72.*

*Lib. 2. c. 29.  
col. 194.*

VIII. *BARNABAS* and *Paul* having thus received a divine Commission for the Apostleship of the *Gentiles*, and taking *Mark* along with them as their Minister and attendant, immediately entered upon the Province. And first they betook themselves to *Seleucia*, a neighbour City seated upon the influx of the River *Orontes* into the *Mediterranean Sea*: hence they set sail for *Cyprus*, *Barnabas's* Native Country, and arrived at *Salamis*, a City heretofore of great account, the ruins whereof are two miles distant from the present *Famagusta*, where they undantedly preached in the *Jewish Synagogues*. From *Salamis* they travelled up the Island to *Paphos*, a City remarkable of old for the Worship of *Venus, Diva potens Cypri*, the tutelar Goddess of the Island, who was here worshipped with the most wanton and immodest Rites, and had a famous Temple dedicated to her for that purpose, concerning which the Inhabitants have a Tradition that at *S. Barnabas* his Prayers it fell flat to the ground; and the ruins of an ancient Church are still shewed to Travellers, and under it an Arch, where *Paul* and *Barnabas* were shut up in Prison. At this place was the Court or Residence of the *Prætor*, or President of the Island (not properly *Ἀρστυντὶς*, the *Proconsul*, for *Cyprus* was not a *Proconsular* but a *Prætorian Province*) who being altogether guided by the counsels and forceries of *Bar-Jesus*, an eminent Magician, stood off from

*Catana. Hist.  
l. 1. c. 16. p. 100.*

from the Proposals of Christianity, till the *Magician* being struck by S. *Paul* with immediate blindness for his malicious opposition of the Gospel, this quickly determined the Governours belief, and brought him over a Convert to that Religion, which as it made the best offers, so he could not but see had the strongest evidences to attend it.

A. R. 13. 13.

IX. LEAVING *Cyprus*, they sailed over to *Perga* in *Pamphilia*, famous for a Temple of *Diana*; here *Mark* weary it seems of this itinerant course of life, and the unavoidable dangers that attended it, took his leave and returned to *Jerusalem*, which laid the foundation of an unhappy difference, that broke out between these two Apostles afterwards. The next place they came to was *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, where in the Jewish Synagogue S. *Paul* by an elegant Oration converted great numbers both of *Jews* and *Proselytes*, but a persecution being raised by others, they were forced to desert the place. Thence they passed to *Iconium*, a noted City of *Lycania*, where in the Synagogues they preached a long time with good success, till a conspiracy being made against them, they withdrew to *Lysra*, the inhabitants whereof upon a miraculous cure done by S. *Paul*, treated them as gods come down from Heaven in humane shape; S. *Paul* as being principal Speaker, they termed *Mercury*, the interpreter of the gods; *Barnabas* they looked upon as *Jupiter*, their sovereign deity, either because of his Age, or (as *Chrysostom* thinks) because he was ἀνὸς καὶ ὁψέως ἀξιοταρεμῆς, for the gravity and comeliness of his person, being (as antiquity represents him) a very goodly man, and of a venerable aspect, wherein he had infinitely the advantage of S. *Paul*, who was of a very mean and contemptible presence. But the malice of the *Jews* pursued them hither, and prevailed with the People to stone S. *Paul*, who presently recovering, he and *Barnabas* went to *Derbe*, where when they had converted many to the Faith, they returned back to *Lysra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch*, and so through *Pisidia* to *Pamphylia*, thence from *Perga* to *Attalia*, confirming as they came back the Churches which they had planted at their first going out. At *Attalia* they took Ship, and sailed to *Antioch* in *Syria*, the place whence they had first set out, where they gave the Church an account of the whole success of their travels, and what way was made for the propagation of Christianity in the *Gentile* World.

\* Homil. XXX  
in Act. App. p.  
351.

A. R. 15. 1.

X. THE restless enemy of all goodness was vexed to see so fair and smooth a progress of the Gospel, and therefore resolved to attempt it by the old subtle arts of intestine divisions and animosities: what the *envious man* could not stifle by open violence, he sought to choke by sowing tares. Some zealous Converts coming down from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, started this notion, which they asserted with all possible zeal and stiffness, that unless together with the Christian Religion they joined the observance of the *Mosaic Rites*, there could be no hopes of salvation for them. *Paul* and *Barnabas* opposed themselves against this heterodox opinion with all vigour and smartness, but not able to beat it down, were dispatched by the Church to advise with the Apostles and Brethren at *Jerusalem* about this matter. Whither they were no sooner come, but they were kindly and courteously entertained, and the right hand of fellowship given them by the three great Apostles, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, and an agreement made between them, that where-ever they came, they should betake themselves to the *Jews*, while *Paul* and *Barnabas* applied themselves unto the *Gentiles*. And here probably it was that

that *Mark* reconciled himself to his Uncle *Barnabas*, which, <sup>a</sup> one tells us, he did with tears and great importunity, earnestly begging him to forgive his weakness and cowardice, and promising for the future a firmer constancy and more undaunted resolution. But they were especially careful to mind the great affair they were sent about, and accordingly opened the case in a public Council convened for that purpose. And *Peter* having first given his sentence, that the *Gentile* Converts were under no such obligation, *Paul* and *Barnabas* acquainted the Synod what great things God by their Ministry had wrought for the conversion of the *Gentiles*, a plain evidence that they were accepted by God without the *Mosaic Rites* and Ceremonies. The matter being decided by the Council, the determination was drawn up into the form of a Synodical Epistle, which was delivered to *Barnabas* and *Paul*, to whom the Council gave this *elogium* and character, that they were men that had hazarded their lives for the name of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, with whom they joyned two of their own, that they might carry it to the Churches. Being come to *Antioch* they delivered the Decrees of the Council, wherewith the Church was abundantly satisfied, and the controversy for the present laid asleep.

XI. IT was not long after this, that S. *Peter* came down to *Antioch*, <sup>Gal. 2. 17.</sup> who loth to exasperate the zealous *Jews*, withdrew all converse with the *Gentile* Converts, contrary to his former practice, and his late vote and suffrage in the Synod at *Jerusalem*. The minds of the *Gentiles* were greatly disturbed at this, and the Convert *Jews* tempted by his example, abstain from all communion with the *Gentiles*; nay, so strong was the temptation, that S. *Barnabas* himself was carried down the stream, and began now to scruple, whether it was lawful to hold communion with the *Gentiles*, with whom before he had so familiarly conversed, and been so eminently instrumental in their conversion to Christianity. So prevalent an influence has the example of a great or a good man to determine others to what is good or bad. How careful should we be what course we take, lest we seduce and compel others to walk in our crooked paths, and load our selves with the guilt of those that follow after us? S. *Paul* shortly after propounded to *Barnabas* that they might again visit the Churches wherein they had lately planted the Christian Faith: he liked the motion, but desired his Cousin *Mark* might again go along with them, which S. *Paul* would by no means consent to, having found by his cowardly deserting them at *Pamphylia*, how unfit he was for such a troublesome and dangerous service. This begat a sharp contest, and ripened into almost an irreconcilable difference between these two holy men. Which as at once it shews, that the best are men of like passions and infirmities with others, subject to be transported with partiality, and carried off with the heats of an irregular passion, so it lets us see how great a matter a little fire kindles, and how inconsiderable an occasion may minister to strife and division, and hazard the breach of the firmest charity and friendship. The issue was that the ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία (as <sup>b</sup> Theodoret styles these two Apostles) this sacred pair, that had hitherto equally and unanimously drawn the Yoke of the Gospel, now drew several ways, and in some discontent parted from each other; S. *Paul* taking *Silas* went to the Churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, while *Barnabas* accompanied with his Cousin *Mark* set sail for *Cyprus*, his own Country.

XII. THUS far the sacred Historian has for the main gone before us,

<sup>a</sup> Alexand. Mo-  
nach. ubi sup.  
n. XV.

<sup>b</sup> Comment. in  
Eph. 1. 1. p. 55:  
Tom. 2.

<sup>a</sup> Dorotheus, Synops. Bibl. PP. Tom. 3. p. 148. col. 2.  
<sup>b</sup> Recogn. lib. 1. c. 7. p. 40. edit. Paris. 1672. Clement. in Novil. l. c. 7. p. 549. ib. Epit. de Gest. B. Petr. c. 7. ib. p. 752.  
<sup>c</sup> Baron ad Ann. 51. n. 52. 54. not. ad Martyr. Rom. p. 359.

us, who here breaks off his accounts concerning him. What became of him afterwards we are left under great uncertainty. <sup>a</sup> Dorotheus and the <sup>b</sup> Author of the *Recognitions*, and some other Writings attributed to S. Clements, makes him to have been at Rome, and one of the first that preached the Christian Faith in that City; for which <sup>c</sup> Baronius falls foul upon them, not being willing that any should be thought to have been there before S. Peter, though after him (and 'tis but good manners to let him go first) he is not unwilling to grant his being there. Leaving therefore the difference in point of time, let us see what we find there concerning him. At his first arrival there about Autumn he is said thus publicly to have addressed himself to the People, "Ανδρες Ρωμαιοι ἀκούετε. "O ye Romans give ear. The Son of God has appeared in the Country of Judaea, promising eternal life to all that are willing to embrace it, and to lead their lives according to the will of the Father that sent him. Wherefore change your course of life, and turn from a worse to a better state, from things temporal to those that are eternal. Acknowledge that there is one only God, who is in Heaven, and whose world you unjustly possess before his righteous face. But if you reform, and live according to his Laws, you shall be translated into another World, where you shall become immortal, and enjoy the ineffable glories and happiness of that state. Whereas if you persist in your infidelity, your souls after the dissolution of these bodies, shall be cast into a place of flames, where they shall be eternally tormented under the anguish of an unprofitable and too late Repentance. For the present life is to every one the only space and season of repentance. This was spoken with great plainness and simplicity, and without any artificial Schemes of Speech, and accordingly took with the attentive populacy: while the Philosophers and more inquisitive heads entertained the discourse with scorn and laughter, (this indeed the <sup>a</sup> Author of the *πὶ Κλημάκων*, and the <sup>b</sup> *Epitome Πεδιέξου*, somewhat differently from the *Recognitions*, refers to his being at Alexandria) setting upon him with captious questions and syllogisms, and sophistical Arts of Reasoning. But he taking no notice of their impertinent questions, went on in his plain discourse, concluding that he had nakedly laid these things before them, and that it lay at their door whether they would reject or entertain them; that for his part he could not without prejudice to himself not declare them, nor they without infinite danger disbelieve them.

<sup>a</sup> Clem. & Epit. tom. ibid. Alexandria. Monach. loc. cit. n. 13. 14.  
<sup>b</sup> Baron ad Ann. 51. n. 54. Sancti de pres. S. Jac. Tr. 3. c. 1. n. 9.  
<sup>c</sup> Synops. in Bibl. PP. p. 148. 153.  
<sup>d</sup> Alexand. ib. n. XVIII. & seq.

XIII. DEPARTING from Rome, he is by different Writers made to steer different courses. The <sup>a</sup> Greeks tell us he went for Alexandria, and thence for Judaea: The <sup>b</sup> Writers of the Roman Church (with whom agrees <sup>c</sup> Dorotheus in this matter) that he preached the Gospel in Liguria, and founded a Church at Milan, whereof he became the first Bishop, propagating Christianity in all those parts. But however that was, probable it is that in the last periods of his life he returned unto Cyprus, where my <sup>d</sup> Author tells us, he converted many, till some Jews from Syria coming to Salamis, where he then was, enraged with fury set upon him as he was disputing in the Synagogue, in a corner whereof they shut him up till night, when they brought him forth, and after infinite tortures, stoned him to death. He adds (and the faith of it must rest upon the credit of the Relater, who <sup>e</sup> Baronius tells us, lived at the same time when his corps was first found out) that they threw

<sup>k</sup> Ad Ann 485. n. 4 p. 428.

threw his body into the fire with an intent to consume it, but that the flames had not the least power upon it, and that Mark his Kinsman privately buried it in a Cave not far distant from the City, his Friends resenting the loss with solemn lamentation. I omit the miracles reported to have been done at his Tomb: the remains of his body were discovered in the reign of <sup>a</sup> Zeno the Emperour (<sup>b</sup> Nicephorus by a mistake makes it the XII. year of Anastasius) Ann. CCCCLXXXV. dug up under a Bean or Carob Tree, and upon his Breast was found S. Matthews Gospel written with Barnabas his own hand, which Anthemius the Bishop took along with him to Constantinople, where it was received by the Emperour with a mighty reverence, and laid up with great care and diligence. The Emperour as a testimony of his joy, honouring the Episcopal See of Salamis with this Prerogative, that it should be *sedes autonoma*, independent upon any Foreign Jurisdiction, a Privilege ratified by Justinian the Emperour, whose Wife Theodora was a Cypriot: The Emperour also greatly enriched the Bishop at his return, commanding him to build a Church to S. Barnabas over the place of his interment, which was accordingly erected with more than ordinary stateliness and magnificence. 'Tis added in the <sup>c</sup> Story, that these remains were discovered by the notice of S. Barnabas himself, who three several times appeared to Anthemius; which I behold as a meer addition to the Story, designed onely to serve a present turn. For Peter surnamed the Fuller, then Patriarch of Antioch, challenged at this time a jurisdiction over the Cyprian Churches as subject to his See; this Anthemius would not agree to, but stillly asserted his own rights, and how easie was it to take this occasion of finding S. Barnabas his body, to add that of the appearances to him, to gain credit to the cause, and advance it with the Emperour? And accordingly it had its designed effect; and whoever reads the whole Story, and the circumstances of the apparitions, as related by my Author, will see that they seem plainly calculated for such a purpose.

XIV. FOR his outward form and shape, he is thus represented by the <sup>a</sup> Ancients. He was a man of a comely countenance, a grave and venerable aspect, his eye-brows short, his eye chearful and pleasant, darting something of majesty, but nothing of frowiness and austerity, his speech sweet and obliging; his garb was mean, and such as became a man of a mortified life, his gate composed and unaffected, grave and decent. This elegant structure was but the lodging of a more noble tenant, a Soul richly furnished with divine graces and vertues, a profound humility, diffusive charity, firm faith, an immoveable constancy, and an unconquerable patience, a mighty zeal, and an unwearied diligence in the propagating of Christianity, and for the good of Souls. So entirely did he devote himself to an ambulatory course of life, so continually was he employed in running up and down from place to place, that he could find little or no time to leave any Writings behind him for the benefit of the Church; at least none that have certainly arrived to us. Indeed anciently there were some, and Tertullian particularly, who supposed him to be the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, an opinion generally rejected and thrown out of doors: there is also an Epistle still extant under his name of great antiquity frequently cited by Clement Alexandrinus, and his Scholar Origen (to pass by others) the latter of whom styles it the <sup>b</sup> Catholic Epistle of Barnabas, but placed by <sup>c</sup> Eusebius among the *πρὸς τοὺς*

<sup>a</sup> Theod. l. 1. c. 1. H. Eccl. l. 2. p. 557. Alex. Mon. loc. cit. n. XXXI.  
<sup>b</sup> Niceph. H. Eccl. l. 16. c. 37. p. 716. Tom. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Alex. ut sup. n. XIX, XXX.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. n. XVIII.

<sup>c</sup> De pudicit. c. 20. p. 582. vid. Philastr. de Hæres. c. 60.  
<sup>d</sup> Contr. Cels. lib. 1. p. 49.  
<sup>e</sup> H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25. p. 97.

the Writings that were not genuine. The frame and contexture of it is intricate and obscure, made up of uncouth Allegories, forced and improbable interpretations of Scripture, though the main design of it is to shew, that the Christian Religion has superseded the Rites and Usages of the *Mosaic Law*. The latter part of it contains an useful and excellent exhortation managed under the notion of two ways, the one of *light*, the other of *darkness*, the one under the conduct of the *Angels of God* (*φωτιστικοὶ ἄγγελοι*, those illuminating Ministers, as he calls them,) the other under the guidance of the *Angels of Satan*, the Prince of the iniquity of the Age. Under the way of *light* he presses to most of the particular duties and instances of the Christian and the Spiritual life, which are there with admirable accuracy and succinctness reckoned up: Under that of *darkness* he represents those particular sins and vices, which we are to decline and shun; and I am confident the pious Reader will not think it time lost, nor repent his pains to peruse so ancient and useful a discourse. Thus then he expresses himself.

Barnab. Epist.  
p. 238. Edit.  
Voss.

XV. THE way of life is this. Whoever travels towards the appointed place, will hasten by his works to attain to it. And the knowledge that is given us how to walk in this way is this: *Thou shalt love thy Creator. Thou shalt glorify him who redeemed thee from death. Thou shalt be simple in heart, and being rich in spirit shalt not join thy self to him that walks in the way of death. Thou shalt hate to do that which is displeasing unto God. Thou shalt hate all manner of hypocrisie. Thou shalt not forsake the Commandments of the Lord. Exalt not thy self, but be of an humble mind. Thou shalt not assume glory to thy self. Neither shalt thou take evil counsel against thy neighbor. Thou shalt not add boldness to thy soul. Thou shalt not commit fornication, nor be guilty of adultery or buggery. Thou shalt not neglect Gods command in correcting other mens impurity, nor shalt thou have respect of persons, when thou reprovest any man for his faults. Thou shalt be meek and silent, and stand in awe of the words which thou hearest. Thou shalt not remember evil against thy brother. Thou shalt not be of a double and instable mind, doubting whether thus or thus. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vain. Thou shalt love thy neighbor above thy life. Thou shalt not destroy a child by abortion, nor make it away when it is born. Thou shalt not withhold thy hand from thy son, or from thy daughter, but from their youth shalt teach them the fear of the Lord. Be not desirous of thy neighbours goods, nor covet much. Neither shalt thou heartily join with the proud, but shalt be numbred with the just and the humble. Entertain trials and temptations when they happen to thee, as instruments of good. Thou shalt not be double minded, nor of a deceitful tongue, for a double tongue is the snare of death. Thou shalt be subject to the Lord, and to Masters as Gods representatives, in reverence and fear. Thou shalt not command thy Maid or Man-servant with bitterness and severity, those especially that hope in God, lest thou thy self prove one that fearest not him, who is over both: For he came not to call men according to outward appearance, but those whom his Spirit did prepare. Thou shalt communicate to thy neighbour in all things, and shalt not call what thou hast thine own: For if ye mutually partake in incorruptible things, how much more in things that are corruptible. Be not rash with thy tongue, for the mouth is the snare of death. Keep thy soul as chaste as thou canst, stretch not forth thy hands to take, and shut them when thou shouldst give. Love all those that speak to thee the word of the Lord, as the apple of thine eye. Remember the day of judgment night and day. Seek out daily the faces of holy men, and searching by the Word, go forth to*

Ἀγαπήσεις  
τὸν κύριόν σου  
καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου  
καθὼς σεαυτὸν.

exhort, and by it study to save a soul. And with thy hands shalt thou labour for the redemption of thy sins. Delay not to give, nor begrudge when thou art charitable. Give to every one that asks thee; and thou shalt know who is the good recompenser of the reward. Thou shalt keep the things which thou hast received, neither adding to them, nor taking from them. Thou shalt ever hate a wicked person. Judge righteously. Make no Schism. Make peace between those that are at difference, reconciling them to each other. Confess thy sins, and come not to prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of Light.

XVI. BUT now the way of darkness is crooked and full of curses. For it is the way of eternal death attended with punishment; wherein are things destructive to their souls, idolatry, audaciousness, height of domination, hypocrisie, double-heartedness, adultery, murder, rapine, pride, transgression, deceit, malice, arrogance, witchcraft, magic, covetousness, want of the fear of God. Persecutors of good men, haters of the truth, men who love but do not know the wages of righteousness. Persons that adhere not to what is good, nor who by righteous judgment regard the case of the Widow and the Orphan; watchful not for the fear of God, but for what is evil: great strangers to meekness and patience. Lovers of vanity, greedy of revenge, who compassionate not the poor, nor endeavour to relieve the oppressed, prone to distraction, not knowing their Maker, murderers of children, defacers of Gods workmanship, such as turn away themselves from the needy, add affliction to the afflicted, plead for the rich, and unjustly judge the poor, sinners altogether. And having thus described these two different ways, he concludes his discourse with a hearty and passionate exhortation, that since the time of rewards and punishments was drawing on, they would mind these things, as those that were taught of God, searching after what God required of them, and setting themselves to the practice of it, that they might be saved at the day of judgment. I have no more to remark concerning this excellent person, then to add the character given of him by a pen that could not err, he was a good man, full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost. A. 11. 24.

The End of S. BARNABAS'S Life.

THE LIFE OF  
**S. TIMOTHY**  
 THE  
 APOSTLE and EVANGELIST.



*Michael Burghers sculpsit.*

**S. TIMOTHEUS.**

*S. Timothies Countrey and Kindred. His religious education. The great advantages of an early piety. Converted to Christianity by S. Paul, and made choice of to be his companion. Circumcised by S. Paul, and why.*

why. This no contradicting S. Pauls doctrine concerning Circumcision. His travels with S. Paul for the propagation of the Faith. His return from Theſſalonica, and S. Pauls two Epistles to that Church. S. Timothy consecrated Bishop of Ephesus. The consent of antiquity herein. Ordination in those times usually done by prophetic designation, and the reason of it. Timothies age enquired into. The importance of *νέος* and *νεότης* (let no man despise thy youth,) the words shewed to be used by the best Writers for a considerable Age. S. Pauls first and second Epistle to him, and the importance of them. The manners of the Ephesians noted. Their festival called *καλαγώνιον*. S. Timothies martyrdom. The time of his death, place of his burial, and translation of his body. His weak and infirm constitution. His great abstinence, and admirable zeal. S. Pauls singular affection for him. Different from Timotheus in S. Denys the Areopagite. Another Timothy, S. Pauls Disciple, martyred under Antoninus.

I.



**TIMOTHY** was, as we may probably conceive, a *Lycaonian*, born at *Lystra*, a noted City of that Province. He was a person in whom the *Jew*, the *Gentile*, and the *Christian* met altogether. His Father was by birth a *Greek*, by Religion a *Gentile*, or if a *Proselyte*, at most but *גר חושב* a *Proselyte of the Gate*, who did not oblige themselves to circumcision, and the rites of *Moses*, but onely to the observance of the *seven precepts of the sons of Noah*: his Mother *Eunice*, daughter to the de-

vout and pious *Lois*, was a *Jewess*, who yet scrupled not to marry with this *Greek*. An argument that the partition wall now tottered, and was ready to fall, when *Jew* and *Gentile* began thus to match together. His Mother and Grandmother were Women very eminently virtuous and holy, and seem to have been amongst the first that were converted to the Christian Faith. Nor was it the least instance of their piety, the care they took of his education, instructing him in the knowledge of divine things, and seasoning his tender years with virtuous and sober principles, so that from a child he was acquainted with the holy Scriptures, whereby he was admirably prepared for the reception of Christianity, and furnished for the conduct of a strict pious life. And indeed Religion never thrives more kindly, then when 'tis planted betimes, and the foundations of it laid in an early piety. For the mind being then soft and tender, is easily capable of the best impressions, which by degrees insinuate themselves into it, and insensibly reconcile it to the difficulties of an holy life, so that what must necessarily be harsh and severe to a man that endeavours to rescue himself from an habitual course of sin, the other is unacquainted with, and goes on smoothly in a way that's become pleasant and delightful. None start with greater advantages, nor usually persevere with a more vigorous constancy, then they who remember their Creator in the days of their youth, and sacrifice the first fruits of their time to God and to Religion, before corrupt affections have clapt a bias upon their inclinations, and a train of vices depraved, and in great measure laid asleep the natural notions of good and evil.

II. PREPARED by so excellent a culture in the *Jewish* Religion, God was pleased to transplant him into a better soil. S. Paul in pursuance of his Commission to preach the Gospel to the *Gentiles* had come as far as

Antioch

Antioch in *Pisidia*, thence to *Iconium*, and so to *Lystra*, where the miraculous cure of an impotent Cripple made way for the entertainment of the Christian Doctrine. Among others there converted, we are told<sup>a</sup> were S. Timothies Parents, who courteously treated and entertained the Apostle at their house, wholly resigning up their Son to his care and conduct. About two years after in his review of these late Plantations he came again to *Lystra*, where he made choice of *Timothy*, recommended to him by the universal testimony of the Christians thereabouts, as an *Evangelist*, to be his assistant and the companion of his travels, that he might have somebody always with him, with whom he could intrust matters of importance, and whom he might dispatch upon any extraordinary affair and exigence of the Church. Indeed *Timothy* was not circumcised, for this being a branch of the Paternal Authority, did not lie in his mothers power: this was notoriously known to all the *Jews*, and this S. Paul knew would be a mighty prejudice to his Ministry where ever he came. For the *Jews* being infinitely zealous for Circumcision, would not with any tolerable patience endure any man to preach to them, or so much as to converse with them, who was himself uncircumcised. That this obstacle therefore might be removed, he caused him to be circumcised, becoming in lawful matters all things to all men, that he might gain the more. Admirable (says<sup>b</sup> Chrysostom) the wisdom and prudence of S. Paul, who had this design in it, *Περίεμμεν, ἵνα ἀειδομὴ κατέλῃ*, he circumcised him, that he might take away Circumcision, that is, be the more acceptable to the *Jews*, and by that means the more capable to undeceive them in their opinion of the necessity of those legal Rites. At other times we find him smartly contending against Circumcision as a justification of the *Mosaic* Institutions, and a virtual undermining the great ends of Christianity. Nor did he in this instance contradict his own Doctrine, or unwarrantably symbolize with the *Jews*; it being onely (as<sup>c</sup> Clemens of Alexandria observes concerning this passage) a prudent condescension to the present humour of the *Jews*, whom he was unwilling to disoblige, and make them wholly fly off, by a too sudden and violent rending them from the circumcision in the flesh, to bring them over to the circumcision of the heart. So that he who thus accommodates himself for the salvation of another, can no ways be charged with dissimulation and hypocrisy; seeing he does that purely for the advantage of others, which he would not do for any other reason, or upon account of the things themselves: this being *τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ καὶ φιλοθεῷ πατρὶ* the part of a wise and kind Instructor, who is a true lover of God, and the souls of men.

III. S. PAUL thus fitted with a meet companion, forwards they set in their Evangelical Progress, and having passed through *Phrygia* and *Galatia*, came down to *Troas*, thence they set sail for *Samothracia*, and so to *Neapolis*, whence they passed to *Philippi*, the Metropolis of that part of *Macedonia*: where being evil intreated by the Magistrates and People, they departed to *Theſſalonica*, whence the fury and malice of the *Jews* made them fly to *Berea*. Here they met with people of a more generous and manly temper ready to embrace the Christian Doctrine, but yet not till they had first compared it with the predictions which the Prophets had made concerning the *Messiah*. But even here they could not escape the implacable spirit of the *Jews*, so that the Christians were forced privately to conduct S. Paul to *Athens*, while *Silas* and *Timothy*, not

<sup>a</sup> S. Metaphr. de S. Timotheo. Sav. ad Jan. 24. n. 11. p. 111.

Act. 16. 1. c. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Homil. XXXIV. in Act. App. p. 684.

<sup>c</sup> Stromat. lib. 7. p. 48. 73.

<sup>a</sup> Οὐδὲς πῶς ἦεν ἁπλοῦς ὁ νόμος καὶ ἀπλοῦς, ἀλλ' ἐπιμύθεον τῶν ἡγουμένων. Chrysost. Homil. 1. in 2 Tim. p. 1627.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Tim. 3. 15.

Παιδίον καὶ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἀνομιὰς τῶν πατέρων. Plur. de liber. educ. pag. 4.

not so much the immediate objects of their spight and cruelty, staid behind, to instruct and confirm the Converts of that place. Whether they came to him during his stay at *Athens*, is uncertain: *S. Luke* takes no farther notice of them, till their coming to him at *Corinth*, his next remove. Where at their first arrival (if it was not at *Athens*) *S. Paul* dispatched away *Timothy* to *Thessalonica*, to enquire into the state of Christianity in that City, and to confirm them in the belief and profession of the Gospel, for he seems to have had a more peculiar kindness for that Church, having since his last being there, more than once resolved himself to go back to them, but that the great Enemy of Souls had still thrown some rub in the way to hinder him.

IV. FROM *Thessalonica* *Timothy* returned with the welcome news of their firmness and constancy notwithstanding the persecutions they endured, their mutual charity to each other, and particular affection to *S. Paul*; news, wherewith the good man was infinitely pleased: As certainly nothing can minister greater joy and satisfaction to a faithful Guide of Souls, then to behold the welfare and prosperity of his People. Nor did his care of them end here, but he presently writes his first Epistle to them, to animate them under their sufferings, and not to desert the Christian Religion, because the Cross did attend it, but rather to adorn their Christian Profession by a life answerable to the holy designs and precepts of it. In the front of this Epistle he inserted not only his own name, but also those of *Silas* and *Timothy*, partly to reflect the greater honour upon his fellow-workers, partly that their united authority and consent might have the stronger influence and force upon them. The like he did in a second Epistle, which not long after he sent to them, to supply the want of his personal presence, whereof in his former he had given them some hopes, and which he himself seemed so passionately to desire. Eighteen months at least they had continued at *Corinth*, when *S. Paul* resolved upon a journey to *Jerusalem*, where he staid not long, but went for *Antioch*, and having travelled over the Countries of *Galatia* and *Phrygia* to establish Christianity lately planted in those parts, came to *Ephesus*, where though he met with great opposition, yet he preached with greater success, and was so wholly swallowed up with the concerns of that City, that though he had resolved himself to go into *Macedonia*, he was forced to send *Timothy* and *Erastus* in his stead, who having done their errand, returned to *Ephesus*, to assist him in promoting the affairs of Religion in that place.

V. *S. PAUL* having for three years resided at *Ephesus* and the parts about it, determined to take his leave, and depart for *Macedonia*. And now it was (as himself plainly intimates, and the Ancients generally conceive) that he constituted *Timothy* Bishop and Governour of that Church; he was the first Bishop (says *Eusebius*) of the Province or Diocese of *Ephesus*; he did  $\pi\epsilon\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon$   $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon$ , says the Author in *Photius*, first act as Bishop of *Ephesus*, and in the Council of *Chalcedon* XXVII Bishops are said successively to have sitten in that Chair, whereof *S. Timothy* was the first. In the *Apostolical Constitutions* he is expressly said to have been ordained Bishop of it by *S. Paul*, or as he in *Photius* expresseth it a little more after the mode of his time, he was ordained and enthroned (or installed) Bishop of the Metropolis of the *Ephesians* by the great *S. Paul*. *Ephesus* was a great and populous City, and the Civil Government of the *Proconsul*, who resided there reached over the whole *Lydian* or *Pro-*

1 Thess. 3. 1,  
2, 3.

2. v. 17, 18,  
19.

1 Thess. 3. 6,  
7, & seqq.

1 Tim. 1. 3.

1 H. Eccl. 1. 3. c.

4. p. 73.

1 Martyr. Tim.

ap. Pont. Cod.

CCLIV. col.

1401.

1 Conc. Chalced.

Att. XI. conc.

Tim. 4. col. 609.

1 Lib. 7. c. 47.

col. 451.

consular Asia. And such in proportion the Ancients make the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of that Church, *S. Chrysostom* affirming it to be plain and evident, that *Timothy* had the Church, or rather the whole Nation of Asia committed to him; to him (says *Theodoret*) divine *S. Paul* committed the care and the charge of Asia; upon which account a little after he calls him the Apostle of the Asians. As for the manner of his Ordination, or rather designation to the ministeries of Religion, it was by particular and extraordinary designation, God immediately testifying it to be his will and pleasure; thence it is said to have been done  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\pi\epsilon\sigma\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma$   $\pi\epsilon\sigma\phi\eta\lambda\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ , according to some preceding predictions concerning him, and that he received it not only by the laying on of hands, but by prophesie, that is, as *Chrysostom* truly explains it, by the Holy Ghost; it being part of the Prophetic Office (as he adds, and especially it was so at that time) not only to fore-tell future events, but to declare things present, God extraordinarily manifesting whom he would have set apart for that weighty Office. Thus *Paul* and *Barnabas* were separated by the special dictate of the Holy Ghost, and of the Governours of the *Ephesine* Churches that met at *Miletus*, it is said, that the Holy Ghost had made them Bishops, or Over-seers of the Church. And this way of election by way of prophetic revelation continued in use at least during the Apostolic Age: *Clemens* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, tells us that the Apostles preaching up and down Cities and Countries, constituted their first-fruits to be the Bishops and Deacons of those who should believe,  $\delta\delta\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$   $\pi\alpha\varsigma$   $\pi\alpha\delta\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , making trial of them by the spirit: and another *Clemens* reports of *S. John*, that visiting the neighbour Churches about *Ephesus*, he ordained Bishops, and such as were signified, or pointed out to him by the spirit.

VI. THIS extraordinary and miraculous way of chusing Bishops and Ecclesiastical Officers, besides other advantages, begat a mighty reverence and veneration for the Governours of the Church, who were looked upon as God's choice, and as having the more immediate character of Heaven upon them. And especially this way seemed more necessary for *S. Timothy* then others, to secure him from that contempt which his youth might otherwise have exposed him to. For that he was but young at that time, is evident from *S. Paul's* counsel to him, so to demean himself, that no man might despise his youth: the Governours of the Church in those days were  $\pi\pi\epsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\iota$ , in respect of their age as well as office, and indeed therefore stiled *Elders*, because they usually were persons of a considerable age that were admitted into the Orders of the Church. This *Timothy* had not attained to. And yet the word  $\νε\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , youth, admits a greater latitude then we in ordinary speech confine it to. *Cicero* tells us of himself, that he was *adolescens*, but a very youth when he pleaded *Roscius's* cause; and yet *A. Gellius* proves him to have been at that time no less then XXVII years old. *Alexander* the son of *Aristobulus* is called  $\nu\epsilon\omega\tau\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ , a youth, at the time of his death, when yet he was above thirty. *Hiero* in *Polybius* is stiled  $\nu\epsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\delta\eta\varsigma$ , a very young man, whom yet *Casanbon* proves to have been XXXV years of Age; and the same Historian speaking of *T. Flaminius* his making War upon *Philip* of *Macedon*, says he was  $\nu\epsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\delta\eta\varsigma$ , a very young man, for that he was not above thirty years old: it being (as *Casanbon* observes) the custom both of Greek and Latine Writers to extend the juvenus, or youthful age from the thirtieth till the fortieth year of a mans

Homil. XV. in  
1 Tim. p. 1606.

1 Argum. in  
1 ad Tim p. 463.

1 com. in 1 Tim.  
3 p. 475. 73.

1 Tim. 1. 18.  
1 Tim. 4. 14.

1 Homil. V. in  
1 Tim. p. 1545.

1 Epist. ad Co-  
rinth. pag. 54.

1 Clem. Al. lib.  
1 p. 140.

1 Clem. Al. lib.  
1 p. 140.

1 Clem. Al. lib.  
1 p. 140.

1 Clem. Al. lib.  
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1 Clem. Al. lib.  
1 p. 140.

1 Clem. Al. lib.  
1 p. 140.

1 Clem. Al. lib.  
1 p. 140.

Annot. in loc.

life. To which we may add what *Grotius* observes, that νεότης answering to the Hebrew נְעוּרִים denotes the Military Age, all that civil and manly part of a mans life that is opposed to Old Age; so that *Timothies* youth, without any force or violence to the word, might very well consist with his being at least thirty, or five and thirty years of age, and he so stiled onely comparatively with respect to that weighty Function, which was wont to be conferred upon none but grave and aged men. But of this enough.

Acts 20. 2, 3, &amp;c.

H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 34. p. 189.

Antiq. Apost. Life of S. Paul. Sect. 7. n. 5. 2 Tim. 4. 9.

Hebr. 13. 23, 24.

Ap. Bolland. Januar. XXIV.

Strab. Geogr. lib. 14.

VII. S. TIMOTHY thus fixed at *Ephesus*, did yet accompany S. Paul some part of his journey into *Greece*, at least went to him thither upon some urgent affairs of the Church, and then returned to his charge. Not long after which S. Paul wrote his first Epistle to him, to encourage him in his duty, and direct him how to behave himself in that eminent Station wherein he had set him. And because the success of the Ministry does in a great measure depend upon the persons employed in it, he gives him more particular rules how to proceed in this matter, and how the persons ought to be qualified, whom he admitted to that honourable and important Office, *ὡς ἐν πύργῳ* ὁ ἱεραρχὸν βίον ἐλθόν ἀναστάσιμος διεξίωγ, as *Nicephorus* speaks, excellently representing in that Epistle, as in a short draught, the life and conversation of the sacred Governours of the Church, describing the tempers and manners of those who are appointed to be the Guides and Ministers of Religion. Well he knew also that crafty Teachers and false Apostles were creeping into the Church, whose principles and practices he remarks, warning him to beware of them, and to stand continually upon his guard against them. The holy man followed his instructions, and was no doubt faithful to his trust, which he managed with all care and diligence. About six years after, S. Paul being then a Prisoner at *Rome*, wrote a second Epistle to him (for that this Epistle was written at his first coming to *Rome*, we have shewed elsewhere) to excite him to a mighty care and fidelity in his business, and in undermining the false and subtle insinuations of Seducers. In it he orders *Timothy* to come to him with all speed to *Rome*, who accordingly came, and joined with him in the several Epistles written thence to the *Philippians*, *Colossians*, and to *Philemon*, as his name in the front of those Epistles does abundantly declare. During his stay at *Rome* he was upon some occasion cast into prison, and thence released and set at liberty about the time of S. Pauls enlargement, as he clearly intimates in the close of his Epistle to the *Hebrews*; after which he came back to *Ephesus*, nor is it probable that he any more removed from thence, till his translation into Heaven. And here it was that he became acquainted with S. John, whose Apostolical Province mainly lay in *Asia*, and the parts about *Ephesus*; and so the *Acts* under the name of *Polycrates*, one of his successors (doubtless of good antiquity, being those mentioned and made use of by *Photius*) report, that he conversed with, and was an auditor of S. John the Divine, who lay in the bosom of our Lord.

VIII. THE *Ephesians* were a people of great looseness and impiety, their manners were wanton and effeminate, prophane and prodigal: they banished *Hermodorus* onely because he was more sober and thrifty than the rest, enacting a Decree, *Let none of ours be thrifty*. They were strangely bewitched with the study of Magic and the Arts of Sorcery and Divination; miserably over-run with with Idolatry, especially the Temple

Temple and Worship of *Diana*, for which they were famous through the whole World. Among their many Idolatrous Festivals they had one called ΚΑΤΑΓΩΓΙΟΝ, which was celebrated after this manner; Habiting themselves in an antic dress, and covering their faces with ugly Vizards, that they might not be known, with Clubs in their hands, they carried Idols in a wild and a frantic manner up and down the more eminent places of the City, singing certain Songs and Verses to them; and without any compassion or respect either to Age or Sex, setting upon all persons that they met, they beat out their brains, glorying in it as a brave achievement, and a great honour to their gods. This cursed and execrable custom gave just offence to all pious and good men, especially S. Timothy, whose spirit was grieved to see God so openly dishonoured, humane nature sunk into such a deep degeneracy, and so arbitrarily transported to the most savage barbarities by the great murderer of souls. The good man oft endeavoured to reclaim them by lenitive and mild intreaties; but alas gentle Physic works little upon a stubborn constitution. When that would not do, out he comes to them into the midst of the street upon one of these fatal solemnities, and reproves them with some necessary sharpness and severity. But cruelty and licentiousness are too headstrong to brook opposition: impatient of being controlled in their wild extravagancies, they fall upon him with their Clubs, beat and drag him up and down, and then leave him for dead, whom some Christians finding yet to breath, took up, and lodged him without the Gate of the City, where the third day after he expired. He suffered martyrdom on the thirtieth day of the fourth month, according to the *Asian* computation, or in the *Roman* account on the XXII of *January*, as the *Greek* Church celebrates his memory, or the XXIV, according to the *Latine*. It happened (as some will have it) in the time of *Nerva*, while others more probably refer it to the reign of *Domitian*, it being done before S. John's return from his banishment in *Patmos*, which was about the beginning of *Nerva's* reign. Being dead, the Christians of *Ephesus* took his body, and decently interred it in a place called *Pion*, *Piron* (says *Isidore*, who adds that 'twas a Mountain) where it securely rested for some Ages, till *Constantine the Great*, or as others, his son *Constantius* caused it to be translated to *Constantinople*, and laid up together with those of S. Andrew and S. Luke, in the great Church erected by *Constantine* to the holy Apostles.

IX. HE was a man of no very firm and healthful constitution, frequent distempers assailing him, besides the constant infirmities that hung upon him. Which S. Chrysostom conceives were in a great measure owing to his extraordinary temperance, and too frequent fastings. An effectual course to subdue those youthful lusts which S. Paul cautioned him to shun, there being no such way to extinguish the fire, as to withdraw the fuel: he allowed himself no delicious Meats, no generous Wines; Bread and Water was his usual Bill of Fare, till by excessive abstinence, and the meaness and courseness of his diet he had weakened his appetite, and rendered his stomach unfit to serve the

H 2

ends

<sup>a</sup> Martyr. *Timoth. Apost. ap. Phot. Cod. 254. col. 1401, 1404. Com. de S. Timoth. S. Metaphr. apud Syr. ad Jan. XXIV. n. 9, 10. Fragment. vit. S. Timoth. Grace ap. P. Hailloix in vit. Polycarp. p. 558. forsan ex Alt. S. Timoth. à Polyerat. (ut ait) scriptis, quæ eadem habent, ap. Bolland. ad Januar. XXIV. p. 566.*

<sup>b</sup> De Vit. & Obiit. SS. c. 85. p. 542. <sup>c</sup> Hieron. adv. Vigil. p. 122. <sup>d</sup> Tom. 2. Niceph. Eccl. H. 1. 2. c. 43. p. 210. <sup>e</sup> Metaphr. ubi sup. n. X.

Τὴ δ' ἀρετὴς ἰσὺν ὁ Τίμοθεος, ὅπως ἐφραδά-  
ει περὶ τῆς καὶ ἐξέχεται πολλὰς ἀρετὰς  
ὡς καὶ εἰς ἀδελφὴν ἐμπροσθεν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ οὐρανῷ  
ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ ἐμπροσθεν τῆς νουθεσίας. ὅτι ὁ δὲ  
ὁμοῦ τῶν τῶν ὡς, ἀλλ' ὡς νουθεσίας καὶ ὑπο-  
ποσίας τῶν σπουδῶν κατέβηκε τῷ ἱερῷ. Chrysost. Homil. I. ad Pop. Antioch. Tom. 1. p. 5.

ends of nature. Infomuch that S. Paul was forced to impose it as a kind of law upon him, that he should *no longer drink water, but use a little wine for his stomachs sake, and his often infirmities.* And yet in the midst of this weak tottering carcase there dwelt a vigorous and sprightly mind, a soul acted by a mighty zeal, and inspired with a true love to God: he thought no difficulties great, no dangers formidable, that he might be serviceable to the purposes of Religion, and the interest of souls; he flew from place to place with a quicker speed, and a more unwearied resolution, then could have been expected from a stronger and a healthier person, now to *Ephesus*, then to *Corinth*, oft into *Macedonia*, then to *Italy*, crossing Sea and Land, and surmounting a thousand hazards and oppositions: in all which (as *Chrysostom's* words are) the weakness of his body did not prejudice the divine Philosophy of his mind; so strangely active and powerful is Zeal for God, so nimbly does it wing the soul with the swiftest flight. And certainly (as he adds) as a great and robust body is little better for its health, which has nothing but a dull and a heavy soul to inform it; so bodily weakness is no great impediment, where there is a quick and a generous mind to animate and enliven it.

X. THESE excellent Vertues infinitely endeared him to S. Paul, who seems to have had a very passionate kindness for him, never mentioning him without great tenderness, and titles of reverence and respect: sometimes styling him his *son*, his *brother*, his *fellow-labourer*, *Timothens our brother*, and *Minister of God*, and *our fellow-labourer in the Gospel of Christ*; sometimes with additions of a particular affection and honourable regard, *Timothy, my dearly beloved son*; *Timothens, who is my beloved son*, and *faithful in the Lord*: and to the Church at *Philippi* more expressly, *I trust to send Timothens shortly to you, for I have no man like-minded* (ισόψυχον, equally dear to me as my self) *who will naturally care for your state: for all seek their own, not the things that are Jesus Christs; but ye know the proof of him, that as a son with the father, he hath served with me in the Gospel.* And because he knew that he was a young man, and of a temper easily capable of harsh and unkind impressions, he entered a particular caution on his behalf with the Church of *Corinth*, *If Timothens come, see that he may be with you without fear, for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do: let no man therefore despise him, but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me.* Instances of a great care and tenderness, and which plainly suppose *Timotky* to have been an extraordinary person. His very calling him his *dearly beloved son*, *Chrysostom* thinks a sufficient argument of his Vertue. For such affection not being founded in Nature, can flow from nothing but Vertue and Goodness, the lovely and essential ornaments of a divine and a holy soul. We love our children not onely because witty, or handsom, kind and dutiful, but because they are ours, and very often for no other reason; nor can we do otherwise, so long as we are subject to the Impressions and the Laws of Nature. Whereas true Goodness and Vertue have no other Arts but their own naked worth and beauty to recommend them, nor can by any other argument challenge regard and veneration from us.

XI. SOME dispute there has been among the Writers of the Church of *Rome*, whether our S. *Timothy* was the same with him, to whom *Dionysius* the *Arcopagite* dedicates the books said to be written by him; and troops of arguments are mustered on either side. But the foundation

of the controverſie is quite taken away with us, who are sufficiently assured, that those Books were written some hundreds of years after S. *Dionys* his head was laid in the dust. However it may not be improper to remarque, that besides ours, Bishop of *Ephesus*, we are told of another S. *Timothy*, Disciple also to S. *Paul*, the son of *Pudens* and *Priscilla*, who is said to have lived unto a great Age, till the times of *Antoninus* the Emperour, and *Pius* Bishop of *Rome*, and that he came over into *Britain*, converted and baptized *Lucius* King of this Island, the first King that ever embraced the Christian Faith. *Pius* Bishop of *Rome* in a Letter to *Justus* Bishop of *Vienna* (which though suspected by most, is yet owned by *Baronius*) reckons him among the *Presbyters* that had been educated by the *Apostles*, and had come to *Rome*, and tells us that he had suffered martyrdom: accordingly the *Roman Martyrology* informs us, that he obtained the Crown of Martyrdom under *Antoninus* the Emperour. A Story which as I cannot confute, so I am not over-forward to believe, nor is it of moment enough to my purpose more particularly to enquire about it.

### The End of S. TIMOTHY's Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF  
**S. TITUS**  
 BISHOP of CRETE.



*His Country enquired into. The report of his noble extract. His education and conversion to Christianity. His acquaintance with, and accompanying S. Paul to the Synod at Jerusalem. S. Pauls refusing to circumcise him, and why. His*

His attending S. Paul in his travels. Their arrival in Crete. Titus constituted by him Bishop of that Island. The testimonies of the Ancients to that purpose. The intimations of it in S. Pauls Epistle to him. S. Pauls censure of the People of Crete, justified by the account which Gentile Writers give of their evil manners. A short view of the Epistle it self. The directions concerning Ecclesiastic persons. His charge to exhort and convince gain-sayers. Crete abounding with Heretical Teachers. Jewish Fables and Genealogies what, and whence derived. The *Æones* and *συνοχαι* of the ancient Gnostics borrowed from the *Δεσπονια* of the Heathen Poets. This shewn by particular instances. Titus commanded to attend S. Paul at Nicopolis. His coming to him into Macedonia. His following S. Paul to Rome, and departure into Dalmatia. The Story of Pliny the Youngers being converted by him in Crete, censured. His age and death. The Church erected to his memory.

I.



HE ancient Writers of the Church make little mention of this holy man; who, and whence he was, is not known, but by uncertain probabilities. S. Chrysostom conjectures him to have been born at Corinth, for no other reason, but because in some ancient Copies (as still is in several Manuscripts at this day) mention is made of S. Pauls going at Corinth into the house of one [Titus] named Justus, one that worshipped. The Writers

of later Ages generally make him to be born in Crete, better known by the modern name of Candia, a noble Island (as the Historian calls it, who adds that the onely cause of the Romans making War there, was a desire to conquer so brave a Countrey,) in the *Ægean* Sea, not more famous of old for being the birth-place of Jupiter, the Sovereign of the Heathen gods, and the *Dædalean* Labyrinth said to be in it, then of late for its having been so long the seat of War between the Turkish Empe-  
rour and the State of Venice. Antiquity has not certainly conveyed down to us any particular notice of his Parents, though, might we be-  
lieve the account which some give, he was of no common extract, but of

the Blood Royal, his pedigree being derived from no less then Minos King of Crete, whom the Poets make the son of Jupiter, and for the equity of his Laws, and the impartial justice of his Government, prefer him to be one of the three great Judges in the infernal Regions, whose place

it is to determine mens future and eternal state; while Historians more truly affirm him to have been the son of Xanthus King of that Island, and that he succeeded his Father in the Kingdom. But I pass by that.

II. BUT whatever his Parentage was, we are sure that he was a Greek, probably both by Nation and Religion. The Greek Church in their public Offices, give us this account of his younger years, and conversion to Christianity: that being sprung from noble Parents, his youth was consecrated to Learning and a generous Education. At twenty years old he heard a voice, which told him, he must depart thence, that he might save his soul, for that all his Learning else would be of little advantage to him. Not satisfied with the warning, he de-

Tit. ὁ μακάριος ἐκ Μινώ. [Legend. sine dubio Minos.] ὁ βασιλεὺς Κρήτης, αἰσθηθεὶς διὰ τοῦ Ζωῆτος ὀνομασθεὶς, ὁ ἡβίον αὐτὸν (ὡς Ζωῆτος ἡμῶν) ὁ ἀγῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ Πάδῳ. Menzon Græc. Avγλ. τῇ κς. sub lit. p. 111.

ubi supr.

Τίτῳ, δὲ ὡς ἐπέσθεν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν ἀποχρῆσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ. Men. ib.

fired again to hear the voice. A year after he was again commanded in a Vision to peruse the Volume of the Jewish Law. He opened the Book, and cast his eye upon that of the Prophet, *Keep silence before me, O Islands, and let the people renew their strength: let them come near, let them speak: let us come near together to judgment, &c.* Whereupon his Uncle at that time Proconsul of Crete, having heard the fame of our Lords miracles in Judæa, sent him to Jerusalem, where he continued till Christs ascension, when he was converted by that famous Sermon of S. Peters, whereby he gained at once three thousand souls. I cannot secure the truth of this Story, though pretended to be derived out of the *Acts*, said to be written by Zenas the Lawyer, mentioned by S. Paul: an authority, I confess, which without better evidence, I dare not encourage the Reader to lay too much stress upon. Let us therefore come to some-  
what more certain and unquestionable.

III. BEING arrived in Judæa, or the parts thereabouts, and convinced of the truth and divinity of the Christian faith, he became S. Pauls Convert and Disciple, though when or where converted we find not. Likely it is, either that he followed S. Paul in the nature of a companion and attendant, or that he incorporated himself into the Church of Antioch: where when the famous controversie arose concerning Circumcision and the Mosaic Institutions, as equally necessary to be observed with the belief and practice of Christianity, they determined that Paul and Bar-  
nabas, and certain others of them should go up to Jerusalem unto the Apostles and Elders about this question; nay, a very ancient MS. adds, that when Paul earnestly persuaded them to continue in the Doctrine which they had been taught, those very Jewish Zelots who came down to Antioch, and had first started the scruple, did themselves desire Paul and Barnabas and some others to go and consult with the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem, and stand to their sentence and determination of the case. In the number of those who were sent upon this Evangelical Embassy was our S. Titus, whom S. Paul (encouraged to this journey by a particular revelation) was willing to take along with him. No sooner were they come to Jerusalem, but Spies were at hand, some zealous Jews pretending themselves to be Christian Converts, insinuated themselves into S. Pauls company and acquaintance, narrowly observing what liberty he took in point of legal Rites, that thence they might pick an accusation against him. They charged him that he preached to, and conversed with the Gentiles, and that at this very time Titus an uncircumcised Greek was his intimate familiar; a scandal which there was no way to avoid, but by circumcising him, that so it might appear that he had no design to undermine the Rites and Customs of the Law. This S. Paul (who knew when to give ground, and when to maintain his station) would by no means consent to: he who at another time was content to circumcise Timothy, a Jew by the mothers side, that he might please the Jews to their edification, and have the fairer advantage to win upon them, refused here to circumcise Titus a Gentile, that he might not seem to betray the liberties of the Gospel, harden the Jews in their unreasonable and inveterate prejudices against the Heathens, and give just ground of scandal and discouragement to the Gentiles, and make them fly off to a greater distance from Christianity. Accordingly he resisted their importunity with an invincible resolution, and his practice herein was immediately justified by the decretory Sentence of the Council, summoned to deter-  
mine this matter.

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III. THE

III. THE affair about which they were sent being dispatched in the *Synod*, he returned no doubt with *S. Paul* to *Antioch*, and thence accompanied him in his travels, till having gone over the Churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, they set sail for *Crete*. For that period of time I conceive with *\* Capellus* most probable for their going over to that Island, rather than with *\* Baroni- nius* and others to place it at *S. Paul's* coming out of *Macedonia* into *Greece*, which he supposes to have been by a Sea-voyage, passing by the *Cyclade* Islands through the *Ægean* Sea, or with *\* Grotius* to refer it till his Voyage to *Rome*, founding his conjecture upon a double mistake, that *S. Paul* and his company put in and staid at *Crete*, when 'tis onely said that *they sailed under it, and passed by it*, and that *Titus* was then in the company, whereof no footsteps or intimations appear in the Story. Sailing therefore from some Port in *Cilicia*, they arrived at *Crete*, where *S. Paul* industriously set himself to preach and propagate the Christian Faith, delighting (as much as might be) to be the first messenger of the glad tidings of the Gospel to all places where he came, not planting in another man's line, or building of things made ready to his hand. But because the care of other Churches called upon him, and would not permit him to stay long enough here to see Christianity brought to a due maturity and perfection, he constituted *Titus* Bishop of that Island, that he might nourish that infant Church, superintend its growth and prosperity, and manage the Government and Administration of it. This the Ancients with one mouth declare, *He was the first Bishop* (says *\* Eusebius*) *of the Churches in Crete: the Apostle consecrated him Bishop of it*, so *\* S. Ambrose*; so *\* Dorotheus*, and *\* Sophronius*; he was (says *\* Chrysostom*) an approved person, to whom *ἡ νῆσος*, *ἡλόκληρος*, the whole Island was intirely committed, that he might exercise power and jurisdiction over so many Bishops: he was by *S. Paul* ordained Bishop of *Crete*, though a very large Island, that he might ordain Bishops under him, says *\* Theodoret* expressly. To which might be added the testimonies of *Theophylact*, *Oecumenius*, and others, and the subscription at the end of the Epistle to *Titus*, (which though not dictated by the same hand, is ancient however) where he is said to have been ordained the first Bishop of the Church of the *Cretians*. And *\* S. Chrysostom* gives this as the reason, why of all his Disciples and Followers *S. Paul* wrote Epistles to *Titus* and *Timothy*, and not to *Silas* or *Luke*, because he had committed to them the care and government of Churches, while he reserved the others as attendants and ministers to go along with himself.

IV. NOR is this merely the arbitrary sense of Antiquity in the case, but seems evidently founded in *S. Paul's* own intimation, where he tells *Titus*, *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every City, as I had appointed thee*, that is, I constituted thee Governour of that Church, that thou mightst dispose and order the affairs of it according to the rules and directions which I then gave thee. *Ordain Elders*] he means Bishops (says *\* Chrysostom*) as elsewhere I have oft explained it. *Elders in every City*] he was not willing (as he adds) that the whole administration of so great an Island should be managed by one, but that every City might have its proper Governour to inspect and take care of it, that so the burden might be lighter by being laid upon many shoulders, and the people attended with the greater diligence. Indeed *Crete* was famous for number of Cities above any other Island in the World, thence stiled of old *Hecatompolis*, the Island of an hundred Cities. In short, plain it is, that *Titus* had

*\* Histor. Apost. ad ann. Christi. 46.*  
*\* Ad ann. 57. n. 212.*

*\* In Argum. Epist. ad Tit. Act. 27. 7.*

*\* H. Eccl. l. 3.*

*\* A. p. 73.*

*\* Pres. in Tit. p. 419. T. 5.*

*\* Dorothe. Synops. p. 148.*

*\* Ap. Hist. de Script. in Tit. l. Homil. 1. in Tit. p. 1692.*

*\* Argum. Epist. ad Tit. Tom. 3.*

*\* Argum. in 1 ad Tim. p. 1519.*

*Tit. 1. 5.*

*\* Homil. 2. in Tit. p. 1722.*  
*\* Id. titum Theoph. & Oecumen. in loc.*

had power of Jurisdiction, Ordination, and Ecclesiastical Censures, above any other Pastors or Ministers in that Church conferred and derived upon him.

V. SEVERAL years *S. Titus* continued at his charge in *Crete*, when he received a summons from *S. Paul*, then ready to depart from *Ephesus*. The Apostle had desired *Apollos* to accompany *Timothy* and some others whom he had sent to *Corinth*, but he chusing rather to go for *Crete*, by him and *Zenas* he wrote an Epistle to *Titus*, to stir him up to be active and vigilant, and to teach him how to behave himself in that station wherein he had set him. And indeed he had need of all the counsels which *S. Paul* could give him, who had so loose and untoward a generation of men to deal with. For the Countrey it self was not more fruitful and plenteous than the manners of the people were debauched and vicious. *S. Paul* puts *Titus* in mind what a bad character one of their own Poets (who certainly knew them best) had given of them:

*Tit. 1. 12.*

Κρήτες αἱ ψῦσαι, καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ, γαστέρες ἀργαί.

The *Cretians* are always Liars, Evil Beasts, Slow-bellies. This Verse *\* S. Chrysostom* supposes the Apostle took from *Callimachus*, who makes use indeed of the first part of it, charging the *Cretians* to be like themselves, notorious Liars, in pretending that *Jupiter* was not onely born, but died among them, and that they had his Tomb with this Inscription, *ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΖΑΝ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ*, Here lies *Jupiter*, when as the deity is immortal: whereupon the good Father perplexes himself with many needless difficulties in reconciling it. Whereas in truth *S. Paul* borrowed it not from *Callimachus*, but *Epimenides*, a native of *Crete*, famous among the Ancients for his Raptures and Enthusiastic divinations, *Θεοφιλὴς ὁ σοφὸς ἀπὸ τῆς αἰῶνος, ὁ ἐνδυναστεύων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ*, as *\* Plutarch* says of him. From him *Callimachus* cites part of the Verse, and applies it to his particular purpose, while *S. Paul* quotes it intire from the Author himself. This witness (says he) is true. And indeed that herein he did not bely them, we have the concurrent testimonies of most Heathen Writers, who charge the same things upon them. So famous for lying, that *Κρητίζεν* and *Κρηκίζεν* *πρὸς Κρήτην* became proverbial, to lie like a *Cretian*, and to consen a cheat, and nothing more obvious then *mendax Creta*. *\* Polybius* tells us of them, that no where could be found more subtle and deceitful Wits, and generally more wicked and pernicious Counsels; that their Manners were so very forbid and covetous, that of all men in the World the *Cretians* were the only persons who accounted nothing base or dishonest, that was but gainful and advantageous. Besides they were idle and impatient of labour, gluttonous and intemperate, unwilling to take any pains farther then to make provision for the flesh; as the natural effect of ease, idleness, and plenty, they were wanton and lascivious, and prone to the vilest and basest sort of lust, *ἀπὸ τῆς πολυπλοκῆς διαγωγῆς ἐπιπόλῳται*, (as *\* Athenæus* informs us) outrageously mad upon that sin that peculiarly derives its name from *Sodom*. And such being the case, what wonder if *S. Paul* bids *Titus* re-

Κρήτες αἱ ψῦσαι, καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ, γαστέρες ἀργαί.  
Callim. Hymn. εἰς Ἰὺδα. p. 1. παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ κρητίζεν, ὅτι τὸ ἀδιδεῖν. Vet. Schol. libi.

Κρητίζεν, τὸ ἀδιδεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πολυπλοκῇ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολυπλοκῆς. Suid. in voc. Κρητίζεν. Eadem Mich. Arctol. in eod. voc. Πάλιν ἰδιῶς αὐτὸν ἐρρα-λαοκλίνας με τὰ πρὸς τὰ ἐπιδόματα καὶ τὸν Κρήτην. Eucl. de operat. Lib. mon. p. 37.

\* Histor. l. 6. p. 681. & l. 4. p. 386. Edit. L. Bat. 17.

\* Athenæus informs us, that the name of *Sodom* is derived from the word *ἰδιῶς*, which signifies a private or secret place.

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*prove them sharply*, seeing their corrupt and depraved manners would admit of the sharpest lancets, and the most stinging corrosives he could apply to them.

VI. IN the Epistle it self the main body of it consists of rules and directions for the several ranks and relations of men : and because Spiritual and Ecclesiastical affairs are of all others most considerable, he first instructs him in the qualifications of those whom he should set apart to be Bishops, and Guides of Souls, that they be holy and harmless, innocent and inoffensive, such as had not divorced and put away their first Wife that they might marry a second, whose children were sober and regular, and trained up in the Christian Faith; that they be easie and treatable, meek and unpassionate, free from the love of Wine, and a desire after riches by sordid and covetous designs; that they be kind and hospitable, lovers of goodness and good men, modest and prudent, just and honest, strict and temperate, firm and constant in owning and asserting the Doctrines of Christianity that have been delivered to them, that being thoroughly furnished with this pure Evangelical Doctrine, they may be able both to persuade and comfort others, and mightily to convince those that resist and oppose the truth. And certainly it was not without great reason, that the Apostle required that the Guides and Governours of the Church should be thus able to *convince gain-sayers*. For whatever Authors report of *Crete*, that it bred no Serpents or venomous Creatures, yet certain it is that the poison of Errour and Heresie had insinuated it self there together with the entertainment of Christianity, there being *many unruly and vain talkers, especially they of the Circumcision*, who endeavoured to corrupt the Doctrine of the Gospel with *Jewish Fables*, groundless and unwarrantable Traditions, mystical and Cabalistic explications, and *foolish questions and genealogies*. For the *Jews*, borrowing their notions herein from the Schools of *Plato*, were fallen into a vein of deriving things from an imaginary generation, first *Binah* or Understanding, then *Achmoth* or *Cochmah* Wisdom, and so till they came to *Milcch* the Kingdom, and *Schekinah* or the Divine Presence. Much after the same rate as the Poets of old deduced the pedigrees of their gods, they had first their several *ἑνωσεις* their *conjunctions*, the coupling and mixing of things together, and thence proceeded their *ἀπογονίαι* their *genealogies* or *generations*; out of *Chaos* came *Erebus* and the dark Night, the conjunction of whom begot *Æther* and the Day, and thence *Hesiod* proceeds to explain the whole Pagan Theology concerning the original of their gods.

VII. IN imitation of all which, and from a mixture of all together the *Valentinians*, *Basilidians*, and the rest of the *Gnostic* crew formed the senseless and unintelligible Schemes of their *Πλάσματα* and XXX *Æones*, divided into three Classes of Conjunction; in the first were four couples, *Profundity* and *Silence*, *Mind* and *Truth*, the *Word* and *Life*, *Man* and the *Church*: in the second five, viz. *Profound* and *Mixture*, *Ageratus* and *Union*, &c. in the third six, the *Paraclete* and *Faith*, *Patricos* and *Hope*, &c. Of all which if any desire to know more, they may (if they can understand it) find enough in *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and *Epiphanius*, to this purpose. The last of whom not onely affirms exprelly

that *Valentinus* and his Party introduced *ἐθνομύθεον ποιήσαν*, the fabulous and Poetic fancies of the Heathens, but draws a particular parallel between *Hesiod's Theogonia*, and their thirty *Æones* or *Ages*, consisting of

of fifteen Couples or Conjugations, Male and Female, which he shews exactly to agree both in the number, design, and order of them. For instance, *Valentinus* his Tribe begins thus;

<i>Ampsin</i>	}	that is	}	Profundity
<i>Auraan</i>				Silence.
<i>Bucua</i>	}		}	Mind
<i>Tharthun</i>				Truth.
<i>Ubucua</i>	}		}	Word
<i>Thardeadie</i>				Life.
<i>Merexa</i>	}		}	Man
<i>Atarbarba</i>				Church.
<i>&amp;c.</i>				&c.

All which was nothing but a trifling and fantastical imitation of *Hesiod's* Progeny and generation of the gods, which being joined in conjugations succeeded in this order; *Chaos, Night; Erebus, Earth; Æther, Day; &c.* There being (as he observes) no difference between the one Scheme and the other, but onely the change and alteration of the names. This may suffice for a *Spectamen* to shew whence this idle Generation borrowed their extravagant conceits, though there were that had set much what the like on foot be-

fore the time of *Valentinus*. By such dark and wild notions and principles the *false Apostles* both in *Crete* and elsewhere, fought to undermine the Christian Doctrine, mixing it also with principles of great looseness and liberty, that they might the easier insinuate themselves into the affections of men, whereby they brought over numerous Profelytes to their Party, of whom *they made merchandisè*, gaining sufficient advantage to themselves. So that 'twas absolutely necessary that these mens mouths should be stopped, and that they should not be suffered to go on under a shew of such lofty and sublime speculations, and a pretence of Christian liberty, to pervert men from the Christian Religion, and the plainness and simplicity of the Gospel. Having done with Ecclesiastics, he proceeds to give directions for persons of all Ages and Capacities, whether old or young, men or women, children or servants, and then of more public concernment, Rulers and People, and indeed how to deport our selves in the general carriage of our lives. In the close of the Epistle he wishes him to furnish *Zenas* and *Apollos*, the two Apostolical Messengers by whom this Letter was conveyed to him, with all things necessary for their return, commanding that he himself with all convenient speed should meet him at *Nicopolis* (though where that was is not certain, whether *Nicopolis* in *Epirus*, so called from *Augustus* his Victory there over *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, -or rather *Nicopolis* in *Thrace*, upon the River *Nessus*, not far from the borders of *Macedonia*, whither *S. Paul* was now going, or some other City, whereof many in those parts of that name) where he had resolved to spend his Winter. And that by with-

Καὶ αὐτὴ ἤν ἡρὶ ἡρικιστὰ ἀλάνον παρ' αὐτοῖς μυδοποικλῆν τετραγώνια, καὶ ἡ χτ' οὐζυρίαν πνιδματικὴν διῆεν παρὰ τὴν ἡρὶ χαροποιαν, ἢ ἐν περ (συγκληνόν τῇ ἡρὶ) ἡποδῶ καὶ Σποισίον καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοῖς ποικλῆς ἡ ἐλλῆλον ὁφθῆν, εὐρεῖσθαι τε περὶ τὴν περ αὐτῇ ὄντι, καὶ ἕνεν ἕτερον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς τετραγώνου οὗτος ὡς ἕνεν ἕτερον θαυμαστον εἶναι ἡρὶ θαυμαστον αὐτοῖς, καὶ μνησθῆναι τὸς ἐπερὶ τὸν οὐκ ἔχοντι λέγειν ὡς ἐν τῷ ἀλλο, ἢ ἐλλῆλον ἀπαικῆσαντο ὅτι ὁπταστον ποικλῆν ἔχον ὡς ἐν τῷ παλῆν καὶ ὁπταστον, ὡς ἐν ἀλλοῖς αὐτοῖς, πλὴν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁφθῆν ποικλῆς βερβῶ εὐκλῆς ὁνομαστοῖς. Ibid.

Tic. 1. 114

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod. Theogon. p. m. 466.

bHerf. XXXI  
pag. 76. vid. Ter-  
tull. de Pre-  
script. Heret. c.  
7. p. 264.

drawing so useful and vigilant a Shepherd he might not seem to expose his Flock to the fury and the rage of the Wolves, he promises to send *Artemas* or *Tychicus* to supply his place during his absence from them.

VIII. S. PAUL departing from *Ephesus* was come to *Troas*, where though he had a fair opportunity to preach the Gospel offered to him, yet (as himself tells us) *he had no rest in his spirit, because he found not Titus his brother*, whom he impatiently expected to bring him an account of the state of the Church of *Corinth*; whether *Titus* had been with him, and been sent upon this errand, or had been commanded by him to take *Corinth* in his way from *Crete*, is not known. Not meeting him here, away he goes for *Macedonia*, where at length *Titus* arrived and comforted him under all his other sorrows and difficulties, with the joyful news of the happy condition of the Church of *Corinth*, and how readily they had reformed those miscarriages, which in his former Epistle he had charged upon them, fully making good that great character which he had given of them to *Titus*, and whereof they gave no inconsiderable evidence in that kind and welcom entertainment which *Titus* found amongst them. Soon after S. Paul having received the Collections of the *Macedonian* Churches for the indigent Christians at *Jerusalem*, sent back *Titus* and with him S. Luke to *Corinth*, to excite their charity, and prepare their contributions against his own arrival there, and by them he wrote his second Epistle to that Church.

IX. TITUS faithfully discharged his errand to the Church of *Corinth* and having dispatched the services for which he was sent, returned, we may suppose, back to *Crete*. Nor do we hear any further news of him till S. Paul's imprisonment at *Rome*, whither he came (if my Author say true) about two years after him, and continued with him till his martyrdom, whereat he was present, and together with S. Luke committed him to his Grave. An account, which I confess I am the less inclined to believe, because assured by S. Paul himself, that before his death *Titus* had left him, and was gone into *Dalmatia*, a Province of *Illyricum*, to plant that fierce and warlike Nation with the Gospel of Peace, taking it probably in his way in order to his return for *Crete*. And this is the last notice we find taken of him in the Holy Writings, nor do the Records of the Church henceforward furnish us with any certain *Memoirs* or *Remarks* concerning him. Indeed were the Story which some tell us true, one thing alone were enough to make him memorable to posterity, I mean his converting *Pliny the Younger*, that learned and eloquent man, *Proconsul* of *Bithynia*, and intimate Privy Counsellor to *Trajan* the Emperour. For so they tell us<sup>b</sup>, that returning from his Province in *Bithynia*, he landed in *Crete*, where the Emperour had commanded him to erect a Temple to *Jupiter*: which was accordingly done, and no sooner finished, but S. Titus cursed it, and it immediately tumbled to the ground. The man, you may guess, was strangely troubled, and came with tears to the Holy man, to request his counsel, who advised him to begin it in the name of the God of the Christians, and it would not fail to prosper. He did so, and having finished it, was himself, together with his son baptized. Nay some to make the Story perfect, add, that he suffered martyrdom for the Faith at *Novocomum* a City of *Insubria* in *Italy*, where he was born. The Reader I presume will not expect I should take pains to confute this Story, sufficiently improbable in itself, and which I behold as just of the same Metal, and coined in the same

<sup>a</sup> Pet. de Natal. Hist. SS. lib. 7. c. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Tim. 4. 10.

<sup>b</sup> Pet. de Natal. loc. cit. ex All. S. Titi à Zena (uti fertur) script. Fl. Pler-do-Dext. Chron. ad Ann. CCXX.

same Mint with that of his Master *Trajan's* soul being delivered out of Hell by the prayers of S. Gregory the Great, so gravely told, so seriously believed by many, not in the Greek Church only, but in the Church of *Rome*: nay, which the whole *East* and *West*, (if we may believe *Damasen*) held to be *γνήσιον & ἀδιάβλητον*, true and uncontrollable.

X. S. TITUS lived, as the Ancients tell us, to a great age, dying about the ninety fourth year of his life. He died in peace (says<sup>b</sup> *Sophronius* and *Isidore*) and lies buried in *Crete*: the *Roman Martyrology* adds, that he was buried in that very Church, wherein S. Paul ordained him Bishop of that Island. I understand him where a Church was afterwards built, it not being likely there should be any at that time. At *Candia*, the *Metropolis* of the Island, there is, or lately was, an ancient and beautiful Church dedicated to S. Titus, wherein under the high Altar his remains are said to be honourably laid up, and are both by the *Greeks* and *Latins* held in great veneration. Though what is become of them since that famous City lately fell into the hands of the *Turk*, that great Scourge of Christendom, is to me unknown. His Festival is celebrated in the *Western Church* on the IV day of *January*, in the *Greek Church* *August* the XXV, and among the Christians in *Aegypt* (as appears by the *Arabic Calendar* published by *Mr. Selden*) the XXII of the Moneth *Barmabath*, answering to our *March* the XVIII, is consecrated to his memory.

<sup>a</sup> Damasien. *Serm. cœl. 83. c. 15. κενοίη.*

<sup>b</sup> Ap. Hieron. de Script. in Tito. *c. De vit. & ob. SS. c. 87. p. 542. Ad diem. IV Jan. p. 16.*

<sup>c</sup> Cotovic. *Tit. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 60.*

<sup>d</sup> De Syedr. *Tom. 3. c. 15. p. 396.*

### The End of S. TITUS's Life.

THE LIFE OF  
**S. DIONYSIUS**  
 THE  
 AREOPAGITE.



*S. DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITA.*

*Dionysius born at Athens. The quality of his Parents. His Domestic studies. His foreign Travels. Egypt frequented as the staple place of all recondite Learning. His residence at Heliopolis. The strange and mi-  
 raculous*

raculous Eclipse at our Saviours Passion. Dionysius his remarques upon it. His return to Athens, and being made one of the Judges of the Areopagus. The nature of this Court : the number and quality of its Judges. S. Paul arraigned before it : his discourse, and its success. Dionysius his conversion. His further instruction by Hierotheus. Hierotheus, who. Dionysius constituted Bishop of Athens. A brief account of his Story according to those that confound him with Dionysius Bishop of Paris. These shewn to be distinct. The Original and procedure of the mistake enquired into. A probable account given of it. Dionysius his Martyrdom at Athens, and the time of it. A fabulous miracle reported of his Scull. The description of the person, and the hyperbolic commendations which the Greeks give him. The Books ascribed to him. These none of his. Apollinaris (probably) shewed to be the Author of them. Several passages of the Ancients noted to that purpose. Books why oft published under other mens names. These Books the Fountain of Enthusiasm and mystical Theology. A passage in them insinuated in to that purpose.

I.



**DIONYSIUS** was born at Athens, the Eye of Greece, and Fountain of Learning and Humanity, the only place that without competition had for so many Ages maintained an uncontrolled reputation for Arts and Sciences, and to which there was an universal confluence of persons from all parts of the World to accomplish themselves in the more polite and useful Studies.

Though we find nothing particularly concerning his Parents, yet we may safely conclude them to have been persons of a noble quality, at least of a better rank than ordinary, seeing none were admitted to be Areopagite Judges (as one who knew very well informs us) Πάλω οἱ καλῶς γυνόντες, ἐ πολλῶ ἀρετῶ ἐ Καρτερύτω ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἐκπαιδευμένοι, unless they were nobly born, and eminently exemplary for a vertuous and a sober life. Being born in the very midst of Arts and Civility, his education could not but be learned and ingenuous, especially considering the advantages of his birth and fortunes. Accordingly he was<sup>b</sup> instructed in all the learned Sciences of Greece, wherein he made such vast improvements, that he easily out-strip any of his time: scarce any Sect or Institution in Philosophy then in vogue, which he had not considered and made trial of: it does not indeed appear to which of them he particularly devoted and applied himself; and they who suppose him to have addicted himself to the School of Plato, do it, I conceive for no other reason, then because the Doctrin contained in the Books that bear his name, seems so neer of kin to the principles of that noble Sect.

II. BUT it was not an homebred Institution, or all the advantages which Athens could afford, that could fill the vast capacities of his mind, which he therefore resolved to polish and improve by foreign Travels. Being in the prime and vigour of his Youth, about the age of XXV years, he took with him one Apolophanes a Rhetorician, his fellow-student, and (if<sup>a</sup> Syncellus say true) his Kinsman, who was afterwards at Smyrna, Master to Polemon the Laodicean, as he was to Aristides the famous Philosopher and Apologist for the Christians. Thus furnished with a suitable Companion, he is said to have gone for Egypt, to converse

<sup>a</sup> Hier. Orat. Areopag. p. 147. vid. Maxim. Prolog. Oper. S. Dionys. Pref. p. 34.

<sup>b</sup> Said. in voc. Anecd. p. 743.

<sup>c</sup> Said. ubi sup. Maxim. Pa-chym. Syncell. aliique plures. <sup>d</sup> Encom. S. Dionys. p. 349. Tom. 1

with their Philosophers and Wise Men, that he might perfect himself in the Study of the Mathematics, and the more mysterious and recondite parts of Learning. Egypt had in all Ages been looked upon as the prime School not onely of Astrology, but of the more abstruse and uncommon speculations of Theology; and the great Masters of Wisdom and Divinity among the Gentiles never thought they had gained enough, till they had crowned their Studies by conversing with the Egyptian Sages. Hence it was frequented by Orpheus, Homer, Solon, Thales, by Pythagoras and Plato, and whom not? nay of Pythagoras Clemens of Alexandria reports that he suffered himself to be circumcised, that so he might be admitted ἐς τὰ ἄδύτα, to the concealed Rites and Notions of their Religion, and be acquainted with their secret and mystical Philosophy. The place he fixed at was Heliopolis, a City between Coptus and Alexandria, where the Egyptian Priests for the most resided, as a place admirably advantagious for the contemplation of the Heavenly bodies, and the Study of Philosophy and Astronomy; and where Strabo (who lived much about this time) tells us he was shewed the habitations of the Priests, and the apartments of Plato and Eudoxus, who lived here thirteen years; nay, a very ancient Historian assures us, that Abraham himself lived here, and taught the Egyptian Priests Astronomy, and other parts of Learning.

III. DIONYSIUS no doubt plied his Studies in this place, during whose stay there, one memorable accident is reported. The Son of God about this time was delivered up at Jerusalem to an acute and shameful death by the hands of Violence and Injustice; when the Sun, as if ashamed to behold so great a wickedness, hid his head, and put on mourning to wait upon the Funerals of its Maker. This Eclipse was contrary to all the known Rules and Laws of Nature, it hapning in a Full Moon, when the Moon is in its greatest distance from the Sun, and consequently not liable to a conjunction with him, the Moon moving it self under the Sun from its Oriental to its Occidental point, and thence back by a retrograde motion, causing a strange defection of light for three hours together. That there was such a wonderful and preternatural darkness over all the Earth for three hours at the time of our Saviours suffering, whereby the Sun was darkened, is unanimously attested by the Evangelical Historians; and not by them onely, but Phlegon Trallianus sometimes servant to the Emperour Trajan, speaks of an Eclipse of the Sun that hapned about that time, Μεγάλη τῇ ἐγνωστομένην πέντε ὥραις, the greatest of any that had been ever known, whereby the day was turned into night, and the Stars appeared at noon-day, an Earthquake also accompanying it, whereby many houses at Nice in Bithynia were overturned. Apolophanes beholding this strange Eclipse, cried out to Dionysius that these were changes and revolutions of some great affairs, to whom the other replied, that either God suffered, or at least sympathized and bore part with him that did. I confess these passages are not to be found in the most ancient Writers of the Church: but that ought to be no just exception, when we consider what little care was then taken to consign things to writing, and how great a part of those few ancient Records that were written were quickly lost, whereof Eusebius sufficiently complains; not to say, that a great many writings might, and did escape his notice; and Maximus, I remember, answering the objection, that the Books ascribed to S. Denys are not mentioned by Eusebius, tells us, that

<sup>a</sup> Stromat. lib. 1. p. 302.

<sup>b</sup> Geograph. lib. 17. p. 806.

<sup>c</sup> Alexand. Polyhist. Hist. de Judæis ap. Euseb. pr. op. Evang. l. 9. c. 17. p. 419.

<sup>d</sup> Chronic. lib. 13. apud Euseb. Chron. ad Ann. Chr. XXXII. vid. Græc. ET. AT. p. 202. vid. Orig. contr. Cels. l. 2. p. 80. <sup>e</sup> Chron. Alexandr. ad Ann. Tiber. XVIII. Indict. 4. Olympiad. CCII. 4. p. 520.

<sup>f</sup> Prolog. ante oper. S. Dionys. p. 35.

himself had met with several pieces of the Ancients, of which not the least footstep in *Eusebius*. But however that be, it concludes not against the matter of fact, many things though never entered upon Record, being as to the substance of them, preserved by constant Tradition and Report. I deny not but that the several Authors who report this passage, might immediately derive it out of the Epistles said to be written to *S. Polycarp* and *Apollophanes*. But then cannot suppose that the Author of these Epistles did purely feign the matter of fact of his own head, but rather delivered what Tradition had conveyed down to his time. Indeed that which would more shrewdly shake the foundation of the Story, if it be true, is what *Origen* supposes, that this *darkness* that was over all the Earth, and the Earthquake that attended our Lords Passion, extended no farther then *Judaea*, as some of the Prodigies no farther then *Jerusalem*. But to what degrees of truth or probability that opinion may approve it self, I leave to others to enquire.

IV. *DIONYSIUS* having finished his Studies at *Heliopolis*, returned to *Athens*, incomparably fitted to serve his Countrey, and accordingly was advanced to be one of the Judges of the *Areopagus*, a place of great honour and renown. The *Areopagus* was a famous Senate-house built upon a Hill in *Athens*, wherein assembled their great Court of Justice, ἡ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι δικαστηρίων τιμωρίων & ἀγώνων, as <sup>b</sup> one calls it, the most sacred and venerable Tribunal in all Greece. Under their cognizance came all the greater and more capital Causes, and especially matters of Religion, blasphemy against the gods, and contempt of the holy mysteries; and therefore *S. Paul* was arraigned before this Court, as a setter forth of strange gods, when he preached to them concerning *Jesus* and *Anastasis*, or the Resurrection. None might be of this Council but persons of birth and quality, wise and prudent men, and of very strict and severe manners, and so great an awe and reverence did this solemn and grave Assembly strike into those that sat in it, that <sup>c</sup> *Isocrates* tells us, that in his time, when they were somewhat degenerated from their ancient Vertue, however otherwise men were irregular and exorbitant, yet once chosen into this Senate, they presently ceased from their vicious inclinations, and chose rather to conform to the Laws and Manners of that Court, ἢ ἢ αἰσθητοὺς κακίας ἐμμένειν, then to continue in their wild and debauch'd course of life. They were exactly upright and impartial in their proceedings, and heard causes at night, or in the dark, that the person of the Plaintiff or the Pleader might have no undue influence upon them. Their sentence was decretory and final, and from their determination lay no appeal. Their number was uncertain, by some restrained to nine, by others enlarged to thirty one, by others to fifty one, and to more by some. Indeed the *Novemviri*, who were the *Basileus* or King, the *Archon*, the *Polemarchus*, and the six *Thesmothetæ*, were the constant Seminary and Nursery of this great Assembly, who having discharged their several Offices, annually passed into the *Areopagus*, and therefore when *Socrates* was condemned by this Court, we find no less then two hundred fourscore and one, giving their Votes against

him, besides those whose *White Stones* were for his absolution: and in an ancient Inscription upon a Column in the *Acropolis* at *Athens*, erected to the memory of *Rufus Feslus*, *Proconsul* of

Greece, and one of these Judges, mention is made of the *Areopagite Senate* of three hundred.

V. IN

V. IN this grave and venerable judicature fate our *S. Denys*, when *S. Paul* about the year XLIX or L, came to *Athens*, where he resolutely asserted the cause of Christianity against the attempts of the *Stoic* and *Epicurean* Philosophers, who mainly appeared against it. The *Athenians*, who were infinitely curious and superstitious in matters of Religion, not knowing what to make of this new and strange Doctrine that he taught, presently brought him before the *Areopagite* Senate, to whom the proper cognizance of such causes did belong. Here in a neat and eloquent discourse, delivered not with greater freedom of mind, then strength of reason, he plainly demonstrated the folly and absurdity of those many vain deities, whom they blindly worshipped, explained to them that infinite Being that made and governed the World, and what indispensable obligations he had laid upon all Mankind to worship and adore him, and how much he had enforced all former engagements to gratitude and obedience, to repentance and reformation by this last and best dispensation, by sending his Son to publish so excellent a Religion to the World. His discourse however entertained by some with scorn and laughter, and gravely put off by others, yet wanted not a happy influence upon many, whom it convinced of the reasonableness and divinity of the Christian Faith: among whom was our *Dionysius*, one of the Judges that fate upon him, and *Damaris* his wife (for so <sup>a</sup> *S. Chrysostom* and others make her) and probably his whole house. An <sup>b</sup> Author (I confess I know not by what Authority) relates a particular dispute between *Dionysius* and *S. Paul* concerning the *Unknown God*, who as God-man was to appear in the latter Ages to reform the World; this the Apostle shewed to be the Holy *Jesus*, lately come down from Heaven, and so satisfied *S. Denys* that he prayed him to intercede with Heaven, that he might be fully confirmed in this belief. The next day *S. Paul* having restored sight to one that was born blind, charged him to go to *Dionysius*, and by that token claim his promise to be his Convert; who being amazed at this sight, readily renounced his Idolatry, and was with his house baptized into the Faith of Christ. But I know the credit of my Author too well to lay any great stress upon this relation, and the rather because I find that *Baronius* himself is not willing to venture his Faith upon it. To which I might add <sup>c</sup> *S. Chrysostom's* observation, that the *Areopagite* was converted ἀπὸ δημοφιλίας μόνως, onely by *S. Paul's* discourse, there being no miracle that we know of, that might promote and further it.

VI. BEING baptized, he was, we are <sup>d</sup> told, committed to the care and tutorage of *S. Hierothens*, to be by him further instructed in the Faith, a person not so much as mentioned by any of the Ancients, which creates with me a vehement suspicion, that it is onely a feigned name, and that no such person ever really was in the World. Indeed the <sup>e</sup> *Greek Metaphr.* *Metaphr.* makes him to have been one of the Nine Senators of the *Areopagus*, to have been converted by *S. Paul*, and by him made Bishop of *Athens*, and then appointed Tutor to *S. Denys*. Others make him by birth a *Spaniard*, first Bishop of *Athens*, and then travelling into his own Countrey, Bishop of *Segovia* in *Spain*. And both I believe with equal truth. Nor probably had such a person ever been thought of, had there not been some intimations of such an instructor in *Dionysius* his Works, confirmed by the *Scholasts* that writ upon him, and afterwards by others improved into a formal Story: As for *S. Dionysius* he is made to travel with *S. Paul* for three years after his Conversion, and then to have been

<sup>a</sup> *De Act.*  
XXXX. in  
Matth. fol. vi.  
89. col. 1.

<sup>b</sup> *Arifid. Tom.*  
1. p. 331.

<sup>c</sup> *Loco sup. citat.*

<sup>d</sup> *De Act. l. 2.*  
in *Act. Sacrat.*  
p. 115.

— Η ΕΞ ΑΡΕΟΠΑΓΙΤΩΝ ΒΟΥΛΗ  
ΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗ-  
ΜΟΣ Ο ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ — *Cetera*  
*de Act. R. Pelatarian. Comment. lib. vi. l. 8.*  
fol. 318.

<sup>a</sup> *De factis.*  
l. 4. c. 7. p. 67. l.  
4. *Ambr. Epist.*  
82. p. 198. tom.  
3.  
<sup>b</sup> *Child. in passio.*  
*S. Dionys. l. 6. c. 7.*  
<sup>c</sup> *8. ap. S. Orob.*  
IX. p. 122.

<sup>d</sup> *Loc. sup. citat.*

<sup>e</sup> *S. Metaphr.*  
ap. *S. ibid.*  
*Maxim. Synect.*  
ubi sup. *Pseudo-*  
*Dionys. de di-*  
*vin. nomin. c. 2.*  
p. 175. l. 1.  
<sup>f</sup> *T. 8. d. 7. v. 2.*  
*Geop.*

<sup>g</sup> *Pseudo-Dext.*  
*Chron. ad ann.*  
clv. lxxi.

been constituted by him Bishop of *Athens*; so that it was necessary it seems to pack *Hierothens* into *Spain*, that room might be made for him. Indeed that *Dionysius* was, and that without any affront to *S. Hierothens*, the first Bishop of *Athens*, we are assured by 'an Authority that cannot be doubted, \* *Dionysius* the famous Bishop of *Corinth* (who lived not long after him) expressly affirming it; and <sup>b</sup> *Nicephorus* adds, what is probable enough, that it was done with *S. Pauls* own hands. I shall but mention his journey to *Jerusalem* to meet the Apostles, who are said to have come from all parts of the World to be present at the last hours of the *Blessed Virgin*, and his several Visitations of the Churches in *Phrygia* and *Achaia*, to plant or confirm the Faith.

VII. ALL which, supposing they were true, yet here we must take our leave. For now the Writers of his Life generally make him prepare for a much longer journey. Having settled his affairs at *Athens*, and substituted a Successor in his See, he is said to go to *Rome* (a brief account of things shall suffice, where no truth lies at the bottom:) at *Rome* he was dispatched by *S. Clemens* into *France*, where he planted the Faith, and founded an Episcopal See at *Paris*, whence after many years, about the ninetieth year of his Age, he returned into the *East*, to converse with *S. John* at *Ephesus*, thence back again to *Paris*, where he suffered martyrdom, and among infinite other miracles reported of him, he is said to have taken up his head, after it had been cut off by the Executioners, and to have carried it in his hands (an Angel going before, and an heavenly *Chorus* attending him all the way) for two miles together, till he came to the place of his interment, where he gently laid it and himself down, and was there honourably entombed. This is the sum of a very tedious Story. A Story so improbable in it self, so directly contrary to what <sup>c</sup> *Severus Sulpitius* affirms, that none were martyred for the Faith in *France*, till the fifth Persecution under the reign of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*; that I shall not spend much time in its confutation. Especially when the thing has been unanswerably done by so many learned and ingenious men in the Church of *Rome*, and by none more effectually then *Sirmond* and *Launoy*, who have cleared it beyond all possibilities of just exception.

VIII. INDEED we find in several very ancient <sup>d</sup> *Martyrologies*, as also in <sup>e</sup> *Gregory* Bishop of *Tours*, who reports it out of the *Acts* of *Saturninus* the Martyr, that one *Dionysius* with some others was sent by the Bishop of *Rome* into *France* in the time of *Decius* the Emperour, *Ann. Chr. CCL.* where he preached the Christian Faith, and became Bishop of *Paris*, and after great torments and sufferings, was beheaded for his resolute and constant profession of Religion, and accordingly his martyrdom is recorded in the most ancient *Martyrologies*, upon a day distinct from that of the *Athenian Dionysius*, and the same miracles ascribed to him, that are reported of the other. And that this was the first and true foundation of the Story, I suppose no wise man will doubt. Nor indeed is the least mention made of any such thing, I am sure not any in Writer of Name and Note, till the times of <sup>f</sup> *Charles the Great*: When <sup>g</sup> *Ludovicus* Emperour, and King of *France* wrote to *Hilduin* Abbot of *S. Denys*, to pick up what ever *Memoirs* he could find concerning him, either in the Books of the *Greeks* or *Latines*, or such Records as they had at home, and to digest and compile them into orderly Tracts. He did so, and furnished out a very large and particular

\* Apud Euseb.  
H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 4.  
p. 74. & l. 4. c.  
23. p. 144.  
b Niceph. H. Eccl.  
l. 2. c. 20. p. 167.

c Sac. Hist. lib.  
2. pag. 143.

d Sward. Mart.  
tyr. Calend.  
Ostob. & VII.  
Id. Ostob. Mart.  
tyr. Bede VII.  
Id. Ostob.  
e Greg. Turon.  
Hist. Franc.  
lib. 1. c. 28. p.  
263. Edit. Du.  
Chesn.

f Vid. Epist. e.  
jus. & Hilduin.  
Rescript. apud  
Sur. loc. citat.

ticular relation, which was quickly improved and defended by *Hinemar* Bishop of *Rhemes*, Scholar to *Hilduin*, and *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* of *Rome*, to whom the *Greek* Writers of that and the following Ages readily gave their Vote and Suffrage. Nor has a late <sup>a</sup> Author much mentioned the matter in point of antiquity, who tells us that in a convention of Bishops in *France* held *Ann. DCCCXXV.* ten years before *Hilduin* wrote his *Arcopagitics*, mention is made of *S. Dionysius* his being sent into *France* by *Clemens S. Peters* Successor. For we can easily allow that there might about that time be some blind and obscure Tradition, though the fragment of the *Synod*, which he there produces, speaks not one syllable of this *Dionysius* his being the *Arcopagite*, or having any relation to *Athens*. In short the case seems plainly this:

IX. *HILDUIN* set on by his potent Patron, partly that he might exalt the honour of *France*, partly to advance the reputation of his particular Convent, finding an obscure *Dionysius* to have been Bishop of *Paris*, removes him an Age or two higher, and makes him the same with him of *Athens*, a person of greater honour and veneration, and partly from the Records, partly from the Traditions current among themselves, draws up a formal account of him from first to last; adding 'tis like what he thought good of his own, to make up the Story. These Commentaries of his, we may suppose, were quickly conveyed to *Rome*, where being met with by the *Greeks*, who came upon frequent Embassies to that See about that time, they were carried over to *Constantinople*, out of which *Methodius* (who had himself been *Aprocrisarius* or Embassador from *Nicephorus* the *Greek Patriarch* to *Pope Paschal* at *Rome*, and after infinite troubles was advanced to the *Patriarchat* of *Constantinople*,) furnishes himself with materials to write the life of *Dionysius*: for that he had them not out of the Records of his own Church is plain, in that when *Hilduin* set upon composing his *Arcopagitics*, he expressly says<sup>b</sup>, that the *Greeks* had written nothing concerning the Martyrdom of *S. Denys*, the particulars whereof, by reason of the vast distance, they could not attain. Out of *Hilduin* therefore, or at least some reports of that time, *Methodius* must needs derive his intelligence; but most probably from *Hilduin*, between whose relation and that of *Methodius*, there is so exact an agreement, not only in particular passages, but oft-times in the very same words, as <sup>c</sup> *Monsieur Launoy* has demonstrated by a particular collation. *Methodius* his Tract was by the *Greek* Embassadors quickly brought from *Constantinople* to *Rome*, where <sup>d</sup> *Anastasius* confesses he met with it, translated it into *Latine*, and thence transmitted it into *France*, where it was read, owned, and published by <sup>e</sup> *Hinemar*, as appears by his Epistle to *Charles* the Emperour. Where he plainly tells us, that no sooner had he read this Life written by *Methodius*, but he found it admirably to agree with what he had read in his Youth (he means I doubt not, the Writings of *Hilduin*) by whom and how the *Acts* of *S. Denys* and his companions came to the knowledge of the *Romans*, and thence to the notice of the *Greeks*. This is the most likely pedigree and procedure of the Story that I can think of; and from hence how easy was it for the after-Writers both of the *Western* and the *Eastern* Church to swallow down a Story, thus plausibly litted to their taste? Nor had the *Greeks* any reason over-nicely to examine, or reject what made so much for the honour of their Church and Nation, and seemed to lay not *France* only, but the whole *Western* Church under an obligation to them, for furnish-

a J. Mabillon.  
not. ad Epist.  
Hinemar. inter  
Analekt. Vetus.  
p. 63.

b Rescript. ad  
Ludov. Imper. n.  
10. ibid.

c Respons. diff.  
cuss. cap. 9. p.  
120.

d Epist. ad Carol.  
calv. Imp.  
apud. Sur. ibid.  
p. 132.

e Extat apud.  
Sur. ubi sup. &  
Mabillon. loci  
citat.

ing them with so great and excellent a person. But to return to our *Dionysius*.

X. **THOUGH** we cannot doubt but that he behaved himself with all diligence and fidelity in the discharge of his Office; yet because the Ancients have conveyed down no particulars to our hands, we shall not venture upon reports of false, or at best doubtful credit. Nothing of certainty can be recovered of him, more than what *Aristides* the Christian Philosopher (who himself lived, and was probably born at *Athens*, not long after *Dionysius*) relates in the *Apology* which he published for the Christian Religion, that after a most resolute and eminent confession of the Faith, after having undergone several of the severest kinds of torment, he gave the last and great testimony to it, by laying down his life. This was done, as is most probable, under the reign of *Domitian*, as is confessed (betraid into it by a secret instinct of truth) by Abbot *Hilduin*, *Methodius*, and their followers: while others extend it to the times of *Trajan*, others to the reign of *Adrian*, who entered upon the Empire *Ann.* CXVII. partly that they might leave room enough for the account which they give of him, partly to preserve the Authority of his Writings, wherein a passage is cited out of *Ignatius* his Epistles, written just before his Martyrdom, *Ann.* CVII. The Reader I hope will not expect from me an account of the miracles said to be done by him either before or since his death, or of the fierce contests that are between several places in the *Roman* Church concerning his Reliques. One passage however I shall not omit. In a Village in *Luxemburg* not far from *Treves* is a Church dedicated to *S. Denys*, wherein is kept his Scull, at least a piece of it, on the Crown whereof there is a white Cross while the other parts of the Scull are black. This common Tradition, and some <sup>b</sup> Authors to avouch it, will have to be made, when *S. Paul* laid his hands upon him at his consecration. Which if so, I have no more to observe, but that *Orders* (which the Church of *Rome* make a Sacrament) did here even in a literal sense confer an *indeleble character* and mark upon him.

XI. **HIS** *τύπος* *σωματικῶς*, the shape and figure of his body is by the *Greek* *Menæon* thus described: he was of a middle stature, slender, fair, but inclining to paleness, his nose gracefully bending, hollow-eyed with short eye-brows, his ear large, his hair thick and white, his beard moderately long, but very thin. For the image of his mind expressed in his discourses, and the excellent conduct of his life, the *Greeks* according to their magnifying humour as well as language, bestow most hyperbolic elogies and commendations on him. They stile him, *ἱεροφάντης*, *ὁ τῶν ἀποκρύπτων θεωρῶν*, the Sacred Interpreter and contemplator of hidden and unspeakable mysteries, and an unsearchable depth of heavenly knowledge; *πριαδὴν* *θεολογῶν*, *τῶν ὑπὸ ἑννοίᾳ ζωοποιῶν χειρισμάτων* *θεοφόρον ὄργανον*, the *Trinity-Divine*, the divine instrument of those enlivening graces that are above all comprehension. They say of him that his life was wonderful, his discourse more wonderful; his tongue full of light, his mouth breathing an holy fire; but his mind *ἀκεχῶς* *θεοειδές* *τῶν*, most exactly like to God; with a great deal more of the like nature up and down their Offices. And certainly were the notions which he has given us of the celestial Hierarchy and Orders of Angels, and the things of that supramundane State, as clear and certain, as some would persuade us, he might deserve that title which

<sup>a</sup> others

<sup>a</sup> others give him *πτερόγιον ἢ πτερόν* *τῷ ἑρᾶν*, the *Wing, or the Bird of Heaven*.

XII. **THE** great and evident demonstration of his Wisdom and Eloquence, we are told<sup>b</sup>, are the Works which he left behind him, the *Notions* and *Language* wherewith they are clothed, being so lofty and sublime, as are scarcely capable to be the issue of a meer mortal creature. Books infinitely intricate and perplex (as our Countryman *Johannes Scotus*, who first translated them into *Latine*, tells us) far beyond the reach of Modern apprehensions, and which few are able to pierce into, both for their Antiquity, and sublimeness of those Heavenly Mysteries, whereof they treat. A Work so grateful to all speculative Enquirers, into the natures of things, and the more abstruse and recondite parts of Learning, that (if *Snidas* say true) some of the Heathen Philosophers, and particularly *Proclus*, often borrows not onely his notions, but his very words and phrases from him; whence he suspects, that some of the Philosophers at *Athens* stole those Books of his mentioned in the Epistle Dedicatory to *S. Timothy*, and which now are wanting, and published them under their own names. But had I been to make the conjecture, I should rather have suspected that this *Pseudo-Dionysius* fetched his speculations, and good part of his expressions from *Plotinus*, *Iamblichus*, and the rest of the later *Platonists*. For certainly one egg is not more like another, then this mans Divinity is like the Theology of that School, especially as explained by the Philosophers who lived in the first Ages of Christianity. That our *Dionysius* was not the Author of the Books at this day extant under his name, I shall not concern my self to shew. For however it be contended for by many with all imaginable zeal and stiffness, yet want there not those, and men of note, even in the *Roman* Communion, who clearly disown and deny it; as among the Reformed it has been largely disproved by many, and by none with greater learning and industry then *Monsieur Daille*, who has said whatever is necessary, if not more then enough upon this argument: though as to the date of their birth and first appearance, when he thrusts them down to the sixth Century, he takes somewhat off from the antiquity, which may with probability be allowed them.

XIII. **WHO** was the particular Author of these Books, is not easie to determine. Among the several conjectures about this matter, none methinks deserves a fairer regard, then what *Laurentius Valla* tells us some learned *Greeks* of his time conceived, that it was *Apollinaris*, but whether Father or Son, it matters not, both being men of parts, and of the same strain and humour, *ἀμφότεροι ἑλληστικῶν λόγων διδασκαλοὶ*, both of them Masters in all the learning of the *Greeks*, though of the two the Son was most likely to be the man. Certain it is, that *Apollinaris* was *πρὸς πηλὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰδῶν*, *ὁ λόγων ἰδέαν παρειαυαμένῳ*, as *Sozomen* describes him, trained up to all sorts of Learning, and skilled in the artifices and frames of Words and Speeches, and *S. Basil* says of him, that being indued with a facility of writing upon any argument, joined with a great readiness and volubility of language, he filled the World with his Books: though even in his Theologic Tracts he sought not to establish them by Scripture-proofs, but from humane arguments and ways of reasoning: *δι' ἀνελκίστο ὑπὸ δόγμα αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἀπὸ ῥητῆς τινος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ παρ' ἀνοίας*, as <sup>b</sup> another also says of him. He was born and bred at *Alexan-*

L

drin

<sup>a</sup> *Apud Hilduin.*  
*cit. ut. ap. P. Hilduin.*  
*Nov. Olibri.*

<sup>b</sup> *Vid. Author.*  
*cit. ut. ap. P. Hilduin.*  
*Nov. Olibri.*

<sup>c</sup> *Τῷ γ' ὅτι*  
*ὁ κ' ἔχει.*

*Id. Id.*

<sup>a</sup> *Vid. Anast.*  
*Biblioth. Epist.*  
*ap. Sur. loc. cit.*  
*p. 132. Chrysost.*  
*de Pseudo-*  
*Proph. p. 401.*  
*Tom. 6.*  
<sup>b</sup> *Snidas. in voce*  
*Διονυσίου, p.*  
*745. Niceph. H.*  
*Eccl. l. 2. c. 20. p.*  
*167.*  
<sup>c</sup> *Epist. ad Ca-*  
*rol. Calv. Franc.*  
*Reg. ap. Huffer.*  
*Epist. Hibern.*  
*p. 59.*

<sup>a</sup> *Annot. in Act.*  
*Apoll. c. 17.*

<sup>b</sup> *Socrat. H. Ecc.*  
*l. 2. c. 46. p. 160.*

<sup>c</sup> *H. Eccl. l. 3. c.*  
*18. p. 623.*  
*Socr. loc. citat.*  
<sup>d</sup> *Ep. LXXIV.*  
*p. 125. Tom. 2.*

<sup>b</sup> *Leont. de Sess.*  
*Act. IV. p. 446.*

*dria*, (then which no place more famous for Schools of Humane Learning, especially the Profession of the *Platonic* Philosophy) and afterwards lived at *Laodicea*, where he was so intimately familiar with the *Gentile-Philosophers*, that *Theodotus* Bishop of the place forbid him (though in vain) any longer to keep company with them, fearing lest he might be perverted to *Paganism*; as afterwards *George* his successor excommunicated him for his insolent contempt in not doing it. This is said to have given the first occasion to his starting aside from the Orthodox Doctrines of the Church. For resenting it as an high affront, and being

<sup>a</sup> *Socrat. ib. p. 161.* τῇ ἐνερσίᾳ τῷ σοφιστικῷ λόγῳ διεγέρων <sup>a</sup>, prompted with a bold conceit of his sophistical Wit, and subtle ways of reasoning, he began to innovate in matters of Doctrine, and set up a Sect after his own name. And

certainly whoever thoroughly considers *Apollinaris* his principles, as they are represented by <sup>b</sup> *Socrates*, <sup>c</sup> *Sozomen*, <sup>d</sup> *Theodoret*, <sup>e</sup> *Basil*, and <sup>f</sup> *Epi-*

<sup>g</sup> *phanus*, will find many of them to have a great affinity with the *Platonic* notions, and some of them not un-akin to those in *Dionysius* his Books, and that as to the Doctrine of the *Trinity* they were right in the main,

which <sup>h</sup> *Socrates* particularly tells us the *Apollinarians* confessed to be consubstantial. To which I add, what a learned <sup>i</sup> man of our own has

observed upon this argument, that *Apollinaris* and his followers were guilty of forging Ecclesiastical Writings, which they fastned upon *Gre-*

<sup>j</sup> *gory Thaumaturgus*, *Athanasius*, and *Pope Julius*, as <sup>k</sup> *Leontius* particu-

larly proves at large. So that they might be probably enough for-

ged in the School of *Apollinaris*, either by himself, or some of his Dis-

ciples

XIV. IT makes the conjecture look yet more favourable, that there

was one <sup>l</sup> *Dionysius*, a friend probably of *Apollinaris*, to whom he is

said to have written that famous Epistle that went under the name of

*Pope Julius*: and then among his own Scholars he had a *Timotheus*

(condemned together with his Master by <sup>m</sup> *Damasus*, and the Synod at

*Rome*) so that they might easily enough take occasion from their own

to vent their conceptions under the more venerable names of those an-

cient and Apostolic persons. Or, which is more probable, *Apollinaris*

himself so well versed in the arts of counterfeiting, might from them

take the hint to compose and publish them under the name of the an-

cient *Dionysius*. Nor indeed could he likely pitch upon a name more

favourable and agreeable to his purpose, a man born in the very Center

of Learning and Eloquence, and who might easily be supposed to be

bred up in all the Institutions of Philosophy, and in a peculiar manner

acquainted with the Writings and *Theorems* of *Plato* and his Followers,

so famous, so generally entertained in that place. And there will be

the more reason to believe it still, when we consider, that <sup>n</sup> *Apollinaris*

reduced the Gospels and the Writings of the Apostles into the form

of *Dialogues* in imitation of *Plato* among the *Greeks*. And then for the

style, which is very lofty and affected, we noted before how peculiarly

qualified *Apollinaris* was with a quick invention of words, and a sophi-

stical way of speech, and the <sup>o</sup> *Historian* observes that the great instru-

ment by which he set on foot his Herefie, and wherein he had a singular

talent, was *πλῆθος λόγων*, artificial Schemes of Words, and subtle ways

to express himself. Besides he was an incomparable Poet (not only the

Father but the Son) to the study whereof he peculiarly addicted him-

self, and wrote Poems to the imitation, and the envy of the best among

the

the Heathens. In imitation of *Homer* he writ *Heroic* Poems of the Hi-  
story of the old Testament till the reign of *Saul*, *Comedies* after the man-  
ner of *Menander*, *Tragædies* in imitation of *Euripides*, and *Odes* in imita-  
tion of *Pindar*: he composed Divine Hymns, that were publicly sung <sup>Id. l. 6. c. 25. p. 671.</sup>  
in the Churches of his separation, and Songs which men sung both in  
their Feasts and at their Trades, and even women at the Distaff. By  
this means he was admirably prepared for lofty and poetic strains,  
and might be easily tempted, especially the matter admitting it, to give  
way to a wanton and luxuriant fancy in the choice, composition, and use  
of words. And certainly never was there a stranger heap (*λέξεων πο-*  
*λυπληθὺς*, *Maximus* himself calls it) of sublime, affected, bombast, and  
poetic phrases, then is to be met with in these Books attributed to  
*S. Denys*.

XV. IF it shall be enquired, why a man should after so much pains  
chuse to publish his Labors rather under another mans name than his own;  
there needs no other answer, then that this has been an old trade, which  
some men have taken up, either because 'twas their humor to lay their own  
children at other mens doors, or to decline the censure which the notions  
they published were likely to expose them to, or principally to conci-  
liate the greater esteem and value for them, by thrusting them forth un-  
der the name of those, for whom the World has a just regard and vene-  
ration. As for *Monsieur Dailles* conjecture, that the reason why several  
learned Volumes were written and fastned upon the Fathers of the an-  
cient Church, was to vindicate them from that common imputation of  
the *Gentiles*, who were wont to charge the Christians for being a rude  
and illiterate generation, whose Books were stuffed with nothing but  
plain simple Doctrines, and who were strangers to all kind of Learning  
and Eloquence; that to obviate this objection, several took upon them  
to compose Books full of Learning and Philosophy, which they pub-  
lished under the names of the first preachers and propagators of the Chri-  
stian Faith, and that this particularly was the case of the *Recognitions*  
ascribed to *Clemens*, and the Writings attributed to *Dionysius*: The first  
I grant very likely and rational, the *Recognitions* being probably writ-  
ten about the second Century, when (as appears from *Celsus* his Book  
against the Christians) this objection was most rife, and when few learn-  
ed discourses had been published by them: But can by no means allow  
it as to the second, *Dionysius* his Works being written long after the  
Learning and Eloquence of the Christians had sufficiently approved  
it self to the World, to the shame and conviction, the envy and admi-  
ration of its greatest Enemies. And there was far less need of them  
for this purpose, if it be true what *Daille* himself so confidently asserts,  
and so earnestly contends for, that they were not written till the begin-  
ning of the sixth Century, about the year DXX. when there were few  
learned *Gentiles* left to make this objection, Heathenism being almost  
wholly banished out of the civilized World.

XVI. BUT whoever was their genuine Parent, or upon what account  
soever he wrote them, it is plain, that he laid the foundation of a mysti-  
cal and unintelligible Divinity among Christians, and that hence proceed-  
ed all those wild *Rosurcean* notions, which some men are so fond of,  
and the life and practice whereof they cry up as the very soul and perfe-  
ction of the Christian State. And that this Author does immediately  
minister to this design, let the Reader judge by one instance, and I assure

him 'tis none of the most obscure and intricate passages in these Books. I have set it down in its own Language as well as ours, not being confident of my own version (though expressed word for word;) for I pretend to no great faculty in translating what I do not understand. Thus

Δὶδ' ἐν πᾶσιν ὁ Θεὸς γινώσκει, καὶ χωρεῖ  
πάντων καὶ διὰ γνώσεως ὁ Θεὸς γινώσκει, καὶ  
διὰ ἀγνοίας. Καὶ ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ νόησις, καὶ  
λόγος, καὶ ἐπιστήμη, καὶ ἐπιφάνεια, καὶ αἰσθησις, καὶ  
δύναμις, καὶ φαντασία, καὶ ὄνομα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάν-  
τα, καὶ ὅτε νοεῖται, ὅτε λέγεται, ὅτε ὀνομάζεται.  
Καὶ ἐκ ὧν τι ἥδ' ὄντων, εἴτε ἐν πνεύματι ὄντων  
γινώσκειται. Καὶ ἐν πᾶσι πάντα ὅτι, καὶ ἐν ὅσῳ  
εἶδεν, καὶ ἐν πάντων πᾶσι γινώσκειται, καὶ ἐν  
ἐνδεδυμένῳ. Καὶ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ  
λέγουσιν. Καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἡ θεοσιότης ἡ Θεοῦ  
γνώσις, ἡ δὲ ἀγνοσία γινώσκουμένη, καὶ ἡ  
ἐκ τῆς νοῦν ἔκαστον ὅταν ὁ νοῦς ἥδ' ὄντων πᾶν-  
των ἀποστάς, ἔπειτα καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀφείξας, ἐν ὅσῳ  
ἐκφράσσιν ἀκρίτως, ἐκείθεν καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ ἀνε-  
ξερδυνήτω βαθεῖ ὁ Χρῆστος καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν.  
Dionys. de Divin. Nomin. cap. 7. p. 238.

then he discourses concerning the knowledge of God. God (saith he) is known in all things, and without all things: he is known by knowledge, and by ignorance: there is both a cogitation of him, and a word, and a science, and a touch, and a sense, and an opinion, and an imagination, and a name, and all other things; and yet he is neither thought, nor spoken, nor named. He is not any thing of those things that are, nor is he known in any of the things that are; he is both all things in all, and nothing in nothing; out of all things he is known to all and out of nothing to nothing. These are the things which we rightly discourse concerning God. And this again is the most divine knowledge of God, that which is known

by ignorance, according to the union that is above understanding; when the mind getting at a distance from all things that are, and having dismissed it self, is united to those super-illustrious Beams, from whence and where it is enlightened in the unfathomable depth of wisdom. More of this and the like stuff is plentifully scattered up and down these Books. And if this be not mystical and profound enough, I know not what is; and which certainly any man but one well versed in this sort of Theology, would look upon as a strange Jargon of non-sense, and contradiction. And yet this is the height of devotion and piety, which some men earnestly press after, and wherein they glory. As if a man could not truly understand the mysteries of Religion, till he had resigned his reason, nor be a Christian, without first becoming an Enthusiast, nor be able to speak sense, unless in a Language which none can understand.

Writings falsely attributed to him.

De Cœlesti Hierarchia.	Lib. I.	Ad Sospitrum.	Epistola I.
De Divinis Nominibus.	I.	Ad Polycarpum.	I.
De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia.	I.	Ad Demophilum.	I.
De Mystica Theologia.	I.	Ad Titum.	I.
Epistolæ ad Caium.	IV.	Ad Joannem Evangelistam.	I.
Ad Dorotheum.	I.	Ad Apollonem.	I.

The End of S. DIONYSIUS's Life.

# THE LIFE OF S. CLEMENS BISHOP of ROME.



Michael Burghers

Delineavit et sculpsit.

S. CLEMENS ROMANUS.

His birth-place. His Parents, Kindred, Education, and Conversion to Christianity noted out of the Books extant under his name. His relation to the Imperial Family shewed to be a mistake. His being made Bishop of Rome.

Rome. The great confusion about the first Bishops of that See. A probable account endeavoured concerning the order of S. Clemens his succession, and the reconciling it with the times of the other Bishops. What account given of him in the ancient Epistle to S. James. Clemens his appointing Notaries to write the Acts of the Martyrs, and dispatching Messengers to propagate the Gospel. The Schism in the Church of Corinth; and Clemens his Epistle to that Church. An enquiry into the time when that Epistle was written. The Persecution under Trajan. His proceeding against the Heterix. A short relation of S. Clemens his troubles out of Simeon Metaphrastes. His banishment to Cherson. Damnatio ad Metalla, what. The great success of his Ministry in the place of his exile. S. Clemens his Martyrdom, and the kind of it. The anniversary miracle reported on the day of his solemnity. The time of his Martyrdom. His genuine Writings. His Epistle to the Corinthians: the commendations given of it by the Ancients. Its Style and Character. The great modesty and humility that appears in it. The fragment of his second Epistle. Supposititious Writings. The Recognitions; their several titles, and different editions. Their Antiquity, what. A conjecture concerning the Author of them. The censures of the Ancients concerning the corrupting of them, considered. The Epistle to S. James.

I.



**L** makes not a little for the honour of this Venerable Apostolical Man, (for of him all antiquity understands it) that he was Fellow-labourer with S. Paul, and one of those, whose names were written in the Book of Life. He was born at Rome, upon Mount Calius, as, besides others, the Pontifical under the name of Damasus, informs us. His Fathers name was Faustinus, but who he was, and what his Profession

and course of life is not recorded. Indeed in the Book of the Recognitions, and the *πρὸς Κλημεντίαν* (mentioned by the Ancients, and lately published) we have more particular accounts concerning him: Books which however fallily attributed to S. Clemens; and liable in some cases to just exception, yet being of great antiquity in the Church, written not long after the Apostolic Age (as we shall shew hereafter) we shall thence derive some few notices to our purpose, though we cannot absolutely engage for the certainty of them. There we find S. Clemens brought in, giving this account of himself.

II. HE was descended of a noble race, sprung from the family of the Caesars, his Father Faustinianus, or Faustus, being near a kin to the Emperour (I suppose Tiberius) and educated together with him, and by his procurement matched with Mattidia, a woman of a prime Family in Rome. He was the youngest of three sons, his two elder Brothers being Faustinus and Faustus, who after changed their names for Nicetas and Aquila. His Mother, a Woman it seems of exquisite beauty, was by her husbands own brother strongly solicited to unchaste embraces. To avoid whose troublesome importunities, and yet loth to reveal it to her husband, lest it should break out to the disturbance and dishonour of their Family, she found out this expedient: she pretended to her husband that she was warned in a dream together with her two eldest sons to depart for some time from Rome. He accordingly sent them to reside at

Athens,

Athens, for the greater conveniency of their education. But hearing nothing of them, though he sent Messengers on purpose every year, he resolved at last to go himself in pursuit of them; which he did, leaving his youngest son, then twelve years of age, at home, under the care of Tutors and Guardians. S. Clemens grew up in all manly Studies, and virtuous actions, till falling under some great dissatisfactions of mind concerning the immortality of the soul, and the state of the other life, he applied himself to search more narrowly into the nature and the truth of things. After having baffled all his own notions, he betook himself to the Schools of the Philosophers, where he met with nothing but fierce contentions, endless disputes, sophistical and uncertain arts of reasoning; thence he resolved to consult the Egyptian Hierophante, and to see if he could meet with any who by arts of Magic was able to fetch back one of those who were departed to the invisible World, the very sight of whom might satisfy his curious enquiries about this matter. While he was under this suspense, he heard of the Son of God his appearing in the world, and the excellent doctrine he had published in Judea, wherein he was further instructed by the ministry of S. Barnabas, who came to Rome. Him he followed first to Alexandria, and thence after a little time to Judea. Arriving at Caesarea he met with S. Peter, by whom he was instructed and baptized, whose Companion and Disciple he continued for a great part of his life.

III. THIS is the sum of what I thought good to borrow from those ancient Writings. As for his relations, what various misadventures his Father and Mother, and his two Brothers severally met with, by what strange accidents they all afterwards met together, were converted and baptized into the Christian Faith, I omit, partly as less proper to my purpose, partly because it looks more like a dramatic Scene of Fancie, then a true and real History. As to that part of the account of his being related to the Imperial Family, though it be more then once and again confidently asserted by Nicephorus (who transcribes a good part of the Story) and by others before him, yet I cannot but behold it as

an evident mistake, arising from no other Fountain then the Story of Flavius Clemens the Consul, who was Cousin-german to the Emperour Domitian, and his Wife Flavia Domitilla near akin also to the Emperour; concerning whose conversion to, and martyrdom for the Faith of Christ, we have elsewhere given an account from the Writers of those Times. Probable it is, that S. Clemens for the main attend S. Peters motions, and came with him to Rome, where he had at last the Government of that Church committed to him. Dorotheus tells us, that he was the first of the Gentiles that embraced the Christian Faith, and that he was first made Bishop of Sardica, a City in Thrace, afterwards called Triaditza, and then of Rome. But herein I think he stands alone, I am

sure has none of the Ancients to join with him; unless he understands it of another Clemens, whom the Chronicon Alexandrinum also makes one of the LXX Disciples, but withall seems to confound with ours. That he was Bishop of Rome, there is an unanimous and unquestionable agreement of all ancient Writers, though they strangely vary about the place and order of his coming to it. The Writers of the Roman Church, how great words soever they speak of the constant and uninterrupted succession of S. Peters Chair, are yet involved in an inextricable labyrinth about the succession of the four first Bishops of that See,

scarce

<sup>a</sup> Vit. Clemens.  
Concil. Tom. I.  
col. 74.

<sup>b</sup> Recogn. l. 7  
n. 8. p. 476. Clem.  
Homil. l. 2. n. 8.  
p. 678. Epistom.  
n. 76. p. 781.  
Edit. Paris.

<sup>c</sup> Recogn. l. 1. n.  
1. p. 399. Cl.  
Hom. l. 1. p. 546.  
Epist. p. 749.

<sup>b</sup> H. Fecl. l. 2. c.  
35 p. 191. l. 3.  
c. 2. & 18. p.  
247.

<sup>c</sup> Eucher. Lugd.  
ad Valerian.  
de contempt.

<sup>d</sup> Mund. Anonym.  
de vit. Petr. &  
Paul. ap. P.

<sup>e</sup> Jun. not. in  
Clem. Ep. ad Co-  
rinth.

<sup>f</sup> Primit. Christ.  
p. 1. ch. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Synops. de vit.  
App. in Bibl.

<sup>h</sup> PP. Tom 3. p.  
150. col. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Chron. Alex.  
p. 508.

scarce two of them of any note bringing in the same account. I shall not attempt to accommodate the difference between the several Schemes that are given in, but onely propose what I conceive most likely and probable.

IV. EVIDENT it is both from <sup>a</sup>*Irenæus* and <sup>b</sup>*Epiphanius*, as also before them from <sup>c</sup>*Caius* an ancient Writer, and from <sup>d</sup>*Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, that *Peter* and *Paul* jointly laid the Foundations of the Church of *Rome*, and are therefore equally stiled Bishops of it, the one as *Apostle of the Gentiles* (as we may probably suppose) taking care of the *Gentile* Christians, while the other as *the Apostle of the Circumcision*, applied himself to the *Jewish* Converts at *Rome*. For we cannot imagine, that there being such chronical and inveterate prejudices between *Jews* and *Gentiles*, especially in matters of Religion, they should be suddainly laid aside, and both enter-common in one public Society. We know that in the Church of *Jerusalem* till the destruction of the Temple, none were admitted but *Jewish* Converts: and so it might be at first at *Rome*, where infinite numbers of *Jews* then resided, they might keep themselves for some time in distinct assemblies, the one under *S. Paul*, the other under *Peter*. And some foundation for such a conjecture there seems to be even in the *Apostolic* History, where *S. Luke* tells us, that *S. Paul* at his first coming to *Rome* being rejected by the *Jews* turned to the *Gentiles*, declaring to them *the salvation of God*, who gladly heard and entertained it, and that he continued thus *preaching the Kingdom of God, and receiving all that came in unto him for two years together*. This I look upon as the first settled foundation of a *Gentile* Church at *Rome*, the further care and presidency whereof *S. Paul* might devolve upon *Linus* (whom the interpolated *Ignatius* makes his Deacon or Minister) as *S. Peter* having established a Church of *Jewish* Converts might turn it over to *S. Clemens*, of whom <sup>e</sup>*Tertullian* expressly says, that *Peter* ordained him Bishop of *Rome*. Accordingly the Compiler of the *Apostolic Constitutions* makes <sup>f</sup>*Linus* to be ordained Bishop of *Rome* by *S. Paul*, and *Clemens* by *S. Peter*. He says indeed that *Linus* was the first, and so he might very well be, seeing *S. Paul* (whatever the Modern Writers of that Church say to the contrary) was some considerable time at *Rome*, before *S. Peter* came hither. *Linus* dying, was probably succeeded by *Cletus* or *Anacletus* (for the *Greeks*, and doubtless most truly, generally make him the same person) in his distinct capacity. At which time *Clemens*, whom *S. Peter* had ordained to be his Successor, continued to act as President over the Church of *Jewish* Converts: and thus things remained till the death of *Cletus*, when the difference between *Jew* and *Gentile* being quite worn off, the entire Presidency and Government of the whole Church of *Rome* might devolve upon *S. Clemens* as the survivor; and from this period of time, the years of his Episcopacy, according to the common computation, are to begin their date. By this account, not onely that of <sup>g</sup>*Optatus* and the <sup>h</sup>*Bucherian* Catalogue may be true, who make *Clemens* to follow *Linus*, but also that of *Baronius* and many of the Ancients, who make both *Linus* and *Cletus* to go before him, as we can allow they did as Bishops and Pastors of the *Gentile* Church. As for a more distinct and particular account of the Times, I thus compute them: *Peter* and *Paul* suffered Martyrdom in the *Neronian* persecution (as we have elsewhere probably shewed) *Ann. LXV*. After which *Linus* sat twelve years, four moneths, and twelve days: *Cletus* twelve years, one (but as *Baronius*, se-

ven)

ven) moneths, and eleven days, which between them make XXV years, and extend to *Ann. Chr. XC*. after which if we add the nine years, eleven moneths, and twelve days, wherein *Clemens* sat sole Bishop over that whole Church, they fall in exactly with the third year of *Trajan*, the time assigned for his Martyrdom, by *Eusebius*, *Hierom*, *Damasus*, and many others. Or if with *Petavins*, *Ricciolus*, and some others, we assign the Martyrdom of *Peter* and *Paul*, *Ann. LXVII*. two years later, the computation will still run more smooth and easie, and there will be time enough to be allowed for the odd moneths and days assigned by the different accounts, and to make the years of their Pontificat compleat and full. Nor can I think of any way, considering the great intricacy and perplexity of the thing, that can bid fairer for an easie solution of this matter. For granting *Clemens* to have been ordained by *S. Peter* for his successor, (as several of the Ancients expressly affirm) and yet withall (what is evident enough) that he died not till *Ann. Chr. C. Traj. III*. it will be very difficult to find any way so proper to reconcile it. As for that fable of <sup>i</sup>*Epiphanius*, that *Clemens* might receive imposition of hands from *Peter*, but refused the actual exercise of the Episcopal Office, so long as *Linus* and *Cletus* lived: he onely proposes it as a conjecture, founded meerly upon a mistaken passage of *Clemens* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and confesses 'tis a thing wherein he dare not be positive, not being confident whether it were so or no.

V. MIGHT the ancient <sup>j</sup> Epistle written to *S. James* the Brother of our Lord, under the name of our *S. Clemens*, be admitted as a competent evidence, there we find not onely that *Clemens* was constituted Bishop by *S. Peter*, but with what formality the whole affair was transacted. It tells us that the Apostle sensible of his approaching dissolution, presented *Clemens* before the Church as a fit person to be his Successor; the good man with all imaginable modesty declined the honour, which *S. Peter* in a long discourse urged upon him, and set out at large the particular duties both of Ministers in their respective Orders and Capacities, as also of the people; which done, he laid his hands upon him, and compelled him to take his seat. How he administred this great but difficult Province, the Ecclesiastical Records give us very little account. The Author of the <sup>k</sup> Pontifical that fathers himself upon *Pope Damasus*, tells us, that he divided *Rome* into seven Regions, in each of which he appointed a *Notary*, who should diligently enquire after all the Martyrs that suffered within his division, and faithfully record the Acts of their Martyrdom. I confess the credit of this Author is not good enough absolutely to rely upon his single testimony in matters so remote and distant: though we are otherwise sufficiently assured, that the custom of *Notaries* taking the Speeches, Acts, and Sufferings of the Martyrs did obtain in the early ages of the Church. Besides this, we are told by others that he dispatched away several persons to preach and propagate the Christian Religion in those Countries, whither the sound of the Gospel had not yet arrived. Nor did he onely concern himself to propagate Christianity, where it wanted, but to preserve the peace of those Churches where it was already planted. For an unhappy Schism having broken out in the Church of *Corinth*, they sent to *Rome* to require his advice and assistance in it, who in the name of the Church, whereof he was Governour, wrote back an incomparable Epistle to them, to compose and quel *μαζεν & ἀνδορον σάκιν*, as <sup>l</sup> he calls it, *that impious and abominable*

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minable Sedition that was arisen amongst them. And indeed there seems to have been a more intimate and friendly intercourse between these two Churches in those times, then between any other mentioned in the Writings of the Church. The exact time of writing this Epistle is not known, the date of it not being certainly determinable by any notices of Antiquity, or any intimations in the Epistle itself. The conjecture that has obtained with some of most note and learning is, that it was written before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, while the Temple and the *Levitical* ministrations were yet standing. Which they collect, I suppose, from a passage, where he speaks of them in the present tense. But whoever impartially considers the place, will find no necessary foundation for such an inference, and that S. *Clemens* his design was onely to illustrate his Argument, and to shew the reasonableness of observing those particular Stations and Ministries which God has appointed us, by alluding to the Ordinances of the *Mosaic* Institution. To me it seems most probable to have been written a little after the Persecution under *Domitian*, and probably not long before *Clemens* his exile. For excusing the no sooner answering the Letters of the Church of *Corinth*, he tells them it was διὰ θρομένων ἡμῶν συμφορῶν καὶ περὶ πόλεως, by reason of those calamities and sad accidents that had happened to them. Now plain it is, that no Persecution had been raised against the Christians, especially at *Rome*, from the time of *Nero* till *Domitian*. As for Mr. *Yonges* conjecture from this place, that it was written in the time of his banishment; he forgot to consider that the Epistle was written not in *Clemens* his own name, but in the person of the Church of *Rome*. A circumstance that renders the place incapable of being particularly applied to him.

VI. BY a firm patience and a prudent care he weathered out the stormy and troublesome times of *Domitian*, and the short but peaceable reign of *Nerva*. When alas the clouds returned after rain, and began to thicken into a blacker storm in the time of *Trajan*, an excellent Prince indeed, of so sweet and plausible a disposition, of so mild and inoffensive a conversation, that it was ever after a part of their solemn acclamation at the choice of a new elected Emperour, MELIOR TRAJANO, better then *Trajan*. But withall he was zealous for his Religion, and upon that account a severe enemy to Christians. Among several Laws enacted in the beginning of his reign, he published one (if a *Baronius*, which I much question, conjecture the time aright, for a *Plinies* Epistle, upon which he seems to ground it, was probably written at least nine or ten years after) whereby he forbade the *Heterie*, the Societies or Colledges erected up and down the *Roman* Empire, whereat men were wont to meet, and liberally feast under a pretence of more convenient dispatch of business, and the maintainance of mutual love and friendship; which yet the *Roman* State beheld with a jealous eye, as fit Nurseries for Treason and Sedition. Under the notion of these unlawful combinations, the Christian Assemblies were looked upon by their Enemies; for finding them confederated under one common President, and constantly meeting at their solemn Love-feasts, and especially being of a way of Worship different from the Religion of the Empire, they thought they might securely proceed against them as illegal Societies, and contemnors of the Imperial constitution, wherein S. *Clemens* as head of the Society at *Rome*, was sure to bear the deepest share. And indeed it was no more then what himself had long expected, as appears from

\* Ibid. pag. 53.

\* Ibid. pag. 1.

\* Eutyrop. H. Rom. l. 8. non longe ab initio.

\* Ad. Ann. 100. n. VIII. Tom. 2. c. Epist. 97. l. 10.

from his Letter to the *Corinthians*; where having spoken of the torments and sufferings which the Holy Apostles had undergone, he tells them, that he looked upon himself and his people as ἐν αὐτοῖς τῶν σκάνδαλων, set to run the same race, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἡμῶν ἀγωνίζομεθα, and that the same light and conflict was laid up for them.

VII. SIMEON the Metaphrast in the account of his Martyrdom, (much what the same with that Life of S. *Clemens*, said to be written by an uncertain Author, published long since by *Lazius* at the end of *Abdias Babylonius*) sets down the beginning of his troubles to this effect. S. *Clemens* having converted *Theodora*, a noble Lady, and afterwards her Husband *Sisinnius*, a Kinsman and favourite of the late Emperour *Nerva*, the gaining so great a man quickly drew on others of chief note and quality to embrace the Faith. So prevalent is the example of religious Greatness to sway men to Piety and Vertue. But Envy naturally maligns the good of others, and hates the Instrument that procures it. This good success derived upon him the particular odium of *Torcutianus*, a man of great power and authority at that time in *Rome*, who by the inferiour Magistrates of the City, excited the People to a mutiny against the Holy Man, charging him with Magic and Sorcery, and for being an enemy and blasphemer of the gods, crying out either that he should do sacrifice to them, or expiate his impiety with his blood. *Mamertinus* Praefect of the City, a moderate and prudent man, being willing to appease the uproar, sent for S. *Clemens*, and mildly persuaded him to comply. But finding his resolution inflexible, he sent to acquaint the Emperour with the case, who returned this short Rescript, that he should either sacrifice to the gods, or be banished to *Cherson*, a disconsolate City beyond the *Pontic* Sea. *Mamertinus* having received the Imperial Mandat, unwillingly complied with it, and gave order that all things should be made ready for the Voyage, and accordingly he was transported thither, to dig in the Marble Quarries, and labour in the Mines. *Damatio ad Metalla* is a punishment frequently mentioned in the *Roman* Laws, where it is said to be proxima morti poena, the very next to capital punishments. Indeed the usage under it was very extreme and rigorous: for besides the severest labour and most intolerable hardship, the condemned person was treated with all the instances of inhumanity, whiped and beaten, chained and fettered, deprived of his estate, which was forfeited to the Exchequer, and the person himself perpetually degraded into the condition of a Slave, and consequently rendered incapable to make a Will. And not this onely, but they were further exposed to the most public marks of Infamy and Dishonour, their heads half shaved, their right eye bored out, their left leg disabled, their foreheads branded with an infamous mark, a piece of disgrace first used in this case by *Caligula* (and the Historian notes it as an instance of his cruel temper) and from him continued till the times of *Constantine*, who abolished it by a Law Ann. Chr. CCCXV. not to mention the hunger and thirst, the cold and nakedness, the filth and nastiness, which they were forced to conflict with in those miserable places.

VIII. ARRIVING at the place of his uncomfortable exile, he found vast numbers of Christians condemned to the same miserable fate, whose minds were not a little erected under all their pressures at the sight of so good a man, by whose constant preaching, and the frequent miracles that he wrought, their Enemies were converted into a better opi-

\* Habetur Gr. eccl. & Lat. integrum ap. Catal. loc. cit. p. 826.

1. Ibid. p. 833.

\* L. 28. ff. de poen. lib. 48. Tit. 19.

\* L. 36. ubi supr. l. 12. ff. de jur. ff. l. 49. Tit. 14. l. 1. de bon. damn. l. 8. Quil. test. fac. poss. S. 4. c. cyp. Epist. 77. ad Nemil. p. 155. Euseb. l. 8. c. 12. p. 307. f. Sueton. in vit. Calig. c. 27. p. 428. f. l. 2. Cod. Th. de poen. l. 9. Tit. 40.

nion of them and their Religion, the Inhabitants of those Countries daily flocking over to the Faith, so that in a little time Christianity had beaten Paganism out of the Field, and all Monuments of Idolatry thereabouts were defaced and overturned. The same whereof was quickly carried to the Emperour, who dispatched *Ausidianus* the President to put a stop to this growing Sect, which by methods of terror and cruelty he set upon, putting great numbers of them to death. But finding how readily and resolutely they pressed up to execution, and that this days Martyrs did but prepare others for to morrows Torments, he gave over contending with the multitude, and resolved to single out one of note above the rest, whose exemplary punishment might strike dread and terror into the rest. To this purpose *S. Clemens* is pitched on, and all temptations being in vain tried upon him, the Executioners are commanded to carry him aboard and throw him into the bottom of the Sea, where the Christians might despair to find him. This kind of death was called *καταποντισμός*, and was in use not onely among the *Greeks*, as

<sup>a</sup> *Biblioth. l. 16.* appears by the instance mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*, but the *Romans*, as we find in several Malefactors condemned to be thrown into the Sea both by *Tiberius* and *Avidius Cassius*. To this our Lord has respect, when in the case of wilful scandal, he pronounces it better for the man that a Mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the bottom of the Sea. Where though *S. Hierom* tells us that this punishment was usual among the ancient *Jews* in case of more enormous crimes, yet do I not remember that any such capital punishment ever prevailed among them. I shall not here relate what I find concerning the strange and miraculous discovery of *S. Clemens* his body, nor the particular miracle of a little Child preserved in the Church erected to him in the middle of the Sea for a whole year together (though solemnly averred by *Ephraem* Bishop of the place) as despairing they would ever find a belief wide enough to swallow them, nor those infinite other miracles said to be done there; it shall onely suffice to mention one; that upon the Anniversary solemnity of his Martyrdom the Sea retreats on each side into heaps, and leaves a fair and dry passage for three miles together to the Martyrs Tomb, erected within a Church, built (as it must be supposed by Angels) within the Sea, and the Peoples devotions being ended, the Sea returns to its own place, *τιμωμένη το θεου και ευδοξα το μαρτυρα*, says *one of my Authors*, God by this means doing honour to the Martyr. I onely add, that these Traditions were current before the time of *Gregory* Bishop of *Tours*, who speaks of them with great reverence and devotion. *S. Clemens* died (as both *Eusebius* and *S. Hierom* witness, for I heed not the account of the *Alexandrin Chronicon*, which places it four years after, *Trajan VII.* though the Consuls which he there assigns properly belong to the IV. of that Emperour) in the third year of *Trajan*, a little more then two years after his banishment, after he had been sole Bishop of *Rome* nine years six moneths and so many days, say *Baronius* and others, though *Bucherius* his Catalogue, more to be trusted (as being composed before the death of *Pope Liberius*, *Ann. CCCLIV.*) nine years eleven moneths and twelve days. His martyrdom happened on the XXIV. of *November*, according to *Baronius* and the ordinary *Roman* computation, but on the ninth of that Moneth, says the little Martyrology published by *Bucherius*, and which unquestionably was one of the true and genuine Calendars of the ancient

<sup>a</sup> *Serm. de mirac. in puer. a S. Clem. jail. ap. Syn. Novemb. 23. & Gr. & Lat. ap. Costeler. p. 837.*

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid. p. 841.*

<sup>d</sup> *De mirac. l. 1. c. 35. 36. p. 46. 5 Lib. 3. c. 34. p. 106.*

<sup>e</sup> *De Script. Eccl. in Clem. Ann. 4. Olymp. CCXX. Ind. 1. p. 594.*

<sup>f</sup> *ubi supra.*

<sup>g</sup> *Loc. sup. citat. p. 269.*

cient Church. He was honoured at *Rome* by a Church erected to his memory, yet standing in *S. Hierom's* time.

IX. THE Writings which at this day bear the name of this Apostolic man, are of two sorts, Genuine or Supposititious. In the first Class is that famous Epistle to the *Corinthians*, so much magnified by the Ancients, *ἐκδρωπίατη γραφή* (as *\*Irenæus* calls it) the most excellent and absolute writing, *μεγάλη τε ἐ δαυμασία*, says *Eusebius* a truly great and admirable Epistle, and very useful as *S. Hierom* adds, *ἀξιόλογος* as *\*Photius* styles it, worthy of all esteem and veneration, *ἀνωμολογημένη ὡς πᾶσι*, as *Eusebius* assures us, received by all, and indeed revered by them next to the Holy Scriptures, and therefore publicly read in their Churches for some Ages, even till his time, and it may be a long time after. The stile of it (as *Photius* truly observes) is very plain and simple, imitating an Ecclesiastical and unaffected way of Writing, and which breaths the true genius and spirit of the Apostolic Age. It was written upon occasion of a great Schism and Sedition in the Church of *Corinth*, begun by two or three factious persons against the Governours of the Church, who envying either the gifts, or the authority and esteem of their Guides and Teachers, had attempted to depose them, and had drawn the greatest part of the Church into the Conspiracy: whom therefore he endeavours by soft words and hard Arguments to reduce back to Peace and Unity. His modesty and humility in it are peculiarly discernable, not onely that he wholly writes it in the name of the Church of *Rome*, without so much as ever mentioning his own, but in that he treats them with such gentle and mild persuasives. Nothing of sowerness, or an imperious lording it over Gods heritage to be seen in the whole Epistle. Had he known himself to be the infallible Judge of Controversies, to whose sentence the whole Christian World was bound to stand, invested with a supreme unaccountable Power, from which there lay no Appeal, we might have expected to have heard him argue at another rate. But these were the Encroachments and Usurpations of later Ages, when a spirit of Covetousness and secular ambition had stifled the modesty and simplicity of those first and best Ages of Religion. There is so great an affinity in many things both as to Words and Matter between this and the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, as tempted *Eusebius* and *S. Hierom* of old, and some others before them, to conclude *S. Clemens* at least the Translator of that Epistle. This Epistle to the *Corinthians* after it had been generally bewailed as lost for many Ages, was not more to the benefit of the Church in general, then the honour of our own in particular, some forty years since published here in *England*, a treasure not sufficiently to be valued. Besides this first, there is the fragment of a second Epistle, or rather *Homily*, containing a serious exhortation and direction to a pious life: ancient indeed, and which many will persuade us to be his, and to have been written many years before the former, as that which betrays no footsteps of troublesome and unquiet times: but *Eusebius*, *S. Hierom*, and *Photius* assure us that it was rejected, and never obtained among the ancients equal approbation with the first. And therefore though we do not peremptorily determine against its being his, yet we think it safer to acquiesce in the judgment of the Ancients, then of some few late Writers in this matter.

X. AS for those Writings that are undoubtedly spurious and supposititious,

<sup>a</sup> *De Script. in Clemens.*

<sup>\* Add. Hensl. l. 3. ap. Euseb. l. 5. c. 6. p. 170. b Lib. 3. c. 16. p. 88.</sup>

<sup>c</sup> *De Script. Eccl. in Clem. d Cod. CXII.*

<sup>e</sup> *col. 289. f Ibid. c. 38. p. 110.*

<sup>g</sup> *Cod. CXXVI. col. 305.*

*ibid.*

*Loc. sup. citat.*

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. pag. 110. fititious, disown'd (as <sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* says) because they did not καὶ δαὲν ἔχει δόξαν οὐκ ὁρθόδοξον ἀποστολικήν ὅτι χαρὰ κτλ., retain the true stamp and character of Orthodox Apostolic Doctrin, though the truth is, he speaks it onely of the *Dialogues of Peter and Appion*, not mentioning the *Decretal Epistles*, as not worth taking notice of, there are four extant at this day that are entitled to him, the *Apostolical Canons* and the *Constitutions* (said to be penned by him, though dictated by the Apostles) the *Recognitions*, and the Epistle to S. James. For the two first, the *Apostolical Canons* and *Constitutions*, I have declared my sense of them in another place, to which I shall add nothing here. The *Recognitions* succeed, conveyed to us under different titles by the Ancients, sometimes stiled S. Clemens his *Acts*, *History*, *Chronicle*, sometimes S. Peters *Acts*, *Itinerary*, *Periods*, *Dialogues with Appion*, all which are unquestionably but different inscriptions (or it may be parcels) of the same book. True it is what <sup>b</sup> *Photinus* suspected, and <sup>c</sup> *Rufinus* (who translated it) expressly tells us, that there were two several editions of this Book, differing in some things, but the same in most. And it deserves to be considered, whether the πρὸ Κλημενέως mentioned by <sup>d</sup> *Nicephorus*, and which he says the Church received, and denies to be those meant by *Eusebius*, and those *Clementine Homilies* lately published under that very name, be not that other Edition of the *Recognitions*, seeing they exactly answer *Rufinus* his Character, differing in some things, but in most agreeing with them. There is yet a third Edition, or rather Abstract out of all, stiled Κλημενέως καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, &c. Clemens his Epitome of the *Acts*, *Travels*, and *Preachings of S. Peter*, agreeing with the former, though keeping more close to the *Homilies* than the other. This I guess to have been compiled by *Simeon the Metaphrast*, as for other reasons, so especially because the appendage added to it by the same hand concerning Clemens his martyrdom is word for word the same with that of *Metaphrastes*, the close of it onely excepted, which is taken out of S. Ephraims Homily of the miracle done at his Tomb.

XI. THE *Recognitions* themselves are undoubtedly of very great antiquity, written about the same time, and by the same hand (as *Blondel* probably conjectures) with the *Constitutions* about the Year CLXXX, or not long after. Sure I am, they are cited by <sup>e</sup> *Origen* as the Work of Clemens in his *Periods*, and his large quotation is in so many words extant in them at this day. Nay before him we meet with a very long fragment of *Bardefanes the Syrian* (who flourished Ann. CLXXX.) concerning *Fate*, word for word the same with what we find in the *Recognitions*, and it seems equally reasonable to suppose that *Bardefanes* had it thence, as that the other borrowed it from him. Nay what if *Bardefanes* himself was the Author of these Books? 'Tis certain that he was a man of great parts and learning, a man prompt and eloquent, ἐκ διαλεκτικῆς αἰσῆτος, an acute and subtle Disputant, heretically enclined, for he came out of the School of *Valentinus*, whose uncouth notions he had so deeply imbibed, that even after his recantation, he could never get clear from the dregs of them, as *Eusebius* informs us: though *Epiphanius* tells us he was first Orthodox, and afterwards fell into the errors of that Sect, like a well freighted Ship that having duly performed its Voyage, is cast away in the very sight of the Harbour. He was a great Mathematician and Astrologer, ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔχει Χρῆστος ἐπιστήμης ἐλληνικῆς, accurately versed in the *Chaldaean* learning, and wrote incomparable *Dialogues* concerning *Fate*

Præf. to Pri-  
mit. Christi-  
anity.

<sup>b</sup> Cod. C. XII.  
col. 289.  
<sup>c</sup> Præfat. ad  
Gaudent. p. 397.  
<sup>d</sup> H. Eccl. l. 3. c.  
18. p. 248.

<sup>e</sup> Pseudo-Isid.  
p. 28.  
<sup>f</sup> Philocal. c. 23.  
p. 81, 82.  
<sup>g</sup> *Recognit. l.*  
*10.*  
<sup>h</sup> Extat ap. Eu-  
seb. Præp. Evan.  
l. 6. c. 10. p. 273  
& seq. vid. Re-  
cogn. lib. 9. p.  
503. &c.

<sup>i</sup> Euseb. H. Eccl.  
l. 4. c. 30. p. 151.  
<sup>j</sup> Epiph. Hæres.  
l. VI. p. 207.

<sup>k</sup> Euseb. Præp.  
Evang. l. 6. c.  
9. p. 273.

*Fate*, which he dedicated to the Emperour *Antoninus*. And surely none can have looked into the *Recognitions*, but he must see what a considerable part the Doctrines concerning *Fate*, the *Genesis*, the Influence of the Stars and heavenly Constellations, and such like notions make there of S. Peters and S. Clemens his Dialogues and Discourses. To which we may add what *Photinus* has observed, and is abundantly evident from the thing it self, that these Books are considerable for their clearness and perspicuity, their eloquent stile, and grave Discourses, and that great variety of Learning that is in them, plainly shewing their Composer to have been a Master in all Humane Learning, and the Study of Philosophy. I might further remarque, that *Bardefanes* seems to have had a peculiar genius for Books of this nature, it being particularly noted of him, that besides the Scriptures, he traded in certain *Apocryphal Writings*. He wrote πλείστα βιβλία, which S. Hierom renders infinite *Volumes*, written indeed for the most part in Syriac, but which his Scholars translated into Greek, though he himself was sufficiently skilful in that Language, as *Epiphanius* notes. In the number of these Books might be the *Recognitions*, plausibly fathered upon S. Clemens, who was notoriously known to be S. Peters Companion and Disciple: and were but some of his many Books now extant, I doubt not but a much greater affinity both in stile and notions would appear between them. But this I propose onely as a probable conjecture, and leave it at the Readers pleasure either to reject or entertain it. I am not ignorant that both <sup>a</sup> S. Hierom and <sup>b</sup> *Photinus* charge these Books with hæretical Opinions, especially some derogatory to the honour of the Son of God, which it may be *Rufinus* (who confesses the same thing, and supposes them to have been inserted by some hæretical hand) concealed in his Translation: Nay <sup>c</sup> *Epiphanius* tells us, that the *Ebionites* did so extremely corrupt them, that they scarce left any thing of S. Clemens sound and true in them, which he observes from their repugnancy to his other Writings, those *Encyclical Epistles* of his (as he calls them) which were read in the Churches. But then its plain, he means it onely of those Copies which were in the possession of those hæretics, probably not now extant, nor do any of those particular adulterations which he says they made in them, appear in our Books, nor in those large and to be sure uncorrupt fragments of *Bardefanes* and *Origen* is there the least considerable variation from those Books which we have at this day. But of this enough.

XII. THE Epistle to S. James the brother of our Lord is, no doubt, of equal date with the rest, in the close whereof the Author pretends that he was commanded by S. Peter to give him an account of his Travels, Discourses, and the success of his Ministry, under the title of Clemens his Epitome of Peters popular preachings, to which he tells him he would next proceed. So that this Epistle originally was nothing but a Preface to S. Peters Acts or Periods (the same in effect with the *Recognitions*) and accordingly in the late Edition of the *Clementine Homilies* (which have the very Title mentioned in that Epistle) it is found prefixed before them. This Epistle (as *Photinus* tells us) varied according to different Editions, sometimes pretending that it, and the account of S. Peters Acts annexed to it, were written by S. Peter himself, and by him sent to S. James; sometimes that they were written by Clemens at S. Peters instance and command. Whence he conjectures that there was a twofold Edition

ubi supra.

<sup>a</sup> Epiph. loc. cit.

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. H. Eccl.  
ubi supr. de  
Script. Eccl. &c.  
Bardef.

<sup>c</sup> Apol. adv. Ru-  
fin. p. 219.  
<sup>d</sup> Phot. Cod.  
CXII. col. 289.  
<sup>e</sup> Apolog. pro  
Orig. ap. Hieron.  
Tom. 4. p. 195.  
<sup>f</sup> Hæres. XXX.  
p. 65.

Loc. supra citat.

Edition of S. *Peters Acts*, one said to be written by himself, the other by *Clemens*, and that when in time the first was lost, that pretending to S. *Clemens* did remain: For so he assures us he constantly found it in those many Copies that he met with, notwithstanding that the Epistle and Inscription were sometimes different and various. By the Original whereof now published appears the fraud of the Factors of the *Romish* Church, who in all *Latine* Editions have added an *Appendix* almost twice as large as the Epistle it self. And well had it been, had this been the onely instance, wherein some men to shore up a tottering Cause, have made bold with the Writers of the ancient Church.

## His Writings:

Genuine.  
*Epistola ad Corinthios.*

Doubtful.  
*Epistola ad Corinth. secunda.*

Supposititious.  
*Epistola ad Jacobum  
Fratrem Domini.*

*Recognitionum lib. 10.*

Τὰ Κλημένεια,  
feu,  
*Homilie Clementinae.*

*Constitutionum App. lib. 8.*

*Canones Apostolici.*

The End of S. CLEMENS's Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF  
S. SIMEON  
BISHOP of JERUSALEM.



S. SYMEON HIEROSOLYMITANUS.

The heedless confounding him with others of the like name. His Parents and near Relation to our Saviour. The time of his Birth. His strict Education and way of Life. The Order and Institution of the Rechabites,

N

bites, what. His conversion to Christianity. The great care about a Successor to S. James Bishop of Jerusalem. Simeon chosen to that place, when and why. The causes of the destruction of the Jewish state. The original and progress of those Wars briefly related. The miserable state of Jerusalem by Siege, Pestilence, and Famine. Jerusalem stormed. The burning of the Temple, and the rage of the Fire. The number of the Slain and Captives. The just accomplishment of our Lords predictions. The many Prodigies portending this destruction. The Christians forewarned to depart before Jerusalem was shut up. Their withdrawalment to Pella. The admirable care of the Divine Providence over them. Their return back to Jerusalem, when. The flourishing condition of the Christian Church there. The occasion of S. Simeons Martyrdom. The infinite jealousy of the Roman Emperours concerning the line of David. Simeons apprehension and crucifixion. His singular torments and patience. His great age, and the time of his death.



Vid. Chron. A-  
lexandr. Olymp.  
CCXX. Ind. I.  
Traj. VII. &  
Ann. sequent. p.  
594.

I. It cannot be unobserved by any that have but looked into the Antiquities of the Church, what confusion the identity or similitude of names has bred among Ecclesiastic Writers, especially in the more early Ages, where the Records are but short and few. An instance whereof, were there no other, we have in the person of whom we write: Whom some will have to be the same with S. Simon the Cananite, one of the twelve Apostles; others confound him with Simon, one of the four brethren of our Lord, while a third sort make all three to be but one and the same person: the sound and similitude of names giving birth to the several mistakes. For that Simeon of Jerusalem was a person altogether distinct from Simon the Apostle, is undeniably evident from the most ancient Martyrologies both of the Greek and the Latine Church, where vastly different accounts are given concerning their persons, employments, and the time and places of their death; Simon the Apostle being martyred in Britain, or as others in Persia, while Simeon the Bishop is notoriously known to have suffered in Palestine or in Syria. Nor are the testimonies of Dorotheus, Sophronius, or Isidore, considerable enough to be weighed against the Authorities of Hegesippus, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and others. But of this enough.

<sup>a</sup> Hegesipp. ap. Euseb. l. 3. c. 11. p. 87. Epiph. Hæres. l. XVI. p. 274. & omnia antiqua Martyrologia, Adonis, Bedæ, Natheri, Usuardi apud Holland. de Vit. SS. ad diem XVIII. Febr. pag. 53. 54.  
<sup>b</sup> Hegesipp. ib. c. 32. p. 104. Niciph. l. 3. c. 16. p. 245.

II. S. Simeon was the son of <sup>a</sup> Cleophas, brother to Joseph, husband to the Blessed Virgin, and so his Father had the honour to be Uncle to our Saviour, in the same sense that Joseph was his Father. His Mother (say <sup>b</sup> some) was Mary the Wife of Cleophas, mentioned in the History of the Gospel, Sister or Cousin-german to the Mother

of our Lord: And if so, he was by both sides nearly related to our Savior. He was born (as appears from his Age, and the date of his Martyrdom assigned by Eusebius) Ann. Mundi 3936. thirteen years according to the Vulgar computation before our Saviours Incarnation. His Education was according to the severest rules of Religion professed in the Jewish Church, being entered into the Order of the Rechabites, as may be probably collected from the Ancients. For <sup>c</sup> Hegesippus informs us, that

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. l. 2. c. 23. p. 65.

when the Jews were busily engaged in the Martyrdom of S. James the Just, a Rechabite Priest, one of the Generation of the sons of Rechab mentioned by the Prophet Jeremy, stepped in, and interceded with the People to spare so just and good a man, and one that was then praying to Heaven for them. This person <sup>\*</sup> Epiphanius expressly tells us was <sup>\*</sup> Hæres. S. Simeon the son of Cleophas, and Cousin-german to the holy Martyr. LXXVIII. p. 441. The Rechabites were an ancient Institution, founded by Jonadab the son of Rechab, who flourished in the reign of Jehu, and obliged his posterity to these following Rules, to drink no Wine, sow no Fields, plant no Vineyards, build no Houses, but to dwell onely in Tents and Tabernacles. All which precepts (the last onely excepted, which Wars and Foreign Invasions would not suffer them to observe) they kept with the most religious reverence, and are therefore highly commended by God for their exact conformity to the Laws of their Institution, and brought in to upbraid the degeneracy of the House of Israel, in violating the Commands he had laid upon them. They continued it seems (and so God had promised them, that they should not want a man to stand before him for ever) till the very last times of the Jewish Church, though little notice be taken of them, as indeed they are but once mentioned throughout the whole History of the Bible, and that onely accidentally, and then too no less than three hundred years after their first Institution. Probable it is, that in after-times all Rechabites were not Jonadabs immediate descendants, but that all were accounted such, who took upon them the observance of the same Rules and Orders which Jonadab had prescribed to his immediate posterity. It further seems probable to me, that from these Rechabites, the Essenes, that famous Sect among the Jews, borrowed their Original; that part of them especially, that dwelt in Towns and Cities, and in many things conformed themselves to the Rules of the civil and sociable life. For as for the Θεωρητικοί described <sup>a</sup> by Philo, they gave up themselves mainly to solitude and contemplation, lived in Forests and among Groves of Palm-trees, and shunned all intercourse and converse with other men. While the Practic part of them (more particularly taken notice of by <sup>b</sup> Josephus) though abstaining from marriage, and despising the riches and pleasures of this World, did yet reside in Cities, and places of Public Concourse, labour in their several Trades and Callings, maintain Hospitality, and were united in a common College and Society, where they were kept to a solemn observance of the great duties of Religion, and devoted to the Orders of a very strict pious life. And among these, I doubt not, the Rechabites were incorporated and swallowed up, though it may be together with the general name of Essenes, they might still retain their particular and proper name. But to return.

III. HIS first Institution in Christianity was probably laid under the Discipline of our Lord himself, whose Auditor and Follower <sup>c</sup> Hegesippus supposes him to have been; and in all likelihood he was one of the LXX Disciples, in which capacity he continued many years, when he was advanced to a place of great honour and eminency in the Church. About the Year LXII. S. James the Just, Bishop of Jerusalem by the artifices of Ananias the High-Priest, had been cruelly martyred by the Jews. The providing for whose place was so far thought to be the concernment of the whole Christian Church, that the Apostles and Disciples of our Lord are said to have come from all parts to advise and consult with those

<sup>a</sup> Lib. Hæres. l. 2. c. 11. p. 86. vid. lib. 4. c. 22. p. 142.

<sup>b</sup> De Bell. Jud. l. 2. Cap. 18. p. 785. & Antiq. Jud. l. 18. c. 2. p. 617.

<sup>c</sup> Ap. Euseb. l. 3. c. 32. p. 104.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. c. 11. p. 86. vid. lib. 4. c. 22. p. 142.

of our Saviours Kindred and Relations, about a fit Successor in his room. None was thought meet to be a Candidate for the place, but one of our Lords own Relations; and accordingly with one consent they devolved the honour upon *Simeon*, our Lords next Kinsman, whom they all judged most worthy of the place. I know *Eusebius* seems to intimate that this Election was made not onely after *S. James* his death, but after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, between which there was the distance of no less than eight or nine years. But (besides that *Eusebius* makes the destruction of *Jerusalem* immediately to succeed upon *S. James* his Martyrdom, when yet there was so great a space) it's very unreasonable to suppose that so famous and eminent a Church, a Church newly Constituted, and planted in the midst of the most bitter and inveterate Enemies, should for so long a time be destitute of a Guide and Pastor, especially seeing the Apostles were all long since dispersed into several remote quarters of the World: Not to say that most of the Apostles were dead before that time; or if they had not, could not very conveniently have returned and met together about this affair in so dismal and distracted a state of things, as the *Roman Wars*, and the utter ruine and overthrow of the *Jewish Nation* had then put those parts into. Besides that *Eusebius* himself elsewhere places *Simeons* succession immediately after *S. James* his Martyrdom. Nor is the least vacancy in that See mentioned by any other Writer. The *Chronicle of Alexandria* places his succession *Ann. LXIX.* for it tells us, that this year *S. James* the Apostle and Patriarch of *Jerusalem* (whom *S. Peter* at the time of his going to *Rome*, as his proper Sec, had ordained to that place; this passage, 'tis plain the Publisher for want of rightly distinguishing, did not understand) dying, *Simeon* or *Simon* was made Patriarch in his room. But this account is against the Faith of all the Ancients, who make *S. James* to have suffered Martyrdom several years before; nor do any of them say that he was ordained by *S. Peter*, many of them expressly affirming, that he immediately received his Consecration from the hands of our Lord himself.

<sup>a</sup> *Chron. ad Ann. chr. I. XII.*

<sup>b</sup> *Ann. v. Olympiad. CCXII. Indict. XI. Euseb. l. 1. p. 58c.*

IV. HOW he managed the affairs of that Church, is not distinctly known, few particular accounts of things being transmitted to us. Confident we may be that his presidency was attended with sufficient trouble and difficulty, not onely from the malicious and turbulent temper of that People, whom he was continually exposed to, but because it fell in with the most black and fatal period of the *Jewish Church*. For the sins of that Nation being now ripe for Vengeance, and having filled up the measure of their iniquities by their cruel usage of the Apostles and Messengers of our Saviour, their barbarous treatment of *S. Stephen*, and afterward of *S. James the great*, and their last bloody murder of *S. James the less*, but above all, by their insolent and merciless carriage towards the Son of God, and the Saviour of the World, the wrath of God came upon them to the uttermost, and the Romans broke in upon them, and took away both their Place and Nation. The sum whereof, because containing such remarkable passages of Providence, such instances of severe displeasure towards a People, that for so many Ages had enjoyed the peculiar influences of the Divine Favour, and whose destruction at last so evidently justified the predictions of our Saviour, and made such immediate way for the honour and advancement of Christianity, we shall here relate.

V. THE *Jews*, a stubborn and unquiet People, impatiently resented the

the tyranny of the *Roman Yoke*, which seemed heavier to their necks then it did to other Nations, because they looked upon themselves as a more free-born People, and were elated with those great Charters and Immunities which Heaven had immediately conferred upon them. This made them willing to catch at any opportunity to re-assert themselves into their ancient liberty. A thing which they more unanimously attempted under the Government of *Cestius Florus*, whom *Nero* had sent to be Procurator of that Province: by whose intolerable oppressions and insolent cruelties for two years together, nothing abated by prayers and importunities, and the solicitations of potent Intercessors, their patience was tired out, and they broke out into Rebellion. The fatal assault began first at *Casarea*, which instantly like lightning spread it self over the whole Nation, till all places were full of Blood and Violence. *Florus* unable himself to deal with them, called in to his assistance *Cestius Gallus* the President of *Syria*, who came from *Antioch* with an Army, took *Joppa* and some other places, and late down before *Jerusalem*, but after all was forced to depart, and indeed to fly with his whole Army, leaving all his Warlike Instruments and Provisions behind him. The news of this ill success was soon carried to *Nero*, then residing in *Achaia*, who presently dispatched *Vespasian* (a man of prudent Conduct, experienced Valour, the best Commander of his time) to be General of the Army. He coming into *Syria*, united the *Roman Forces*, fell into *Galilee*, burnt *Gadara*, and destroyed *Jotapata*, where *Josephus* himself was taken Prisoner. He pursued his Conquests with an unwearied diligence, Victory every where attending upon his Sword, and was preparing to besiege *Jerusalem*, when hearing of the distractions of *Italy* by the death of *Nero*, and the Usurpations of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, he resolved for *Rome*, to free it from those unhappy incumbrances that were upon it; whose resolutions herein were so far applauded by the Army, that they presently proclaimed him Emperour. Who thereupon hastened into *Egypt* to secure that Countrey, a place of so considerable importance to the Empire.

VI. FROM *Alexandria* *Vespasian* remanded his son *Titus* back into *Judea* to carry on the War, who thought no way quicker to bring it to a period, then to attempt the Capital City, to strike at *Jerusalem* it self, and accordingly put all things in readiness to besiege it. The state of *Jerusalem* at this time was very sad. That place, whose honour and security once it was to be a City at unity within it self, was now torn in pieces with intestine Factions; and how unlikely is that Kingdom long to stand, that is once divided against it self? *Simon* the son of *Giora*, a bold and ambitious man, had possessed himself of the upper City; *John* who headed the *Zealots*, an insolent and ungovernable Generation, commanded the lower parts, and the out-skirts of the Temple; the inner parts whereof were secured by *Eleazar* the son of *Simon*, who had drawn over a considerable number of the Souldiers to his Party; and all those mutually quarrelling with, and opposing one another. *Titus* with his Army approaching, a little before the *Paschal* solemnity begirt the City, drawing it by degrees into a closer Siege, he straitly block'd up all avenues and passages of escape, building a Wall of thirty nine Furlongs, which he strengthened with thirteen Forts; whereby he prevented all possibility either of coming into, or going out of the City. And now was exactly accomplished, what our Lord had some time since told them would

<sup>a</sup> *Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. 1. c. 4. p. 798. Euseb. de excid. Hierosol. l. 2. c. 14. p. 272, &c.*

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid. l. 2. c. 7. p. 89.*

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid. l. 3. c. 5. p. 83.*

<sup>d</sup> *Ib. Kesp. xxi. p. 850. Euseb. l. 3. c. 18. p. 351. c. Ibid. l. 5. Kesp. vii. p. 892.*

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid. Kesp. lvi. p. 903.*

<sup>f</sup> *Ibid. l. 6. c. 1. p. 904. Kesp. lvi. p. 910.*

<sup>h</sup> *Ibid. l. 6. Kesp. lvi. p. 935.*

Luke 19. 41, 42, 43, 44. would come to pass, when he beheld the City and wept over it, saying, if thou hadst known, even thou at least in this thy day, the things that belong unto thy peace! but now they are hidden from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee, because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation. The truth is, who

Συγκρίνας ὅτι πρὸς τὴν Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν λέ-  
ξεις τὸ λοιπὸν τὸν Συγγεγραμμένον ἱστορίας τὸν ἀπὸ  
τῶν παλίων πολέμων, πῶς ἐκ αὐτῶν ἀποβήσονται  
δειὰν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ὑπερφύως ἀποβήσονται τὸν  
σπέρματόν τ' καὶ ἀποβήσονται τὸν Σωτῆρα ἡμῶν  
ἐμολογήσας; Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 7. p. 81.

ever would be at the pains to compare what our Lord has said concerning this War and the sackage of Jerusalem, with the accounts given of them by Josephus, would find so just a correspondence between the prophecy and the success, as would tempt him to think that the Historian had taken

his measures as much from our Lords predictions as from the event of things. But to proceed: Terms of mercy were offered upon surrender, but scornfully rejected, which exasperated the Roman Army to fall on with greater fierceness and severity. And now God and Man, Heaven and Earth seemed to fight against them. Besides the Roman Army without, and the irreconcilable Factions and Disorders within, a Famine (hastened by those vast multitudes that had flocked to the Pasover) raged so horribly within the City, that they took more care to prey upon one another, and to plunder their Provisions, than how to defend themselves against the common Enemy: thousands were starved for want of Food, who died so fast, that they were not capable of performing to them the last Offices of Humanity, but were forced to throw them upon common heaps; nay were reduced to that extremity, that some offered violence to all the Laws of Nature, among which was Mary the daughter of Eleazar, who being undone by the Souldiers, and no longer able to bear the force and rage of Hunger, boiled her sucking child and eat him. So plainly had our Lord foretold the daughters of Jerusalem, that the days were coming, in the which they should say, blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck.

VII. TITUS went on with the Siege, and finding that no methods either of kindness or cruelty would work upon this obstinate generation of men, gave order that all things should be made ready for a storm. Having gained the Tower of Antonia, the Jews fled to the Temple which

τὸ ἱερ. κεφ. κβ'.  
κεφ. κ'. c. p. 956.

was hard by, the Out-gates and Porches whereof were immediately set on fire, the Jews like persons stupified and amazed, never endeavouring to quench it. Titus, the sweetness of whose nature ever enclined him to pity and compassion, was greatly desirous to have spared the People, and saved the Temple. But all in vain; an obscure Souldier threw a Firebrand into the Chambers that were about the Temple, which presently took fire, and though the General ran and stormed, and commanded to put it out, yet so great was the clamour and confusion, that his Orders could not be heard; and when they were, it was too late, the conquering and triumphant Flames prevailing in spite of all opposition, and making their way with so fierce a rage, as if they threatened to burn up Mount Zion to the very roots. So effectually did our Saviours Commination take place, who told his Disciples, when they admired the stately and magnificent buildings of the Temple, Verily I say unto you, there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down. And that nothing might be wanting to verifie our Lords prediction, Turnus Rufus was commanded to plow up the very foundations of

τὸ ἱερ. κεφ. κιν'.  
p. 959.

of it. How sad a sight must it needs be to behold all things hurled into a mixture of Bloud, Smoke, and Flames! the Jews were slain like Sheep, or Dogs, and many to prevent the Enemies Sword, voluntarily leapt into the Fire; the number of them that perished in this Siege amounting to no less than eleven hundred thousand, besides ninety seven thousand that were made Slaves; the infinite multitudes that from all parts had flocked to the Feast of the Pasover, and were by the Roman Army crowded up within the City, rendering the account not improbable.

VIII. SUCH was the period of the Jewish Church and State; thus fell Jerusalem, (by far the most eminent City not of Judaea only, but of the whole East, as Pliny himself confesses) notwithstanding its antiquity, wealth, and strength, after it had stood from the time of David MCLXXIX. years. And memorable it is, that this fatal Siege began a little before the Pasover, about that very time when they had so barbarously treated and put to death the Son of God. So exact a proportion does the Divine Justice sometimes observe in the retributions of its Vengeance. A Fate not only predicted by our Lord and his Apostles, but lately presignified by immediate Prodigies and Signs from Heaven.

A blazing Comet in the fashion of a Sword, hung directly over the City for a whole year together. In the Feast of Unleavened Bread, a little before the breaking out of the War, at Nine of the Clock of the Night, a light suddenly shined out between the Altar and the Temple, as bright as if it had been Noon-day. About the same time a Heifer as she was led to sacrifice, brought forth a Lamb in the very midst of the Temple. The East Gate of the inner part of the Temple, all of massy Brass, and which twenty men could hardly shut, after it had been fast locked and barred, was at night seen to open of its own accord. Chariots and Armies were beheld in the Air, all in their Martial Postures, and preparing to surround the City. At Pentecost when the Priests entered into the inner Temple, they first perceived a noise and motion, and immediately heard a voice that said, Μεταβαίετε ἐν ταῦθ' ἔτι, Let us depart hence. And four years before ever the War began, while all things were peaceable and secure, one Jesus, a plain Country Fellow, pronounced many dreadful woes against the Temple, the City, and the People, wherein he continued, especially at festival times, notwithstanding all the cruelties used towards him for seven years together, when some made a shift to dispatch him by a violent death. But alas, an Angel it self cannot stop men that are riding Post towards their own destruction. So little will warnings, or threatnings, or miracles signify with them, whom Heaven hath once given up to an incurable infatuation.

Ταῦτα τε τῆς ἐννοίας ἐνέηκε, καὶ ὅτι δὲν ἀν-  
θρώπων κινδύνων καὶ παντοίας περιστάσεων  
τὸν Σωτῆρα ἡμῶν τὴν Σωτῆριαν, πρὸς αὐτὴν  
ἀνθρώπων καὶ κινδύνων ἀνταρτίων ἀπολλυμένων.  
Joseph. loc. citat.

IX. BUT it's high time to return and enquire, in the midst of this sad and calamitous state of things what became of S. Simeon and the Christians of that place. And of them we find, that being timely warned by the caution which our Lord had given them, that when they should see Jerusalem compassed with Armies, and the abomination of desolation (that is the Roman Army) standing in the holy place, they should then flee unto the Mountains, betake themselves to some obscure place of refuge; and having been lately commanded by a particular revelation communicated to some pious and good men among them, (which says Epiphanius was done by the ministry of an Angel,) to leave Jerusalem, and go to Pella, they

τὸ ἱερ. κεφ. κβ'.  
κεφ. κ'. c. p. 956.

universally withdrew themselves; and seasonably retreated thither, as to a little *Zoar* from the flames of *Sodom*, and so not one perished in the common mine. This *Pella* was a little Town in *Cælo-Syria* beyond *Jordan*, deriving its name probably from *Pella* a City of *Macedonia*, as being founded and peopled by the *Macedonians* of *Alexander's* Army, who fate down in *Asia*. That its inhabitants were *Gentiles*, it's plain, in that the *Jews* under *Alexander Jannæus* their King lacked it, because they would not receive the Rites of their Religion. And God 'tis like on purpose directed the Christians hither, that they might be out of the reach of the *Befom of Destruction* that was to sweep away the *Jews* where-ever it came. Nor was it a less remarkable instance of the care and tenderness of the Divine Providence over them, that when *Cestius Gallus* had besieged *Jerusalem*, on a sudden he should unexpectedly break up the Siege, at once giving them warning of their danger, and an opportunity to escape. How long *Simeon* and the Church continued in this little Sanctuary, and when they returned to *Jerusalem*, appears not. If I might conjecture, I should place their return about the beginning of *Trajan's* reign, when the fright being sufficiently over, and the hatred and severity of the *Romans* asswaged, they might come back with more safety. Certain it is, that they returned before *Adrian's* time, who forty seven years after the devastation coming to *Jerusalem* in order to its reparation, found there a few houses, and a little Church of Christians built upon *Mount Sion*, in that very place where that *Upper Room* was, into which the Disciples went up when they returned from our Lords Ascension. Here the Christians who were returned from *Pella*, kept their solemn Assemblies, and were so renowned for the flourishing state of their Religion, and the eminency of their Miracles, that *Aquila* the Emperours Kinsman, and whom he had made Governour and Overseer of the rebuilding of the City, being convinced, embraced Christianity. But still pursuing his old Magic and Astrological studies, notwithstanding the frequent admonitions that were given him, he was cast out of the Church. Which he resented as so great an affront, that he apostatized to *Judaism*, and afterwards translated the Bible into *Greek*. But to return back to *Simeon*; confident we may be that he administered his Province with all diligence and fidelity, in the discharge whereof God was pleased to preserve him as a person highly useful to his Church, to a very great Age, till the middle of *Trajan's* reign, when he was brought to give his last testimony to his Religion, and that upon a very slight pretence.

X. THE Roman Emperors were infinitely jealous of their new established Sovereignty, and of any that might seem to be Corrivals with them, especially in *Palestine* and the *Eastern* parts. For an ancient and constant tradition (as appears besides *Josephus*, both from *Suetonius* and *Tacitus*) had been entertained throughout the *East*, that out of *Judea* should arise a Prince, that should be the great Monarch of the World. Which though *Josephus* to ingratiate himself with the *Romans*, flatteringly applied to *Vespasian*, yet did not this quiet their minds, but that still they beheld all that were of the line of *David* with a jealous eye. This made *Domitian*, *Vespasian's* son resolve to destroy all that were of

• Joseph. Antiq.  
Jud. l. 13. c. 23.  
p. 452.

• Epiph. de  
Pond. & Mens.  
lib. 1.

Οὐρανιστὰν δὲ  
ἐπὶ τῇ Ἰδα-  
σολύμων ἄλω-  
σιν πάντας τοὺς  
ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ Δαβὶδ ἀναστῆναι προστάττει, ὡς καὶ περιφρονῶναι πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἡσυχῶν τῇ βασιλικῇ οὐλίᾳ, καὶ ὡς  
ἐκ τούτου μέγιστον Ἰουδαίους συμβῆναι διαγμὸν πάλιν. Chron. Alexandr. ad Ann. 1. Olympiad. CXLIII. Indict. XV.  
Vespas. V. p. 586. eadem libet de Domitian ad An. 1. Olymp. CCXVIII. Ind. V. Domit. XIII. p. 590.

the

the blood royal of the house of *Judah*; upon which account two Nephews of *S. Jude* one of the brothers of our Lord were brought before him, and despised by him for their poverty and meanness, as persons very unlikely to stand competitors for a Crown. The very same Indictment was brought against our aged Bishop; for some of the Sects of the *Jews* not able to bear his activity and zeal in the cause of his Religion, and finding nothing else to charge upon him, accused him to *Atticus*, at that time *Consular Legat* of *Syria*, for being of the Posterity of the Kings of *Judah*, and withall a Christian. Hereupon he was apprehended and brought before the *Proconsul*, who commanded him for several days together to be wracked with the most exquisit torments. All which he underwent with so composed a mind, so unconquerable a patience, that the *Proconsul* and all that were present were amazed to see a person of so great age able to endure such and so many tortures: at last he was commanded to be crucified. He suffered in CXX. year of his age, and in the X. year of *Trajan's* reign, Ann. Chr. CVII. (the *Alexandrin Chronicon* places it *Traj. VII. Ann. Chr.* as appears by the *Consuls*, CIV. though as doubtful of that, he places it again in the following year) after he had fate Bishop of *Jerusalem* (computing his succession from *S. James* his Martyrdom) XLIII, or XLIV. years; *Petavius* makes it no less then XLVII. though *Nicephorus* Patriarch of *Constantinople* (probably by a mistake of the figure) assign him but XXIII. A longer proportion of time then a dozen of his immediate successors were able to make up, God probably lengthening out his life, that as a skilful and faithful Pilot he might steer and conduct the Affairs of that Church in those dismal and stormy days.

b An. A. Olymp.  
CCXX. Ind. I.  
p. 594.

c Animadv. ad  
Epiph. Hæret.  
LXVI. p. 266.

The End of S. SIMEON's Life.

O

THE

THE LIFE OF  
**S. IGNATIUS**  
 BISHOP of ANTIOCH.



*His Originals unknown. Called Theophorus, and why. The Story of his being taken up into our Saviours arms, refuted. His Apostolic education. S. Johns Disciple. His being made Bishop of Antioch. The eminency of*

of that Sec. The order of his succession stated. His prudent Government of that Church. The tradition of his appointing Antiphonal hymns by revelation. Trajans persecuting the Church at Antioch. His discourse with Ignatius. Ignatius his cruel usage. His sentence passed. His being transmitted to Rome: and why sent so far to his execution. His arrival at Smyrna, and meeting with S. Polycarp. His Epistles to several Churches. His coming to Troas, and Epistles thence. His arrival at Porto Romano. Met on the way by the Christians at Rome. His earnest desire of martyrdom. His praying for the prosperity of the Church. The time of his Passion. His being thrown to wild Beasts. What kind of punishment that among the Romans. The collection of his Remains, and their transportation to Antioch; and the great honours done to them. The great plenty of them in the Church of Rome. Trajans surceasing the Persecution against the Christians. The dreadful Earthquakes happening at Antioch. Ignatius his admirable Piety. His general solicitude for the preservation and propagation of the Christian Doctrine, as an Apostle. His care, diligence, and fidelity as a Bishop. His patience and fortitude as a Martyr. His Epistles. Polycarps commendation of them.

I. FINDING nothing recorded concerning the Country or Parentage of this Holy Man, I shall not build upon meer fanſie and conjecture. He is ordinarily ſtil'd both by himſelf and others *Theophorus*, which though like *Justus* it be oft no more then a common Epithet, yet is it ſometimes uſed as a proper name. It is written according to the different accents, either Θεοφόρος, and then it notes a divine perſon, a man whoſe ſoul is full of God, and all holy and divine qualities, ὁ ὃ Χριστὸν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φεράων, as *Ignatius* himſelf is ſaid to explain it; or Θεόφορος, and ſo in a paſſive ſignification it implies one that is born or carried by God. And in this latter ſenſe he is ſaid to have derived the title from our Lords taking him up into his Arms. For thus we are told, that he was that very *Child* whom our Saviour took into his arms, and ſet in the miſt of his Diſciples, as the moſt lively inſtance of Innocency and Humility. And this affirmed (if number might carry it) not onely by the *Greeks* in their public Rituals, by *Metaphraſtes*, *Nicephorus*, and others, but (as the Primate of *Armagh* observes from the Manuſcripts in his own poſſeſſion) by two *Syriac* Writers, more ancient then they. But how confidently or generally ſoever it be reported, the Story at beſt is precarious and uncertain, not to ſay abſolutely falſe and groundleſs. Sure I am *S. Chryſoſtom* (who had far better opportunities of knowing then they) expreſſly affirms of *Ignatius*, that he never ſaw our Saviour, or enjoyed any familiarity or converſe with him.

Οὐτως φερανόμενος καὶ λαμβάνει Θεόφορος, πάλιν. Νήπιος γὰρ ἦν κομιδῇ ὑπαρχόντων αἰς χεῖρας τοῦ Κυρίου φερόμενος, ἵνα σὺ ἀναφανῇς αὐτῷ ὡς αὐτὸς ἡμεῖς, γινεῖσθαι μοι, ὡς τὸ πᾶν τὸν ὅλον. Men. Græc. loc. citat. c. Humil.

II. IN his younger years he was brought up under Apoſtolic Inſtitution: ſo *Chryſoſtom* tells us, that he was intimately converſant with the Apoſtles, educated and nurſed up by them, every where at hand, and made partaker *ῥητορὶς καὶ διπορήτων*, both of their familiar diſcourſes, and more

more ſecret and uncommon Myſteries. Which though 'tis probable he means of his particular converſation with *S. Peter* and *Paul*, yet ſome of the forementioned Authors, and not they onely, but the *Acts* of his Martyrdom, written as is ſuppoſed by ſome preſent at it, further aſſure us, that he was *S. Johns* Diſciple. Being fully inſtructed in the Doctrines of Chriſtianity, he was for his eminent parts, and the great Piety of his life, choſen to be Biſhop of *Antioch* the Metropolis of *Syria*, and the moſt famous and renowned City of the *East*; not more remarkable among Foreign Writers for being the Oriental Seat of the Roman Emperours, and their Vice-Roys and Governours; then it is in Eccleſiaſtics for its eminent entertainment of the Chriſtian Faith, its giving the venerable title of *Chriſtians* to the Diſciples of the Holy *Jeſus*, and *S. Peters* firſt and peculiar reſidence in this place. Whence the Synod of *Constantinople* aſſembled under *Nectarius*, in their Synodical Epistle to the *Western* Biſhops, deſervedly call it, the moſt ancient and truly Apoſtolic Church of *Antioch*, in which the honourable name of Chriſtians did firſt commence. In all which reſpects it is frequently in the Writings of the Church by a proud kind of title ſtil'd Θεόπολις, or the City of God. That *Ignatius* was conſtituted Biſhop of this Church, is allowed on all hands, though as to the time and order of his coming to it, almoſt the ſame difficulties occur, which before did in *Clemens* his ſucceſſion to the See of *Rome*, poſſibly not readily to be removed but by the ſame method of ſolution, eaſily granted in this caſe by *Baronius* himſelf, and ſome other Writers of note in that Church. I ſhall not need to prove what is evident enough in it ſelf, and plainly acknowledged by the Ancients, that *Peter* and *Paul* planted Chriſtianity in this City, and both concurred to the foundation of this Church, the one applying himſelf to the *Jews*, the other to the *Gentiles*. And large enough was the Vineyard to admit the joint-endeavours of theſe two great Planters of the Goſpel, it being a vaſt populous City, containing at that time according to *S. Chryſoſtom*s computation no leſs then two hundred thouſand ſouls. But the Apoſtles (who could not ſtay always in one place) being called off to the Miniſtry of other Churches, ſaw it neceſſary to ſubſtitute others in their room, the one reſigning hiſt to *Enodius*, the other to *Ignatius*. Hence in the Apoſtolic Conſtitutions *Enodius* is ſaid to be ordained Biſhop of *Antioch* by *S. Peter*, and *Ignatius* by *S. Paul*; till *Enodius* dying, and the *Jeniſh* Converts being better reconciled to the *Gentiles*, *Ignatius* ſucceeded in the ſole care and Preſidency over that Church, wherein he might poſſibly be afterwards confirmed by *Peter* himſelf. In which reſpect probably the Author of the *Alexandrine Chronicon* meant it, when he affirms that *Ignatius* was conſtituted Biſhop of *Antioch* by the Apoſtles. By this means he may be ſaid both immediately to ſucceed the Apoſtle, as *Origen*, *Eufebius*, *Athanaſius*, and *Chryſoſtom* affirm, and withall to be the next after *Enodius*, as *S. Hierom*, *Socrates*, *Metaphraſtes* and others place him. However *Enodius* dying, and he being ſetled in it by the Apoſtles hands, might be juſtly ſaid to ſucceed *S. Peter*; in which ſenſe it is that ſome of the Ancients expreſſly affirm him to have received his Conſecration from *S. Peter*, διὰ τὸ τῷ μεγάλῳ Πέτρῳ δεξαῖν τὸ ἀρχιερεῖος ὄντος, ὃς ἔδωκεν ἐδεδῆλω, ſays *Theodoret*; and ſo their own *Historian* relates it, that *Peter* coming to *Antioch* in his paſſage to *Rome*, and finding *Enodius*

<sup>1</sup> Metaphr. ubi ſupr.

<sup>2</sup> De Immutab. Dialog. 1. p. 33. Tor. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Jo. Malal Chron. l. 10. ap. uſſer. Not. in

Epist. ad Antioch. pag. 107.

lately

lately dead, committed the Government of it to *Ignatius*, whom he made Bishop of that place: though it will be a little difficult to reconcile the Times to an agreement with that account.

III. SOMEWHAT above forty years *S. Ignatius* continued in his charge at *Antioch*, (*Nicephorus* Patriarch of *Constantinople* assigns him but four years, the figure  $\mu$  for forty, being probably through the carelessness of Transcribers slipped out of the account) in the midst of very stormy and tempestuous times. But he like a wise and prudent Pilot sat at the Stern, and declined the dangers that threatened them by his prayers and tears, his fastings and the constancy of his preaching, and those indefatigable pains he took among them, fearing lest any of the more weak and unsettled Christians might be overborn with the storms of Persecution. Never did a little calm and quiet interval happen, but he rejoiced in the prosperity of the Church: though as to himself he somewhat impatiently expected and longed for Martyrdom, without which he accounted he could never perfectly attain to the love of Christ, nor fill up the duty and measures of a true Disciple, which accordingly afterwards became his portion. Indeed as to the particular acts of his Government, nothing memorable is recorded of him in the Antiquities of the Church, more than what *Socrates* relates (by what authority, I confess, I know not) that he saw a Vision, wherein he heard the Angels with alternate hymns celebrating the honour of the holy Trinity, in imitation whereof he instituted the way of *Antiphonal* hymns in the Church of *Antioch*, which thence spread it self over the whole Christian Church. Whether this Story was made on purpose to out-vie the *Arrians* who were wont on the *Sabbaths* and *Lords-days* to sing alternate hymns in their Congregations, with some tart reflections upon the Orthodox, inasmuch that *Chrysostom* was forced to introduce the same way of singing into the Orthodox Assemblies; or whether it was really instituted by *Ignatius*, but afterwards grown into dis-use, I will not say. Certain it is, that *Flavianus* afterwards Bishop of *Antioch* in the reign of *Constantinus* is said to have been the first that thus established the Quire, and appointed *David's* Psalms to be sung by turns, which thence propagated it self to other Churches. *S. Ambrose* was the first that brought it into the *Western* Church, reviving (says the Historian) the ancient institution of *Ignatius*, long disused among the *Greeks*. But to return.

IV. IT was about the year of Christ CVII. When *Trajan* the Emperour swelled with his late Victory over the *Scythians* and the *Daci*, about the ninth year of his reign came to *Antioch*, to make preparation for the War which he was resolved to make upon the *Parthians* and *Armenians*. He entered the City with the Poms and Solemnities of a triumph, and as his first care usually was about the concerns of Religion, he began presently to enquire into that affair. Indeed he looked upon it as an affront to his other Victories to be conquered by Christians; and therefore to make this Religion stoop, had already commenced a Persecution against them in other parts of the Empire, which he resolved to carry on here. *S. Ignatius* (whose solicitude for the good of his Flock made him continually stand upon his guard) thinking it more prudent to go himself, then stay to be sent for, of his own accord presented himself to the Emperour, between whom there is said to have passed a large and particular discourse, the Empire wondering that he dared to transgress his Laws, while the good man asserted his own innocence,

gency, and the power which God had given them over evil Spirits, and that the gods of the *Gentiles* were no better then *Demons*, there being but one supreme deity, who made the World, and his onely begotten Son *Jesus Christ*, who though crucified under *Pilate*, had yet destroyed him that had the power of sin, that is, the Devil, and would ruine the whole Power and Empire of the *Demons*, and tread it under the feet of those, who carried God in their hearts. The issue was, that he was cast into prison, where (if what the *Greek* Rituals and some others report, <sup>† Τῆς ἡμέρας. κ. α. μν. τῆς Δεκαμας.</sup> be true) he was for the constancy and resolution of his Profession, subjected to the most severe and merciless torments, whipped with *Plumbate*, Scourges with leaden Bullets at the end of them, forced to hold fire in his hands, while his sides were burnt with papers dipt in oil, his feet stood upon live coals, and his flesh was torn off with burning Pincers. Having by an invincible patience overcome the malice and cruelty of his Tormenters, the Emperour pronounced the final sentence upon him, that being incurably over-run with Superstition, he should be carried bound by Souldiers to *Rome*, and there thrown as a prey to wild Beasts. The good man heartily rejoiced at the fatal decree, *I thank thee, O Lord* (said he) *that thou hast condescended thus perfectly to honour me with thy love, and hast thought me worthy with thy Apostle Paul to be bound with iron chains.* With that he cheerfully embraced his chains, and having fervently prayed for his Church, and with tears recommended it to the divine care and providence, he delivered up himself into the hands of his Keepers, that were appointed to transport him to the place of execution.

V. IT may justly seem strange, and 'twas that which puzzled the great *Scaliger*, why he should be sent so vast a way from *Antioch* in *Syria* to be martyred at *Rome*. Whereof these probable accounts may be rendered. First, It was usual with the Governours of Provinces, where the malefactors were more then ordinarily eminent, either for the quality of their persons, or the nature of their crimes, to send them to *Rome*, that their punishment might be made exemplary in the eye of the World. Secondly his enemies were not willing he should suffer at home, where he was too much honoured and esteemed already, and where his death would but raise him into a higher Veneration with the People, and settle their minds in a firmer belief of that Faith, which he had taught them, and which they then saw him sealing with his blood. Thirdly, by so long a journey, they hoped that in all places where he came, men would be more effectually terrified from embracing that Religion, which they saw so much distasted and resented by the Emperour, and the profession whereof could not be purchased but at so dear a rate; besides the probability, that by this usage the constancy of *Ignatius* himself might be broken, and he forced to yield. Fourthly, they designed to make the good mans punishment as severe and heavy as they could, and therefore so contrived it, that there might be a concurrence of circumstances to render it bitter and grievous to him. His great age, being then probably above fourscore years old, the vast length and tediousness of the journey, (which was not a little encreased by the *μακρότεροι δρόμοι τῶν δρόμων*, as *S. Chrysostom* observes, their going the farthest way about, for they went not the direct passage to *Rome*, but by infinite windings, diverted from place to place) the trouble and difficulty of the passage, bad at all times, but much worse

worse now in Winter, the want of all necessary conveniencies and accommodations for so aged and infirm a person, the rude and merciless usage of his Keepers, who treated him with all ruggedness and inhumanity: *From Syria even to Rome both by Sea and Land I fight with Beasts, night and day I am chained to ten Leopards, (which is my military guard) who, the kinder I am to them, are the more cruel and fierce to me,* as <sup>a</sup> himself complains. Besides what was dearer to him than all this, his credit and reputation might be in danger to suffer with him, seeing at so great a distance the Romans were generally more likely to understand him to suffer as a Malefactor for some notorious crime, than as a Martyr for Religion, and this <sup>b</sup> *Metaphrastes* assures us, was one particular end of his sending thither. Not to say that beyond all this, the Divine Providence (which knows how to bring good out of evil, and to over-rule the designs of bad men to wise and excellent purposes) might the rather permit it to be so, that the leading so great a man so far in triumph, might make the Faith more remarkable and illustrious, that he might have the better opportunity to establish and confirm the Christians, who flocked to him from all parts as he came along; and by giving them the example of a generous Vertue, arm them with the stronger resolution to die for their Religion, and especially that he might seal the truth of his Religion at Rome, where his death might be διδοσκάλη, ἢ ὁμοσείας, (as *Chrysostom* speaks) a Tutor of Piety, and teach κακείνῳ φιλοσοφείν, the City that was so famous for Arts and Wisdom, a new and better Philosophy than they had learned before. To all which may be added, that this was done not by the Provincial Governour, who had indeed power of executing capital punishments within his own Province (which seems to have been the main ground of *Scaligers* scruple) but immediately by the Emperour himself, whose pleasure and command it was that he should be sent to Rome; whither we must now follow him to his Martyrdom: in the account whereof we shall for the main keep to the *Acts* of it, written in all probability by *Philo* and *Agathopus*, the Companions of his Journey, and present at his Passion; two ancient Versions whereof the incomparable Bishop *Usher* first recovered and published to the World.

VI. BEING <sup>c</sup> consigned to a guard of ten Souldiers, he took his leave of his beloved *Antioch* (and a sad parting no doubt there was between him and his people; who were to see his face no more) and was conducted on foot to *Seleucia*, a Port-town of Syria, about sixteen miles distant thence, the very place whence *Paul* and *Barnabas* set sail for Cyprus. Here going aboard, after a tedious and difficult Voyage they arrived at *Smyrna*, a famous City of *Ionia*, where they were no sooner set on shore, but he went to salute *S. Polycarp* Bishop of the place, his old Fellow-Pupil under *S. John* the Apostle. Joyful was the meeting of these two Holy men, *S. Polycarp* being so far from being discouraged, that he rejoiced in the others chains, and earnestly pressed him to a firm and final perseverance. Hither came in the Country round about, especially the Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons of the Asian Churches, to behold so venerable a sight, to partake of the holy Martyrs prayers and blessing, and to encourage him to hold on to his consummation. To requite whole kindness, and for their further instruction and establishment in the Faith, he wrote <sup>d</sup> Letters from hence to several Churches, one to the *Ephesians*, wherein he commends *Onesimus* their Bishop for his singular

<sup>a</sup> *Epist. ad Rom.*  
p. 23. & ap. *Euseb.*  
lib. 1.3. c. 36. p.  
107.

<sup>b</sup> *Martyr. ubi*  
*supr.* p. 995.

*Wid. Chrysost.*  
*Homil. cit.* pag.  
505.

*Ibid.*

<sup>c</sup> *All. Ignat.*  
pag. 5.

<sup>d</sup> *Euseb. H. Eccl.*  
1.3. c. 36. p. 107.

gular charity; another to the *Magnesians*, a City seated upon the River *Meander*, which he sent by *Damas* their Bishop, *Bassus* and *Apollonius* Presbyters, and *Sotio* Deacon of that Church; a third to the *Trallians* by *Polybius* their Bishop, wherein he particularly presses them to subjection to their spiritual Guides, and to avoid those pestilent heretical doctrines that were then risen in the Church. A fourth he wrote to the Christians at Rome, to acquaint them with his present state, and passionate desire not to be hindered in that course of Martyrdom, which he was now hastening to accomplish.

VII. HIS Keepers a little impatient of their stay at *Smyrna*, set sail for *Troas*, a noted City of the lesser *Phrygia*, not far from the ruins of the ancient *Troy*: where at his arrival he was not a little refreshed with the news that he received of the Persecution ceasing in the Church of *Antioch*. Hither several Churches sent their Messengers to visit and salute him, and hence he dispatched two Epistles, one to the Church at *Philadelphia*, to press them to Love and Unity, and to stand fast in the truth and simplicity of the Gospel, the other to the Church of *Smyrna*, from whence he lately departed, which he sent, as also the former, by *Burrhus* the Deacon, whom they and the *Ephesians* had sent to wait upon him; and together with that (as <sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* informs us) he wrote privately to *S. Polycarp*, particularly recommending to him the care and oversight of the Church of *Antioch*, for which as a vigilant Pastor he could not but have a tender and very dear regard; though very learned men (but certainly without any just reason) think this not to have been a distinct Epistle from the former, but jointly directed and intended to *S. Polycarp* and his Church of *Smyrna*. Which however it be, they conclude it as certain that the Epistle to *S. Polycarp* now extant, is none of it, as in which nothing of the true temper and spirit of *Ignatius* does appear, while others of great note not improbably contend for it as genuine and sincere. From *Troas* they sailed to *Neapolis*, a maritime Town of *Macedonia*, thence to *Philippi*, a Roman Colony (the very same journey which *S. Paul* had gone before him,) where (as <sup>b</sup> *S. Polycarp* intimates in his Epistle to that Church) they were entertained with all imaginable kindness and courtesie, and conducted forwards in their journey. Hence they passed on foot through *Macedonia* and *Epirus*, till they came to *Epidamnium* a City of *Dalmatia*, where again taking Ship they sailed through the *Adriatic*, and arrived at *Rhegium* a Port-Town in *Italy*, whence they directed their course through the *Tyrrhenian* Sea to *Puteoli*, *Ignatius* desiring (if it might have been granted) thence to have gone by Land, that he might have traced the same way, by which *S. Paul* went to Rome. After a day and a nights stay at *Puteoli*, a prosperous wind quickly carried them to the *Roman Port*, the great Harbour and Station for their Navy, built near *Ostia* at the mouth of *Tyber*, about sixteen miles from Rome, whither the holy Martyr longed to come, as much desirous to be at the end of his Race, as his Keepers weary of their voyage, were to be at the end of their journey.

VIII. THE Christians at Rome daily expecting his arrival, were come out to meet and entertain him, and accordingly received him with an equal resentment of joy and sorrow. Glad they were of the presence and company of so great and good a man, but quickly found their joy allayed with the remembrance, how soon, and by how severe a death he was to be taken from them: and when some of them did but intimate,

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that

<sup>a</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 107

<sup>b</sup> *Epist. Poly-*  
*carp. ad Philip.*  
p. 13. non longe  
ab int.

that possibly the People might be taken off from desiring his death, he expressed a pious indignation, intreating them to cast no rubs in his way, nor do any thing that might hinder him, now he was hastening to his Crown. Being conducted to *Rome*, he was presented to the *Præfekt* of the City, and as 'tis probable, the Emperours Letters concerning him were delivered. In the mean time while things were preparing for his Martyrdom, he and the Brethren that resorted to him improved their time to pious purposes; he prayed with them, and for them, heartily recommended the state of the Church to the care and protection of our blessed Saviour, and earnestly solicited Heaven, that it would stop the Persecution that was begun, and bless Christians with a true love and charity towards one another. That his punishment might be the more pompous and public, one of their solemn Festivals, the time of their *Saturnalia*, and that part of it when they celebrated their *Sigillaria*, was pitched on for his Execution: at which times they were wont to entertain the People with the bloody Conflicts of the *Gladiators*, and the hunting of, and fighting with wild Beasts. Accordingly on the XIII. of the *Kalends* of *January*, that is, *December XX.* he was brought out into the *Amphitheatre*, and according to his own fervent desire, that he might have no other grave but the bellies of wild Beasts, the Lions were let loose upon him, whose roaring alarm he entertained with no other concernment, then that now as Gods own Corn he should be ground between the teeth of these wild Beasts, and become White Bread for his heavenly Master. The Lions were not long doing their work, but quickly dispatched their Meal, and left nothing but what they could not well devour, a few hard and solid bones. This throwing of persons to wild Beasts was accounted among the *Romans*, *\*inter summa supplicia*, and was never used but for very capital offences, and towards the vilest and most despicable Malefactors, under which rank they beheld the Christians, who were so familiarly destined to this kind of death, that (as *\*Tertullian* tells us) upon any trifling and frivolous pretence, if a Famine or an Earthquake did but happen, the common out-cry was, *Christianos ad Leones*, Away with the Christians to the Lions.

<sup>a</sup> Paul. J. C. Sent. lib. 5. Tit. 23. L. 3. S. 5. ff. ad leg. Cornel. de Si-car. & Venef.

<sup>b</sup> Apolog. c. 40. p. 32.

<sup>c</sup> Act. Ignat. p. 8. Metaphr. loc. cit. Men. Græc. Tit. 23. ff. de v. uap. Hieron. de Script. in Ignat.

<sup>d</sup> Euagr. H. Eccl. l. 1. c. 16. p. 274.

<sup>e</sup> Holland. ad dnm 1. Febr. p. 35. &c.

IX. AMONG other Christians that were mournful spectators of this Tragic Scene, were the Deacons I mentioned, who had been the Companions of his Journey, who bore not the least part in the sorrows of that day. And that they might not return home with nothing but the account of so sad a Story, they gathered up the bones<sup>b</sup> which the wild Beasts had spared, and transported them to *Antioch*, where they were joyfully received, and honourably entombed in the *Cemetery* without the Gate that leads to *Daphne*. A passage which *Chrysostom* according to his Rhetorical Vein elegantly amplifies as the great honour and treasure of that place. From hence in the reign of *\*Theodosius* they were by his command, with mighty pomp and solemnity removed to the *Tychæon* within the City, a Temple heretofore dedicated to the public *Genius* of the City, but now consecrated to the memory of the Martyr. And for their Translation afterwards to *Rome*, and the miracles said to be done by them, they that are further curious may enquire. For indeed I am not now at leisure for these things. But I can direct the Reader to one that will give him very punctual and particular accounts of them, and in what places the several parcels of his Reliques are bestowed; no less than five Churches in *Rome* enriched with them,

them, besides others in *Naples*, *Sicily*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Germany*, and indeed where not. And verily but that some men have a very happy faculty at doing wonders by multiplication, a man would be apt to wonder how a few bones (and they were not many which the Lions spared) could be able to serve so many several Churches. I could likewise tell him a long story of the various travels and donations of *S. Ignatius* his head, and by what good fortune it came at last to the *Jesuites* College at *Rome*, where it is richly enshrined, solemnly and religiously worshipped, but that I am afraid my Reader would give me no thanks for my pains.

X. ABOUT this time, or a little before, while *Trajan* was yet at *Antioch*, he stopped, or at least mitigated the Persecution against Christians: For having had an account from *\*Pliny* the *Proconsul* of *Bithynia* (whom he had employed to that purpose) concerning the innocency and simplicity of the Christians, that they were a harmless and inoffensive Generation; and lately received a Letter from *\*Tiberianus* Governour of *Palestina Prima*, wherein he told him that he was wearied out in executing the Laws against the *Galileans*, who crowded themselves in such multitudes to execution, that he could neither by persuasions nor threatenings keep them from owning themselves to be Christians, further praying his Majesties advice in that affair: Hereupon he gave command, that no inquisition should be made after the Christians, though if any of them offered themselves, execution should be done upon them. So that the fire which had hitherto flamed and burnt out, began now to be extinguished, and onely crept up and down in private corners. There are that tell us that *Trajan* having heard a full account of *Ignatius* and his sufferings, and how undauntedly he had undergone that bitter death, repented of what he had done, and was particularly moved to mitigate and relax the Persecution: whereby (as *Metaphrastes* observes) not onely *Ignatius* his Life, but his very death became *πολλῶν πόδεσι & ἀγαθῶν*, the Procurer of great peace and prosperity, and the glory and establishment of the Christian Faith. Some not improbably conceive, that the severe judgments which hapned not long after, might have a peculiar influence to dispose the Emperours mind to more tenderness and pity for the remainder of his life. For during his abode at *Antioch*, there were dreadful and unusual<sup>a</sup> Earthquakes, fatal to other places, but which fell most heavy upon *Antioch*, at that time filled more than ordinary with a vast Army and confluence of People from all parts of the World. Among thousands that died, and far greater numbers that were maimed and wounded, *Pedro* the *Consul* lost his life, and *Trajan* himself, had he not escaped out at a window, had undergone the same fate. Accidents which I doubt not prepared his mind to a more serious consideration and regard of things. Though these calamities happened not till some years after *Ignatius* his death.

<sup>a</sup> Epist. 97. l. 1. c. 1. Euseb. l. 3. c. 34. p. 105. J. Matel. Chron. l. 11. ap. Usser. not. in Ignat. Epist. p. 43. b Extat ap. Jo. Matel. loc. cit. ap. Usser. Appen. Ignat. p. 10. vid. Excerpt. ex Jo. Antioch. d Val. edit. p. 818.

<sup>c</sup> Sim. Metaphr. Martyr. Ignat. apud Coteler. p. 1002.

<sup>d</sup> Dio. Cass. Hist. Rom. l. 68. Or Xiphil. in vit. Traj. p. 249. 250, 251. Jo. Matel. Chron. l. 10. ubi supr.

XI. WHETHER these judgments were immediate instances of the divine displeasure for the severity used against the Christians, and particularly for their cruelty to *Ignatius*, I will not say. Certain it is, that the Christian Church had a mighty loss in so useful and excellent a person. For he was a good man, one in whose breast the true spirit of Religion did eminently dwell, a man of very moderate and mortified affections, in which sense he doubtless intended that famous saying, so much celebrated by the Ancients, Ο ΕΜΟΣ ΕΡΩΣ ΕΣΤΑΤΡΩΤΑΙ,

my Love is crucified, that is, (for to that purpose he explains it in the very words that follow) his appetites and desires were crucified to the World, and all the lusts and pleasures of it. We may with <sup>a</sup> S. Chrysostom consider him in a threefold capacity, as an *Apostle*, a *Bishop*, and a *Martyr*. As an *Apostle* (in the larger acception of the word, he being <sup>b</sup> *ἑξάρχων διαδόχῳ τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ*, as the <sup>c</sup> Greek Offices stile him, the immediate successor of the Apostles in their See,) he was careful to diffuse and propagate the genuine Doctrine which he had received of the Apostles, and took a kind of Oecumenical care of all the Churches; even in his passage to Rome he surveyed <sup>d</sup> *πᾶς καὶ πόλιν περιήλθας*, as <sup>e</sup> Eusebius tells us, the Diocesses, or Churches, that belonged to all the Cities whither he came, confirming them by his Sermons and Exhortations, and directing Epistles to several of the principal, for their further order and establishment in the Faith. As a *Bishop*, he was a diligent, faithful and industrious Pastor, infinitely careful of his charge; which though so exceedingly vast and numerous, he prudently, instructed, governed, and superintended, and that in the midst of ticklish and troublesome times, above forty years together. He had a true and unchangeable love for his People, and when ravished from them in order to his Martyrdom, there was not any Church to whom he <sup>f</sup> wrote, but he particularly begged their prayers to God for his Church at *Antioch*, and of some of them desired that they would send <sup>g</sup> *προπορεσέντι*, a divine Ambassador thither on purpose to comfort them, and to congratulate their happy deliverance from the Persecution. And because he knew that the prosperity of the Church and the good of Souls were no less undermined by Heresie from within, then assaulted by Violence and Persecution from without, he had a peculiar eye to that, and took all occasions of warning the Church to beware of Hereticks and Seducers, <sup>h</sup> *πᾶς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων* <sup>i</sup> *πύργου*, as he stiles <sup>j</sup> them, those beasts in the shape of men, whose wild notions and brutish manners began even then to embase Religion, and corrupt the simplicity of the Faith. Indeed he duly filled up all the measures of a wise Governour, and an excellent Guide of Souls, and <sup>k</sup> S. Chrysostom runs through the particular characters of the Bishop delineated by S. Paul, and finds them all accomplished and made good in him; with so generous a care (<sup>l</sup> *says he*) so exact a diligence did he preside over the flock of Christ, even to the making good what our Lord describes, <sup>m</sup> *ὡς μέγιστον ὄρον ἐκ δυνάμεως ἐπιποιεῖς*, as the utmost pitch and line of Episcopal fidelity, to lay down his life for the sheep; and this he did with all courage and fortitude; which is the last consideration we shall remark concerning him.

XII. AS a *Martyr* he gave the highest testimony to his fidelity, and to the truth of that Religion which he both preached and practised. He gloried in his sufferings as his honour and his privilege, and looked upon his chains, <sup>n</sup> *τὰς σιδερέας μαχαίρας*, he calls <sup>o</sup> them, as his Jewels and his Ornaments: he was raised above either the love or fear of the present state, and could with as much ease and freedom (<sup>p</sup> *says Chrysostom*) lay down his life, as another man could put off his clothes. The truth is, his soul was strangely inflamed with a desire of Martyrdom, he wished every step of his Journey to meet with the wild Beasts that were prepared for him, and tells the <sup>q</sup> *Romans*, he desired nothing more than they might presently do his Work, that he would invite and court them speedily to devour him, and if he found them backward, as they had been

<sup>a</sup> Orat. supr. Land. p. 499.

<sup>b</sup> Men. Græc. τῷ καὶ τῷ Δε- καμύτῳ.

<sup>c</sup> H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 36. p. 106.

<sup>d</sup> Epist. ad Eph. p. 9. ad Magnes. p. 15. ad Trallianos. p. 20. ad Rom. p. 25. ad Philadelph. p. 31. ad Smyrn. p. 37.

<sup>e</sup> Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 34. & Euseb. ubi supr.

<sup>f</sup> ubi supr. p. 500. & c.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. p. 499.

<sup>h</sup> Epist. ad Eph. p. 6.

<sup>i</sup> Loc. laudat.

<sup>j</sup> Epist. ad Rom. p. 23. & apud Euseb. loc. cit.

been towards others, he would provoke and force them. And though the death he was to undergo was most savage and barbarous, and dressed up in the most horrid and frightful shapes, enough to startle the firmest resolution, yet could they make no impression <sup>a</sup> *ἐν τῷ σερραῖν ἐκ δυνάμεως* <sup>b</sup> *ψυχῇ* (as the <sup>c</sup> Greeks say of him) upon his impregnable adamantine mind, any more then the dashes of a Wave upon a Rock of Marble, Let the fire (said he\*) and the Cross, the assaults of wild Beasts, the breaking of bones, cutting of limbs, battering the whole body in pieces, yea and all the torments which the Devil can invent come upon me, so I may but attain to be with Jesus Christ; professing he thought it much better to die for Christ, then to live and reign the sole Monarch of the World. Expressions certainly of a mighty Zeal, and a divine Passion wound up to its highest note. And yet after all, this excellent person was humble to the lowest step of abasement: he oft <sup>d</sup> professes that he looked upon himself as an *Abortive*, and the very least of the Faithful in the whole Church of *Antioch*, and that though it was his utmost ambition, yet he did not know whether he was worthy to suffer for Religion. I might in the last place enter into a discourse concerning his *Epistles* (the true *Indices* of the piety and divine temper of his mind,) those seven I mean, enumerated and quoted by Eusebius, and collected by S. Polycarp, as <sup>e</sup> himself expressly testifies; but shall forbear, despairing to offer any thing considerable after so much as has been said by learned men about them: onely observing, that in the exceptions to the argument from S. Polycarp's testimony, little more is said even by those who have managed it to the best advantage, then what might be urged against the most genuine writing in the World. I add S. Polycarp's character of these Epistles, whereby he recommends them as highly useful and advantageous, that they contain in them *Instructions and Exhortations to Faith and Patience, and whatever is necessary to build us up in the Religion of our Lord and Saviour*.

## His Writings.

Genuine.		Spurious.	
Ad Ephesios Epistola.	I.	Ad Mariam Cassopolitam.	I.
Ad Magnesianos.	I.	Ad Tarsenses.	I.
Ad Trallianos.	I.	Ad Antiochenos.	I.
Ad Romanos.	I.	Ad Philipenses.	I.
Ad Philadelphenos.	I.	Ad Heronem.	I.
Ad Smyrneos.	I.	Ad B. Virg. Mariam.	I.
Doubtful.		Ad Joannem Apostolum.	II.
Epistola ad Polycarpum.			

## The End of S. IGNATIUS's Life.

THE LIFE OF  
**S. POLYCARP**  
 BISHOP of SMYRNA.



*Michael Burgher. delinavit et sculpsit.*

**S. POLYCARPUS.**

*The place of his Nativity. The honour and eminency of Smyrna. His education under S. John. By him constituted Bishop of Smyrna. Whether the same with the Bishop to whom S. John committed the young man.*  
 S.Po-

S. Polycarp the Angel of the Church of Smyrna mentioned in the Apocalypses. Ignatius his arrival at Smyrna. His Letters to that Church, and to S. Polycarp. His Journey to Rome about the Quartodeciman Controversie. The time of it enquired into. Anicetus his succession to the See of Rome. His reception there by Anicetus. Their mutual kindness notwithstanding the difference. His stout opposing Heretics at Rome. His sharp treatment of Marcion, and mighty zeal against those early corrupters of the Christian Doctrine. Irenæus his particular remarks of S. Polycarp's actions. The Persecution under M. Antoninus. The time of Polycarp's Martyrdom noted. The acts of it written by the Church of Smyrna: their great esteem and value. S. Polycarp sought for. His Martyrdom foretold by a dream. His apprehension. Conducted to Smyrna. Irenarchæ, who. Polycarp's rude treatment by Herodes. His being brought before the Proconsul. Christians refused to swear by the Emperours genius, and why. His pious and resolute answers. His slights the Proconsuls threatnings. His sentence proclaimed. Asiarchæ who. Preparation for his burning. His Prayer before his death. Miraculously preserved in the fire. Dispatched with a Sword. The care of the Christians about his Remains: this far from a superstitious veneration. Their annual meeting at the place of his Martyrdom. His great Age at his death. The day of his Passion. His Tomb how honoured at this day. The judgments happening to Smyrna after his death. The Faith and Patience of the Primitive Christians noted out of the Preface to the Acts of his Martyrdom. His Epistle to the Philippians. Its usefulness. Highly valued and publicly read in the ancient Church. The Epistle it self.

I.



**POLYCARP** was born towards the latter end of Nero's reign, or it may be a little sooner, his great Age at the time of his death, with some other circumstances rendring it highly probable, if not certain. Uncertain it is where he was born, and I see no sufficient reason to the contrary, why we may not fix his Nativity at Smyrna, an eminent City of Ionia in the lesser Asia, the first of the seven that entered their claim of being

<sup>a</sup> Strab. Geograph. l. 14. p. 646.

the birth-place of the famous <sup>a</sup> Homer, in memory whereof they had a Library, and a four-square Portico, called *Homereum*, with a Temple and the Statue of *Homer* adjoining to it, and used a sort of brass Coin, which they called *Ὀμπερίον*, after his name, and probably with his Image stamp

Η ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΗ  
ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ  
ΚΑΛΛΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΕΘΕΙ ΚΑΙ  
ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΗΤΡΟ  
ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ  
ΚΑΙ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ  
ΤΗΣ ΙΩΝΙΑΣ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙ  
ΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ.

Marmor. Oxon. II. p. 47. Eadem habet Marm. LXXVIII. p. 129. CXLIH. p. 277. Append. XV. p. 296.

<sup>b</sup> Τῇ κτ'. οὗ charge, and the Scene of his Tragœdy and Martyrdom. The <sup>c</sup> Greeks in

in their *Menaon*, report that he was educated at the charge of a certain noble Matron (whose name we are told was *Callisto*) a woman of great Piety and Charity, who when she had exhausted all her Granaries in relieving the Poor, had them suddenly filled again by S. Polycarp's prayers. The circumstances whereof are more particularly related by *Pionius* (who suffered, if, which I much question, it was the same under the *De-cian* Persecution) to this effect. *Callisto* warned by an Angel in a dream sent and redeemed *Polycarp* (then but a child) of some who sold him, brought him home, took care of his education, and finding him a Youth of ripe and pregnant parts, as he grew up, made him the *Major-domo* and Steward of her house; whose charity it seems he dispensed with a very liberal hand, inasmuch that during her absence, he had emptied all her Barns and Store-houses to the uses of the Poor. For which being charged by his Fellow-Servants at her return, she not knowing then to what purpose he had employed them, called for the Keys, and commanded him to resign his trust, which was no sooner done, but at her entrance in, she found all places full, and in as good condition as she had left them, which his prayers and intercession with Heaven had again replenished. As indeed Heaven can be sometimes content rather to work a Miracle, than Charity shall suffer and fare the worse for its kindness and bounty. In his younger years he is said to have been instructed in the Christian Faith by *Bucolus*, whom the same <sup>b</sup> *Menaon* elsewhere informs us S. John had consecrated Bishop of Smyrna; however <sup>c</sup> Authors of more unquestionable credit and ancient date tell us, that he was S. John's Disciple, and not his onely, but as <sup>d</sup> *Irenæus*, who was his Scholar (followed herein by S. Hierom) assures us, he was taught by the Apostles, and familiarly conversed with many who had seen our Lord in the Flesh.

<sup>a</sup> Pion. vit. S. Polycarp. ex MS. Græc. apud Bolland. Janu. ar. XXVI. p. 696.

<sup>b</sup> Τὸ ἀπὸ μὲν ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης.  
<sup>c</sup> Act. Ignat. p. 5. Hieron. de Script. in Polycarp. Epist. 1.3. c. 3. p. 233. & ap. Enseb. l. 4. c. 14. p. 127. <sup>d</sup> Pion. c. 3. n. 12. ubi supr.

II. **BUCOLUS** the vigilant and industrious Bishop of Smyrna being dead, (by whom S. Polycarp was, as we are told, made *Deacon* and *Catechist* of that Church, an Office which he discharged with great diligence and success,) *Polycarp* was ordained in his room, according to *Bucolus* his own prediction, who as the <sup>e</sup> *Greeks* report, had in his life time foretold that he should be his Successor. He was constituted by S. John, say the <sup>f</sup> Ancients generally; though <sup>g</sup> *Irenæus* followed herein by the <sup>h</sup> *Chronicle* of Alexandria, affirms it to have been done by the Apostles, whether any of the Apostles besides S. John were then alive, or whether he means *Apostolic* persons (commonly stiled Apostles in the Writings of the Church) who joined with S. John in the consecration. <sup>i</sup> *Ensebins* says, that *Polycarp* was familiarly conversant with the Apostles, and received the Government of the Church of Smyrna from those who had been *Eye-witnesses* and *Ministers* of our Lord. It makes not a little for the honour of S. Polycarp, and argues his mighty diligence and solicitude for the good of souls, that (as we shall note more anon) *Ignatius* passing to his Martyrdom, wrote to him, and particularly recommended to him the inspection and oversight of his Church at *Antioch*, knowing him (says <sup>j</sup> *Ensebins*) to be truly an Apostolical man, and being assured that he would use his utmost care and fidelity in that matter. The <sup>k</sup> Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* tells us, that it was the Bishop of Smyrna (who could not well be any other than S. Polycarp) to whom S. John committed the tutorage and education of the young man, whom he took up in his Visitation, who ran away, and became Captain of a Company of loose and debauched High-way men, and was afterwards reduced

<sup>e</sup> Men. 23. Fabr. ubi supr. <sup>f</sup> Tertull. de pr. script. Heretic. c. 32. p. 213. Hieron. ubi supr. vid. Suid. in voc. Πόλυκαρπος. Niceph. Hist. eccl. l. 3. c. 2. p. 225. Martyr. Rom. ad 26. Jan. p. 71. <sup>g</sup> Loc. supr. citat. <sup>h</sup> Olymp. CCXXIV. 1. Anton. XXI. p. 602. <sup>i</sup> H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 36. p. 166. <sup>j</sup> Ib. p. 107.

<sup>k</sup> Ad. Ann. 1. Olympiad. CCXX. Indict. XIII. ann. Traj. 4. p. 594.

<sup>a</sup> Ap. Euseb. l. 3.  
c. 23. p. 92.

<sup>b</sup> Affer. Prole-  
gom. ad Ignat.  
Epist. c. 12. p. 9.

and reclaimed by that Apostle. But seeing *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who relates the Story, sets down neither the name of the Bishop, nor the City, though he confesses there were some that made mention of it, nor is this circumstance taken notice of by any other ancient Writer, nor that Bishops neglecting of his charge well consistent with S. Polycarp's care and industry, I shall leave the Story as I find it. Though it cannot be denied but that *Smyrna* was near to *Ephesus*, as S. *Clemens* says that City also was, and that S. *John* seems to have had a more than ordinary regard to that Church, it being next *Ephesus*, the first of those seven famous *Asian* Churches, to whom he directed his Epistles, and S. *Polycarp* at this time Bishop of it: for that he was that Angel of the Church of *Smyrna*, to whom that Apocalyptic Epistle was sent, is not onely highly probable, but by a learned man put past all question. I must confess that the character and circumstances ascribed by S. *John* to the Angel of that Church seem very exactly to agree with *Polycarp*, and with no other Bishop of that Church (about those times especially) that we read of in the History of the Church. And whoever compares the account of S. *Polycarp's* Martyrdom, with the notices and intimations which the *Apocalypse* there gives of that persons sufferings and death, will find the prophecy and the event suit together. That which may seem to make most against it, is, the long time of his presidency over that See: seeing by this account he must sit at least LXXIV years Bishop of that Church, from the latter end of *Domitian's* reign (when the *Apocalypse* was written) to the Persecution under *M. Aurelius*, when he suffered. To which no other solution needs be given, then that his great, nay extreme Age at the time of his death renders it not at all improbable; especially when we find several Ages after, that *Remigius* Bishop of *Rhemes*, late LXXIV years Bishop of that place.

III. IT was not many years after S. *John's* death, when the Persecution under *Trajan* began to be reinforced, wherein the *Eastern* parts had a very large share. *Ann. Chr. CVII. Ignatius* was condemned by the Emperor at *Antioch*, and sentenced to be transported to *Rome* in order to his execution. In his voyage thither he put in at *Smyrna*, to salute and converse with *Polycarp*, these holy men mutually comforting and encouraging each other, and conferring together about the affairs of the Church. From *Smyrna* *Ignatius* and his company sailed to *Troas*, whence he sent back an Epistle to the Church of *Smyrna*, wherein he endeavours to fortifie them against the errors of the Times which had crept in amongst them, especially against those who undermined our Lords humanity, and denied his coming in the Flesh, affirming him to have suffered onely in an imaginary and phantastic body. An opinion, (which as it deserved) he severely censures, and strongly refutes. He further prescribes them to a due observance and regard of their Bishop, and those spiritual Guides and Ministers which under him were set over them; and that they would dispatch a messenger on purpose to the Church of *Antioch*, to congratulate that peace and tranquillity which then began to be restored to them. Besides this he wrote particularly to S. *Polycarp*, whom he knew to be a man of an Apostolic temper, a person of singular faithfulness and integrity, recommending to him the care and superintendency of his disconsolate Church of *Antioch*. In the Epistle it self, as extant at this day, there are many short and useful rules and precepts of life, especially such as concern the Pastoral and Episcopal Office.

And

And here again he renews his request concerning *Antioch*, that a messenger might be sent from *Smyrna* to that Church, and that S. *Polycarp* would write to other Churches to do the like; a thing which he would have done himself, had not his hasty departure from *Troas* prevented him. And more then this, we find not concerning *Polycarp* for many years after, till some unhappy differences in the Church brought him upon the public Stage.

IV. IT happened that the *Quartodeciman* controversy about the observation of *Easter* began to grow very high between the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches, each standing very stiffly upon their own way, and justifying themselves by Apostolical practice and tradition. That this fire might not break out into a greater flame, S. *Polycarp* undertakes a journey to *Rome* to interpose with those who were the main supports and champions of the opposite party, and gave life and spirit to the controversy. Though the exact time of his coming hither cannot precisely be defined, yet will it in a great measure depend upon *Anicetus* his succession to that See, in whose time he came thither. Now evident it is that almost all the ancient Catalogues place him before *Soter*, and next to *Pius*, whom he succeeded. This succession *Eusebius* places *Ann. Chr. CLIV.* a computation certainly much truer then that of *Baronius*, who places it in the year *CLXVII.* and consonantly to this the *Chronicle* of *Alexandria* places S. *Polycarp's* coming to *Rome* *Ann. Chr. CLVIII.* *Anton. Imp. XXI.* 'Tis true indeed that in two ancient Catalogues of the Bishops of *Rome*, set down by *Optatus* and *S. Augustine*, *Anicetus* is set before *Pius*, and made immediately to succeed *Hyginus*; by which account he must be removed fifteen years higher, for so long *Eusebius* positively says *Pius* late. And methinks it seems to look a little this way, that *Eusebius* ad *Genesios*, col. 751. having given an account of the Emperor *Antoninus Pius* his Rescript in behalf of the Christians (granted by him in his third Consulship, *Ann. Chr. CXL.* or thereabouts) immediately adds that 'about the time of the things spoken of *Anicetus* governed the Church of *Rome*, and *Polycarp* came thither upon this errand; the late peace and indulgence granted to the Christians probably administering both opportunity and encouragement to his journey. But seeing this Scheme of Times contradicts *Eusebius* his plain and positive account in other places, and that most ancient Catalogues, especially that of *Irenaeus* and *Hegeleppus* (who both lived and were at *Rome* in the time of *Anicetus* himself) constantly place *Anicetus* next to *Pius*. I dare not disturb this ancient and almost uncontrolled account of things, till I can meet with better evidence for this matter. But when ever it was, over he came to *Anicetus* to confer with him about this affair. Which makes me the more wonder at the learned *Monsieur Valois*, who with so peremptory a confidence denies that *Polycarp* came to *Rome* upon this errand, and that it was not the difference about the *Paschal* solemnity, but some other controversies that brought him thither, when as *Irenaeus* his express words are, (if *Eusebius* rightly represent them) that he came to *Rome* to confer and discourse with *Anicetus*, διὰ τὴν ἑσπέραν περὶ τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέρας, by reason of a certain controversy concerning the day whereon *Easter* was to be celebrated. 'Tis true he says, that they differed a little περὶ ἄλλων τιῶν, ζήτημα περὶ τοῦ πάσχα ἑορτῆς. about some other things, but this hindred not, but that the other was the main errand and inducement of his Voyage thither: though even about that (as he adds) there was no great contention between them. For

Q. 2

thoso

those holy and blessed souls knowing the main and vital parts of Religion not to be concerned in Rituals and external observances, mutually saluted and embraced each other. They could not indeed so satisfy one another, as that either would quit the customs which they had observed, but were content still to retain their own sentiments, without violating that charity, which was the great and common Law of their Religion. In token whereof they communicated together at the Holy Sacrament; and *Anicetus* to put the greater honour upon *S. Polycarp*, gave him leave to consecrate the Eucharist in his own Church: after which they parted peaceably, each side though retaining their ancient Rites, yet maintaining the peace and communion of the Church. The

\* Synod. A. Papp. edit. gr. l. p. 3. & Concil. Tom. I. col. 583. edit. noziff.

ancient *Synodicon* tells us that a Provincial Synod was held at *Rome* about this matter by *Anicetus*, *Polycarp*, and ten other Bishops, where it was decreed that *Easter* should not be kept at the time, nor after the Rites and manner of the *Jews*, but be celebrated *ἀπὸ τῆς ᾠδῆς τοῦ κυρίου* on the eminent and great Lords day that followed after it. But improbable it is that *S. Polycarp* should give his Vote to any such determination, when we know that he could not agree with *Anicetus* in this controversy, and that he left *Rome* with the same judgment and practice herein, wherewith he came thither.

\* Iren. ad. he- r. l. 3. c. 3. p. 233. & ap. Euseb. l. 4. c. 14.

V. DURING his stay at *Rome* he mainly set himself to convince gain-sayers, testifying the truth of those Doctrines which he had received from the Apostles, whereby he reclaimed many to the Communion of the Church, who had been infected and over-run with errors, especially the pernicious heresies of *Marcion*, and *Valentinus*. And when *Marcion* meeting him one day accidentally in the street, and ill resenting

Εὐχαριστῶν δὲ διὸν, μακάριε, τέκνον φιλίᾳ, καὶ εὐχρίστῳ δικινύμενος, ὅτι ὁ σου τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμεῶν καὶ πατρὸς ἡμεῶν Μαρκιῶνα. Ναὶ τὸ εὐχρίστῳ, πῶς, τοῖς λόγοις σου, πᾶς ἐμπρε- ποῖσθε βέβαιον αἰρεῖται, καὶ πᾶσι. Συνέβη δὲ ἡμῶν διὰ τὴν πρεσβυτέρων ἀρετὴν συνεβῶν.

Men. Gracor. ubi sup.

Tit. 3, 10.

it that he did not salute him, called out to him, *Polycarp, own us*; the good man replied in a just indignation, *I own thee to be the first-born of Satan*. So religiously cautious (says *Irenæus*) were the Apostles and their followers, not so much as by discourse to communicate with any that did adulterate and corrupt the truth; observing *S. Pauls*

\* Iren. Epist. ad Flovian. ap. Euseb. l. 5. c. 20. p. 188.

rule, *A man that is an Heretic after the first and second admonition reject; knowing that he that is such is perverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself*. Indeed *S. Polycarps* pious and devout mind was fermented with a mighty zeal and abhorrency of the poisonous and pestilent principles, which in those times corrupted the simplicity of the Christian Faith, in so much that when at any time he heard any thing of that nature, he was wont presently to stop his ears, and cry out, *Good God, into what times hast thou reserved me, that I should hear such things!* immediately avoiding the place where he had heard any such discourse. And the same dislike he manifested in all the Epistles, which he wrote either to neighbour-Churches, or particular persons, warning them of errors, and exhorting them to continue steadfast in the truth. This zeal against Heretics, and especially his carriage towards *Marcion*, we may suppose he learnt in a great measure from *S. John*, of whom he was wont to tell, that going into a Bath at *Ephesus*, and espying *Cerintus* the Heresiarch there, he presently started back, *Let us be gone* (said he to his Companions) *lest the Bath, wherein there is Cerintus, the enemy of the truth, fall upon our heads*. This passage (says *Irenæus*) some yet alive heard from *S. Polycarps* own mouth, and himself no doubt among the rest; for so

\* Iren. l. 3. c. 3. p. 233. & ap. Euseb. l. 4. c. 14.

he

he tells us elsewhere, that in his youth when he was with *S. Polycarp* in the lesser *Asia*, he took such particular notice of things, that he perfectly remembred the very place where he used to sit while he discoursed, his goings out and coming in, the shape of his body, and the manner of his life, his discourses to the People, and the account he was wont to give of his familiar converse with *S. John*, and others who had seen our Lord, whose sayings he rehearsed, and whatever they had told him concerning our Saviour, concerning his Miracles and his Doctrine, which themselves had either seen or heard, agreeing exactly with the relations of the Sacred History. All which *Irenæus* tells us he particularly took notice of, and faithfully treasured them up in his mind, and made them part of his constant meditation. These are all the material remarks which I find among the Ancients concerning *Polycarp* during the time of his Government of the Church at *Smyrna*. Indeed there are several Miracles and particular passages of his life related by the above-mentioned *Pionius*, which tend infinitely to exalt the honour of this holy man. But seeing the Author is obscure, and that we can have no reasonable satisfaction who he was, and whence he borrowed his notices and accounts of things, I chuse rather to suspend my belief, than to entertain the Reader with those (at best uncertain) relations which he has given us.

VI. IN the reign of *M. Antoninus* and *L. Verus*, began a severe Persecution, (whether fourth or fifth, let others enquire) against the Christians, *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, who lived at that time, and dedicated his Apology to the Emperours, making mention of *ῥαγὰ καὶ τῶν Ἀσίων δόγματα καὶ διατάγματα*, new *Edicts* and *Decrees* which the Emperours had illued out through *Asia*, by virtue whereof impudent and greedy Informers spoiled and vexed the innocent Christians. But the storm increased into a more violent tempest about the seventh year of their reign, *Ann. Chr. CLXVII*. when the Emperour *Marcus Antoninus* designing an expedition against the *Marcomanni*, the terror of whom had sufficiently awakened them at *Rome*, summoned the Priests together, and began more solemnly to celebrate their Religious Rites, and no doubt but he was told that there was no better way to propitiate and atone the gods, then to bear hard upon the Christians, generally looked upon as the most open and hateful enemies to their gods. And now it was that *S. Polycarp* after along and diligent discharge of his duty in his Episcopal station received his Crown. So vastly wide of the mark are the later *Greeks*, making him in their public Offices to suffer Martyrdom under the *Decian* Persecution. Nor much nearer is that of *Socrates* (however he fell into the error) who tells us that he was martyred under *Gordianus*. Mistakes so extravagant, that there needs no more to confute them, than to mention them. Concerning his Sufferings and Martyrdom we have a full and particular relation in a Letter of the Church of *Smyrna* written not long after his death to the Church of *Philomelium* (or more truly *Philadelphia*) and in the nature of an *Encyclical* Epistle, to all the Dioceses (ἡμεῖς) of the Holy Catholic Church; the far greatest part whereof *Eusebius* has inserted into his History, leaving out onely the beginning and the end, though the entire Epistle together with its ancient Version, or rather Paraphrase, is since published by Bishop *Usser*. It was penned by *Euaristus*, and afterwards (as appears by their several subscriptions at the end of it) transcribed out of *Irenæus* his Copy by *Caius*,

\* Epist. ad Flovian. ubi sup.

\* Apud Euseb. l. 4. c. 26. p. 147.

\* Jul. Capit. in vit. M. Antonin. c. 13 p. 181.

\* Men. Græc. τῶ καὶ τῶ Φεβρουαρίου.

\* H. Eccl. l. 5. c. 22. p. 284.

*Caius*, contemporary and familiar with *Irenaeus*, out of his by one *Socrates* at *Corinth*, and from his by *Pionius*, who had with great diligence found it out. A piece it is that challenges a singular esteem and reverence both for the subject matter and the antiquity of it, with which *Scaliger* thinks every serious and devout mind must needs be so affected, as never to think it has enough on't: professing for his own part that he never met with any thing in all the History of the Church, with the reading whereof he was more transported, so that he seemed no longer to be himself. Which effect that it may have upon the pious well-disposed Reader, we shall present him with this following account.

*N. Animadv. ad Euseb. Chr. ad N. MMCLXXXIII. p. 221.*

*b. Epist. Necles. Smyrnae Mart. Polycarp. Edit. uss. v. p. 16 & apud Euseb. l. 4. c. 15. p. 129.*

VII. THE Persecution growing hot at *Smyrna*, and many having already sealed their confession with their blood, the general out-cry was, *Away with the impious*, (or the *Atheists*, such they generally called and accounted the Christians) let *Polycarp* be sought for. The good man was not disturbed at the news, but resolved to endure the brunt: till his friends, knowing his singular usefulness, and that our Lord had given leave to his Disciples, when persecuted in one City to flee to another, prevailed with him to withdraw into a neighbouring Village, where with a few companions he continued day and night in prayer, earnestly interceding with Heaven (as afore-time it had ever been his custom) for the peace and tranquillity of all the Churches in the World. Three days before his apprehension falling at night as he was at prayer into a trance, he dreamt that his Pillow was on fire, and burned to ashes; which when he awakened, he told his friends was a prophetic presage, that he should be burnt alive for the cause of Christ. In the mean time he was every where narrowly sought for, upon notice whereof his friends persuaded him to retire into another Village, whither he was no sooner come but his enemies were at hand, who seizing upon a couple of youths (one of whom by stripes they forced to a confession,) were by them conducted to his lodging. Entering the house at Evening, they perceived him to be in bed in an upper Room; and though upon notice before hand of their coming he might easily have saved himself by slipping into another house, yet he refused, saying, *The will of the Lord be done*. Understanding his Persecutors were there, he came down and saluted them with a very chearful and gentle countenance; in so much that they who had not hitherto known him, wondered to behold so venerable a person, of so great age, and so grave and composed a presence, and what needed all this stir to hunt and take this poor old man. He nothing concerned, ordered a Table to be spread, and Provisions to be set upon it, inviting them to partake of them, and onely requesting for himself, that in the mean while he might have one hour for Prayer. Leave being granted, he rose up, and betook himself to his devotions, wherein he had such mighty assistances of divine grace, that he continued praying near two hours together, heartily recommending to God the case of all his friends and acquaintance, whether great or little, honourable or ignoble, and the state of the Catholic Church throughout the World, all that heard him being astonished at it, and of them now repenting that so divine and venerable an old man should be put to death.

VIII. HIS prayer being ended, and they ready to depart, he was set upon an Ass, and (it being then the great Sabbath, though what that

Great

Great Sabbath was, learned men, I believe, will hardly agree till the coming of *Elias*) conducted into the City. As they were upon the Road, they were met by *Herod* and his Father *Nicetes*, who indeed were the main Springs of the Persecution, and had put the tumult into motion. This *Herod* was an *Irenarcha*, one of those, *ad quos tuenda publicæ Pacis vigilantia pertinebat*, as *S. Augustin* describes them; their Office was most what the same with that of our modern *Justices of the Peace*, they being set to guard the Provinces, and to secure the public peace and quietness within their several Jurisdictions, to prevent and suppress Riots and Tumults, Robberies, and Rapines, and to enquire into the Companions and Receivers of all such persons, and to transmit to the Magistrates the examinations and notices which they had received of such matters. They were appointed either by the Emperour himself, or the *Præfetti Prætorio*, or the *Decurio's*; and at this time the custom in the Provinces of the lesser *Asia* was, that every City did yearly send ten of the names of their principal persons to the Governour of the Province, who chose out one to be the *Irenarcha*, the Keeper, or Justice of the Peace. Being afterwards found grievous and troublesome to the People, they were taken away by a Law of the younger *Theodosius*, though the Office remained under another name. This Office at *Smyrna* was at this time managed by this *Herod*, whom *Baronius* conjectures to be *Herodes Atticus*, a man of consular dignity, and of great learning and eloquence, and who had been Tutor to the present Emperour. Certain it is that *Herod* governed in the free Cities of *Asia*, and resided sometimes at *Smyrna*: though it cramps the conjecture, that the name of that *Herod's* Father was *Atticus*, of this *Nicetes*, unless we will suppose him to have had two names. But whoever he be, a great enemy he was to *Polycarp*, whom meeting upon the way, he took him up into his Chariot, where both he and his Father by plausible insinuations sought to undermine his constancy, asking him what great harm there was in saying, *My Lord the Emperour*, and in sacrificing, by which means he might escape. This was an usual way of attempting the Christians; not that they made any scruple to acknowledge the Emperour to be their Lord, (none were so forward, so earnest to pay all due subjection and reverence to Princes) but because they knew that the *Romans*, too apt to flatter the ambition of their Emperours into a fondly usurpt Divinity, by that title usually understood God, as *Tertullian* tells them; in any other notion of the word they could as freely as any call him Lord, though, as he adds, even *Augustus* himself modestly forbade that title to be ascribed to him.

IX. *S. POLYCARP* returned no answer to their demand, till importunately urging him, he replied, that he would not at any rate comply with their persuasions. Frustrated of the ends which they had upon him, they now lay aside the *Vizor* of their dissembled friendship, and turn their kindness into scorn and reproaches, thrusting him out of the Chariot with so much violence, that he bruised his thigh with the fall. Whereat nothing daunted, as if he had received no hurt, he chearfully hastened on to the place of his execution under the conduct of his Guard; whither when they were come, and a confused noise and tumult was arisen, a voice came from Heaven (heard by many, but none seen who spake it,) saying, *Polycarp be strong, and quit thy self like a man*. Immediately he was brought before the public Tribunal, where a great

*b. Epist. CLIX. col. 720. CLX. c. 722. vid. l. 18. § 4. ff. de monit. & honor. Tit. 4. § 16. § 2. ff. de custod. & exhib. reor. Tit. 3.*

*c. Th. l. unic. Tit. 14. de Herarch. d. Ad Ann. CLXIX. n. 7. c. A. Gell. not. Att. l. 1. c. 2. p. 2. J. Capit. in vit. M. Anton. c. 3. p. 151. Philastr. de vit. Sophist. l. 2. in Herod. p. m. 646. & l. 1. in Polemon. p. 642.*

*b. Apolog. c. 34. p. 28. Vid. Suidas. in vit. Aug. c. 53. p. 192.*

shout

shout was made, all rejoicing that he was apprehended. The *Procon-*  
\* Orat. Sacr. 4. *ful* (whose name was *L. Statius Quadratus*,) this very year, as *\* Aristi-*  
*des* the Orator who lived at this time at *Smyrna* informs us, the *Procon-*  
*ful* of *Asia*, (as not long before he had been *Consul* at *Rome*,) asked him  
 whether he was *Polycarp*? which being confessed, he began to persuade  
 him to recant; *Regard*, said he, *thy great age, swear by the genius of Cæsar,*  
*repent, and say with us, take away the impious.* These were *αὐτῶν*  
*τοῖς*, as my Authors truly observe, their usual terms and proposals to  
 Christians, who stoutly refused to swear by the Emperours *genius*; upon  
 which account the Heathens generally traduced them as Traitors and  
 Enemies to the State, though to wipe off that charge, they openly pro-  
 fessed *\*,* that though they could not swear by the *fortune* of the Empe-  
† Tert. Apol. c. 32. p. 28. Orig. contr. Cels. l. 8. p. 421.  
 rour, (their *genii* being accounted deities, whom the Christians knew to  
 be but *demons*, and cast out at every turn) yet they scrupled not to  
 swear by the Emperours *safety*, a thing more august and sacred, then all  
 the *genii* in the World.

X. THE Holy Martyr looking about the *Stadium*, and with a severe  
 and angry countenance, beholding the croud, beckned to them with  
 his hand, sighed and looked up to Heaven, saying, (though quite in  
 another sense then they intended) *Take away the impious.* The *Procon-*  
*ful* still persuaded him to swear, with promise to release him, withall  
 urging him to blaspheme Christ; for with that temptation they were  
 wont to assault Christians, and thereby to try the sincerity of their *Re-*  
*negado's*, a course which *Pliny* tells us he observed towards Apostate  
‡ Epist. ad Trajan. Imp. Ep. 97. l. 10.  
 Christians, though he withall confesses, that none of them that were  
 really Christians could ever be brought to it. The motion was resen-  
 ted with a noble scorn, and drew from *Polycarp* this generous confession,  
*Fourscore and six years I have served him, and he never did me any harm,*  
*how then shall I now blaspheme my King and my Saviour?* But nothing will  
 satisfy a malicious misguided Zeal: the *Proconsul* still importuned him  
 to swear by *Cæsar's* *genius*; to whom he replied, *Since you are so vainly*  
*ambitious that I should swear by the Emperours genius, as you call it, as if you*  
*knew not who I am, hear my free confession, I am a Christian.* If you have  
*a mind to learn the Christian Religion, appoint me a time, and I'll instruct*  
*you in it.* The *Proconsul* advised him to persuade the People; he an-  
 swered, *To you I rather chuse to address my discourse; for we are com-*  
*manded by the Laws of our Religion to give to Princes and the Powers or-*  
*dained of God, all that due honour and reverence, that is not prejudicial*  
*and contrary to the precepts of Religion.* As for them (meaning the com-  
 mon Herd) *I think them not competent Judges, to whom I should apologize,*  
*or give an account of my Faith.*

XI. THE *Proconsul* now saw 'twas in vain to use any further per-  
 suasives and intreaties, and therefore betook himself to severer Argu-  
 ments: *I have wild Beasts at hand* (said he) *to which I'll cast thee, unless*  
*thou recant.* Call for them (cried the Martyr) *for we are immutably resolved*  
*not to change the better for the worse, accounting it fit and comely onely to*  
*turn from Vice to Vertue.* Since thou makest so light of wild Beasts (ad-  
 ded the *Proconsul*) I have a Fire that shall tame thee, unless thou repent.  
*Thou threatnest me with a Fire* (answered *Polycarp*) *that burns for an hour,*  
*and is presently extinct, but art ignorant alas of the Fire of eternal damna-*  
*tion and the judgment to come, reserved for the wicked in the other World.*  
*But why delayest thou? bring forth what ever thou hast a mind to.* This  
 and

and much more he spake with a pleasant and chearful confidence, and a  
 divine grace was conspicuous in his very looks, so far was he from  
 cowardly sinking under the great threatnings made against him. Yea  
 the *Proconsul* himself was astonished at it, though finding no good could  
 be done upon him, he commanded the *Crier* in the middle of the *Stadium*  
 thrice to make open Proclamation (as was the manner of the *Romans* in  
 all Capital Trials) *Polycarp has confessed himself a Christian.* Whereat  
 the whole multitude both of *Jews* and *Gentiles* that were present, (and  
 probable it is that the *πὸ Κοινὸν τῆ Ἀσίας*, the *Common-Council*, or *Assembly*  
 of *Asia*, might about this time be held at *Smyrna* for the celebration of  
 their common Shews and Sports; for that it was sometimes held here is  
 evident from an ancient *\* Inscription* making mention of it,) gave a *\* — ΣΜΥΡ-*  
 mighty shout, crying out aloud, *This is the great Doctor of Asia, and the* *NAN KOI-*  
*Father of the Christians; this is the destroyer of our gods, that teaches men not* *NON AZIAS*  
*to do sacrifice, or worship the deities.* *Marm. Oxon.*  
*III. p. 70.*

XII. THE cry being a little over, they immediately addressed them-  
 selves to *Philip* the *Affarch*: these *Affarchs* were *Gentile* Priests belong- *† Vid. l. 6. §.*  
 ing to the *Commonalty* of *Asia*, yearly chosen at the *Common-Council* or *14. ff. de excu-*  
*Assembly of Asia*, to the number of about ten, (whereof one was Prin- *sat. Tit. 1. §. 1.*  
 cipal) out of the names returned by the several Cities. It was an Office *8. §. 1. de Vacat.*  
 of great honour and credit, but withall of great expence and charge, *Tit. 5. ibid. vid.*  
 they being obliged to entertain the people with Sights and Sports upon *etiam Aristid.*  
 the Festival Solemnities, and therefore it was not conferred but upon the *Orat. Sacr. IV.*  
 more wealthy and substantial Citizens. In this place was *Philip* at this  
 time, whom the people clamorously requested, to let out a Lion upon  
 the Malefactor. Which he told them he could not do, having already  
 exhibited the *πὸ Κυνήσια*, the hunting of wild Beasts with men, one  
 of the famous Shews of the *Amphitheatre*. Then they unanimously de-  
 manded, that he might be burnt alive; a fate, which he himself from the  
 Vision in his Dream had prophetically foretold should be his portion.  
 The thing was no sooner said then done, each one striving to bear a part  
 in this fatal tragædy, with incredible speed fetching Wood and Faggots  
 from several places, but especially the *Jews* were peculiarly active in  
 the service, malice to Christians being almost as natural to them, as 'tis  
 for the fire to burn. The fire being prepared, *S. Polycarp* untied his  
 Girdle, laid aside his Garments, and began to put off his Shoes; mini-  
 stries which he before was not wont to be put to; the Christians am-  
 bitiously striving to be admitted to do them for him, and happy he that  
 could first touch his body. So great a reverence even in his younger  
 years had he from all for the admirable strictness and regularity of his  
 holy life.

XIII. THE Officers that were employed in his execution having dis-  
 posed all other things, came according to custom to nail him to the  
 Stake; which he desired them to omit, assuring them, that he who gave  
 him strength to endure the fire, would enable him without nailing to  
 stand immovable in the hottest flames. So they onely tied him, who  
 standing like a Sheep ready for the slaughter, designed as a grateful sa-  
 crifice to the Almighty, clasping his hands which were bound behind  
 him, he poured out his soul to Heaven in this following Prayer. O Lord  
 God Almighty, the Father of thy well-beloved and ever-blessed Son *Jesus*  
*Christ, by whom we have received the knowledge of thee; the God of Angels,*  
*Powers, and of every creature, and of the whole race of the righteous, who*  
 live

live before thee; I bless thee that thou hast graciously condescended to bring me to this day and hour, that I may receive a portion in the number of thy holy Martyrs, and drink of Christs cup, for the resurrection to eternal life both of soul and body in the incorruptibleness of the holy Spirit. Into which number grant I may be received this day, being found in thy sight as a fair and acceptable sacrifice, such a one as thou thy self hast prepared, that so thou mayest accomplish what thou, O true and faithful God, hast foreshewn. Wherefore I praise thee for all thy mercies, I bless thee, I glorify thee, through the eternal High-priest, thy beloved Son Jesus Christ; with whom to thy self and the Holy Ghost, be glory both now and for ever. Amen. Which last word he pronounced with a more clear audible voice, and having done his Prayer, the Ministers of Execution blew up the fire, which increasing to a mighty flame, behold a wonder (seen, say my Authors, by us, who were purposely reserved, that we might declare it to others) the flames disposing themselves into the resemblance of an Arch, like the Sails of a Ship

*Phœnicem si quis medio mivetur in igne  
Emori, & extructo se reparare rogo. (flammas,  
Ostendat, POLYCARPÈ, avidas tibi parere  
Non ausas sacrâ te violare face.  
Mille nitent cedæ, rutilantq; him indefavillis,  
Atque in te Dominum, quem colis ipse, colunt.  
Præmia nunc majora tibi sed reddit Olympus,  
Ignea qui pedibus subicit astra suis.*

*Inscript. Romæ in Ecclesia S. Stephani in Cœlio, superscripta hæc Syriacæ sententiæ:*

*Ecclesiastic. LI. 6.  
IN MEDIO IGNIS NON SUM ASTUATUS.*

*Vid. usser. not. 74. in Act. Polycarp. p. 67.*

run him through with a Sword; which he had no sooner done, but such a vast quantity of blood flowed from the wound, as extinguished and put out the fire; together with which a Dove was seen to fly from the wounds of his Body, which some suppose to have been his soul, clothed in a visible shape at the time of its departure; though true it is, that this circumstance is not mentioned in *Eusebius* his account, and probably never was in the original. Nor did the malice of *Satan* end here, he knew by the innocent and unblamable course of his life, and the glorious constancy of his Martyrdom, that he had certainly attained the Crown of Immortality, and nothing now was left for his spight to work on, but to deprive them even of the honour of his bones. For many were desirous to have given his body decent and honourable burial, and to have assembled there for the celebration of his memory; but were prevented by some who prompted *Nicetes* the Father of *Herod*, and Brother to *Alee*, to advise the *Proconsul* not to bestow his body upon the Christians, lest leaving their crucified Master, they should henceforth worship *Polycarpus*. A suggestion however managed by the Heathens, yet first contrived and prompted by the *Jews*, who narrowly watched the Christians when they would have taken away his body from the place of Execution: "Little considering (they are the very words of my Authors) how impossible it is that either we should forsake Christ, who died for the salvation of the whole World, or that we should worship any other. Him we adore as the Son of God, but Martyrs as the Disciples and Followers of our Lord, we deservedly love for their eminent kindness towards their

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"own Prince and Master, whose Companions and fellow-Disciples we also by all means desire to be. So far were those Primitive and better Ages from that undue and superstitious veneration of the Reliques of Martyrs and departed Saints which after-ages introduced into the Church, <sup>Prim. Christ. Part. 1. chap. 5.</sup> as elsewhere we have shewed more at large.

XV. THE *Centurion* beholding the perverseness and obstinacy of the *Jews*, commanded the body to be placed in the midst, and in the usual manner to be burnt to ashes; whose bones the Christians gathered up as a choice and inestimable treasure, and decently interred them. In which place they resolved, if possible (and they prayed God nothing might hinder it) to meet and celebrate the Birth-day of his Martyrdom, both to do honour to the memory of the departed, and to prepare and encourage others hereafter to give the like testimony to the Faith. Both which considerations gave birth and original to the *Memorie Martyrum*, those solemn Anniversary Commemorations of the Martyrs which we have in another place more fully shewed, were generally kept in the Primitive Church. Thus died this Apostolical man *Ann. Chr. CLXVII.* about the hundredth year of his Age; for those eighty six years, which himself speaks of, wherein he had served Christ, cannot be said to commence from his birth, but from his baptism or new-birth, at which time we cannot well suppose him to have been less than sixteen or twenty years old: besides his converse with the Apostles, and consecration by *S. John*, reasonably suppose him of some competent years, for we cannot think he would ordain a Youth, or a very young man Bishop, especially of so great and populous a City. The incomparable *Primate* from a passage in his Epistle conjectures him to have lived (though not then converted to Christianity) at the time when *S. Paul* wrote his Epistles; which if so, must argue him to have been of a greater Age: nor is this any more improbable than what *Quadratus*, the Christian Apologist, who lived under *Hadrian*, and dedicated his *Apologetic* to that Emperor, reports; that there were some of those whom our Lord had healed, and raised from the dead alive even in his time: and of *Simeon* successor to *S. James* in the Bishoprick of *Jerusalem*, *Hegesippus* expressly relates that he was CXX years old, at the time of his Martyrdom. Sure I am, *Irenæus* particularly notes of our *S. Polycarp*, that he lived a very long time, and was arrived to an exceeding great age, when he underwent a most glorious and illustrious Martyrdom for the Faith. <sup>Ann. in Ep. S. Polycarp. p. 2. Ap. Euseb. l. 4. c. 3. p. 116. Ibid. l. 3. c. 32. p. 104. Adv. Heres. l. 3. c. 3. & ap. Euseb. l. 4. c. 14. p. 127.</sup>

XVI. HE suffered on the second of the Month *Xanthicus*, the VII. of the Kalends of *May*, though whether mistaken for the VII. of the Kalends of *April*, and so to be referred to *March XXVI.* as some will have it, or for the VII. of the Kalends of *March*, and so to be adjudged to *February XXIII.* as others, is difficult to determine. It shall suffice to note, that his memory is celebrated by the *Greek Church*, *February* the XXIII. by the *Latine*, *January* the XXVI. The *Amphitheatre* where he suffered is in a great measure yet remaining (as a late Eye-witness and diligent searcher into Antiquity informs us) in the two opposite sides whereof are the Dens where the Lions were wont to be kept. His Tomb is in a little Chappel in the side of a Mountain on the South-east part of the City, solemnly visited by the *Greeks* upon his Festival day; and for the maintenance and reparation whereof, Travellers are wont to throw in a few *Assers* into an Earthen Pot that stands there for that purpose. How miserable the state of this City is under the *Turkish* yoke

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<sup>a</sup> Niphil. Epit.  
Dion. in M.  
Anton. p. 281.  
<sup>b</sup> In Orat. Mo-  
noda diff. vid.  
Philast. de vit.  
Sophist. l. 2. in  
Aristid. p. m.  
655.

at this day, is without the limits of my business to enquire: To look a little higher to the Times we write of, though I love not to make severe and ill-natured interpretations of the actions of Divine Providence, yet I cannot but observe, how heavy the Divine Displeasure not long after Polycarp's death fell, as upon other places, so more particularly upon this City, by Plague, Fire, and Earthquakes, mentioned by others, but more fully described by <sup>b</sup> Aristides their own Orator, who was contemporary with S. Polycarp. By which means their City, before one of the Glories and Ornaments of Asia, was turned into Rubbish and Ashes, their stately Houses overturned, their Temples ruined; one especially, which as it advanced Asia above other Countries, so gave Smyrna the honour and precedence above other Cities of Asia; their Traffick spoiled, their Marts and Ports laid waste, besides the great numbers of People that lost their lives. Indeed the fate so sad, that the Orator was forced to give over, professing himself unable to describe it.

Edit. Usser. p.  
14. confer En-  
seb. l. 4. c. 15.  
p. 129.

XVII. I cannot better close the Story of Polycarp's Martyrdom, then with the Preface which the Church of Smyrna has in the beginning of it, as what eminently represents the illustrious faith and patience of those Primitive Christians. "Evident it is (say they) that all those Martyrdoms are great and blessed, which happen by the will of God; for it becomes us Christians, who have a more divine Religion than others, to ascribe to God the sovereign disposal of all events. Who would not stand and admire the generous greatness of their mind, their singular patience, and admirable love to God? who when their flesh was with scourges so torn off their backs, that the whole frame and con- texture of their bodies, even to their inmost Veins and Arteries, might be seen, yet patiently endured it. Infomuch that those who were present, pitied and grieved at the sight of it, while they themselves were endued with so invincible a resolution, that none of them gave one sigh or groan: the holy Martyrs of Christ letting us see, that at that time when they were thus tormented, they were strangers to their own bodies; or rather that our Lord stood by them to assist and comfort them. Animated by the grace of Christ, they despised the torments of men, by one short hour delivering themselves from eternal miseries: the fire which their Tormenters put to them seemed cool and little, while they had it in their eye, to avoid the everlasting and unextinguishable flames of another World; their thoughts being fixed upon those rewards which are prepared for them that endure to the end, such as neither ear hath heard, nor eye hath seen, nor hath it entered into the heart of man; but which were shewn to them by our Lord, as being now no longer Mortals, but entering upon the state of Angels. In like manner those who were condemned to be devoured by wild Beasts, for a long time endured the most grievous tortures; shells of Fishes were strewed under their naked bodies, and they forced to lie upon sharp pointed stakes driven into the ground, and several such like Engines of torture devised for them, that (if possible) by the constancy of their torments, the enemy might drive them to renounce the Faith of Christ: Various were the methods of punishments which the Devil did invent, though blessed be God, there were not many, whom they were able to prevail upon. And at the end of the Epistle they particularly remark concerning Polycarp, that he was not onely a famous Doctor, but an eminent Martyr, whose Martyrdom all strove to

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to imitate, as one who by his patience conquered an unrighteous Judge, and by that means having attained an immortal Crown was triumphing with the Apostles, and all the souls of the righteous, glorifying God the Father, and praising of our Lord, the disposer of our bodies, and the Bishop and Pastor of the Catholic Church throughout the World. Nor were the Christians the onely persons that revered his memory, but the very Gentiles (as Eusebius tells us) every where spoke honourably of him

XVIII. AS for his Writings, besides that <sup>a</sup> S. Hierom mentions the Volumes of Papias and Polycarp, and the above-mentioned <sup>c</sup> Pionius his Epistles and Homilies, <sup>d</sup> Irenaeus evidently intimates that he wrote several Epistles, of all which none are extant at this day, but the Epistle to the Philippians, an Epistle peculiarly celebrated by the Ancients, very useful says S. Hierom, <sup>e</sup> πένυ θεωρεῖται (as Suidas and <sup>f</sup> Sophronius stile it) a most admirable Epistle. <sup>g</sup> Irenaeus gives it this Elogium, that it is a most perfect and absolute Epistle, whence they that are careful of their salvation, may learn the character of his Faith, and the truth which he preached. To which Eusebius adds, that in this Epistle he makes use of some Quotations out of the first Epistle of S. Peter. An observation that holds good with the Epistle, as we have it at this day, there being many places in it cited out of the first, not one out of the second Epistle. Photinus passes this just and true judgment of it, that it is full of many admonitions, delivered with clearness and simplicity, according to the Ecclesiastic way way and manner of interpretation. It seems to hold a great affinity both in stile and substance with Clemens his Epistle to the Corinthians, often suggesting the same rules, and making use of the same words and phrases, so that it is not to be doubted, but he had that excellent Epistle particularly in his eye at the writing of it. Indeed it is a pious and truly Christian Epistle, furnished with short and useful Precepts and Rules of Life, and penned with the modesty and simplicity of the Apostolic Times, valued by the Ancients next to the Writings of the Holy Canon; and S. Hierom tells us that even in his time it was read in Asia conventu, in the public Assemblies of the Asian Church. It was first published in Greek by P. Halloix the Jesuit, Ann. MDCXXXIII. and not many years after by Bishop Usser: and I presume the pious Reader will think it no unuseful digression, if I here subjoin so venerable a monument of the ancient Church.

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# THE EPISTLE OF S. POLYCARP,

Bishop of Smyrna and Martyr, to the *Philippians*.

Polycarp and the Presbyters that are with him, to the Church of God which is at *Philippi*: Mercy unto you, and Peace from God Almighty, and Jesus Christ our Saviour, be multiplied.



**I.** REJOICED with you greatly in our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye entertained the patterns of true love, and (as became you) conducted onwards those who were bound with chains, which are the Ornaments of Saints, and the Crowns of those that are the truly elect of God, and of our Lord: and that the firm root of your Faith, formerly published, does yet remain, and bring forth fruit in our Lord Jesus Christ, who was pleased to offer up

himself even unto death for our sins: whom God raised up, having loosed the pains of death: in whom, though you see him not, ye believe, and believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory; wherewith many desire to enter, knowing that by Grace ye are saved, not by Works, but by the Will of God through Jesus Christ.

**II.** WHEREFORE girding up your loins, serve God in fear and truth, forsaking empty and vain talking, and the error wherein so many are involved, believing in him who raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and gave him glory, and a throne at his right hand; to whom all things both in Heaven and in Earth are put in subjection, whom every thing that has breath worships, who comes to judge the quick and the dead, whose blood God will require of them that believe not in him. But he who raised him up from the dead, will raise up us also, if we do his will, and walk in his commandments, and love what he loved, abstaining from all unrighteousness, inordinate desire, covetousness, detraction, false witness; not rending evil for evil, or railing for railing, or striking for striking, or cursing for cursing, but remembering what the Lord said, when he taught thus, Judge not, that ye be not judged, forgive and ye shall be forgiven, be merciful, that ye may obtain mercy: with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you

Act. 2. 24.

1 Pet. 1. 8.

Eph. 2. 8.

1 Pet. 1. 13.

1 Pet. 1. 21.

1 Pet. 3. 9.

Matth. 7. 1.

Luke 6. 36, 37.

you again: and that blessed are the poor, and they which are persecuted for righteousness sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God. Matt. 5. 3, 10.

**III.** THESE things, Brethren, I write to you concerning righteousness, not of my own humour, but because your selves did provoke me to it. For neither I, nor any other such as I am, can attain to the wisdom of blessed and glorious S. Paul, who being among you, and conversing personally with those who were then alive, firmly and accurately taught the word of truth; and when absent, wrote Epistles to you, by which, if you look into them, ye may be built in the Faith, delivered unto you, which is the Mother of us all, being followed by Hope, and led on by Love, both towards God, and Christ, and to our neighbour. For whoever is inwardly replenished with these things, has fulfilled the law of righteousness; and he that is furnished with love, stands at a distance from all sin. 1 Tim. 6. 7. But the love of Money is the beginning of all evil. Knowing therefore that we brought nothing into the World, and that we shall carry nothing out, let us arm our selves with the armour of righteousness, and in the first place be instructed our selves to walk in the commands of the Lord, and next teach your Wives to live in the Faith delivered to them, in love, and chastity, that they embrace their own husbands with all integrity, and others also with all temperance and continency, and that they educate and discipline their children in the fear of God. The Widows, that they be sober and modest concerning the Faith of the Lord, that they incessantly intercede for all, and keep themselves from all standing detraction, false witness, covetousness, and every evil work: as knowing that they are the Altars of God, and that he accurately surveys the sacrifice, and that nothing can be concealed from him, neither of our reasonings, nor thoughts, nor the secrets of the heart. Accordingly knowing that God is not mocked, we ought to walk worthy of his command, and of his glory.

**IV.** LIKEWISE let the Deacons be unblamable before his righteous presence, as the Ministers of God in Christ, and not of men; not accusers, not double-tongued, not covetous, but temperate in all things, compassionate, diligent, walking according to the truth of the Lord, who became the Deacon or servant of all: of whom, if we be careful to please him in this World, we shall receive the reward of the other life according as he has promised to raise us from the dead: and if we walk worthy of him, we believe that we shall also reign with him. Let the Young men also be unblamable in all things, studying in the first place to be chaste, and to restrain themselves from all that is evil. For it is a good thing to get above the lusts of the World, seeing every Lust wars against the Spirit; and that neither Fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind shall inherit the Kingdom of God, nor whoever commits base things. 1 Cor. 6. 9, 10.

**V.** WHEREFORE it's necessary that ye abstain from all these things, being subject to the Presbyters and Deacons, as to God and Christ: that the Virgins also walk with a chaste and undefiled conscience. Let the Presbyters be tender and merciful, compassionate towards all, reducing those that are in error, visiting all that are weak, not negligent of the Widow and the Orphan, and him that is poor, but ever providing what is honest in the sight of God and men; abstaining from all wrath, respect of persons, and unrighteous judgment, being far from covetousness, not hastily believing a report against any man, not rigid in judgment, knowing that we are all faulty, and obnoxious to punishment. If therefore we stand in need to pray the Lord that he would forgive us, we our selves ought also to forgive. For we are before the eyes of him, who is Lord and God, and all must stand before the judgment Rom. 14. 9, 10.

ment seat of Christ, and every one give an account of himself. Wherefore let us serve him with all fear and reverence, as he himself has commanded us, and as the Apostles have preached and taught us, and the Prophets who foretold the coming of our Lord. Be zealous of that which is good, abstaining from offences and false brethren, and those who bear the name of the Lord in hypocrisy, who seduce and deceive vain men. For every one, that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is Antichrist; and he who doth not acknowledge the martyrdom of the Cross, is of the Devil, and whosoever shall pervert the Oracles of the Lord to his private lusts, and shall say, that there is neither resurrection nor judgment to come, that man is the first born of Satan. Leaving therefore the vanity of many, and their false doctrines, let us return to that doctrine, that from the beginning was delivered to us: let us be watchful in Prayers, persevering in Fasting, and Supplications, beseeching the All-seeing God that he would not lead us into temptation; as the Lord has said, the Spirit indeed is willing but the Flesh is weak. Let us unceasingly and constantly adhere to Jesus Christ, who is our hope and the pledge of our righteousness, who bare our sins in his own body on the Tree, who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth, but endured all things for our sakes, that we might live through him. Let us then imitate his patience, and if we suffer for his Name, we glorify him; for such a pattern he set us in himself, and this we have believed and entertained.

VI. I exhort you therefore all, that ye be obedient to the word of righteousness, and that you exercise all manner of patience, as you have seen it set forth before your eyes, not only in the blessed Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus, but in others also among you, and in Paul himself, and the rest of the Apostles; being assured that all these have not run in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and are arrived at the place, due and promised to them by the Lord, of whose sufferings they were made partakers. For they loved not this present world, but him who both died, and was raised up again by God for us. Stand fast therefore in these things, and follow the example of the Lord, being firm and immutable in the faith, lovers of the brethren, and kindly affectionate one towards another, united in the truth, carrying your selves meekly to each other, despising no man. When it is in your power to do good, defer it not, for Alms delivereth from death. Be all of you subject one to another, having your conversation honest among the Gentiles; that both you your selves may receive praise by your good works, and that God be not blasphemed through you. For wo unto him, by whom the Name of the Lord is blasphemed. Wherefore teach all men sobriety, and be your selves conversant in it.

VII. I am exceedingly troubled for Valens, who was sometimes ordained a Presbyter among you, that he so little understands the place wherein he was set. I therefore warn you, that you abstain from covetousness, and that ye be chaste and true. Keep your selves from every evil work. But he that in these things cannot govern himself, how shall he preach it to another? If a man refrain not from covetousness, he will be defiled with Idolatry, and shall be judged among the Heathen. Who is ignorant of the judgment of the Lord? Know ye not that the Saints shall judge the World? as Paul teaches. But I have neither found any such thing in you, nor heard any such thing of you, among whom the blessed Paul laboured, and who are in the beginning of his Epistle. For of you he boasts in all those Churches, which only knew God at that time, whom as yet we had not known. I am therefore, Brethren, greatly troubled for him, and for his Wife, the Lord give them true repentance.

tance. Be ye also sober as to this matter, and account not such as enemies, but restore them as weak and erring members, that the whole body of you may be saved; for in so doing, ye build up your selves.

VIII. I trust that ye are well exercised in the holy Scriptures, and that nothing is hid from you; a thing as yet not granted to me. As it is said in these places, be angry and sin not: and, let not the Sun go down upon your wrath. Blessed is he that is mindful of these things, which I believe you are. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and Christ Jesus the eternal High-priest, and Son of God, build you up in faith and truth, and in all meekness that you may be without anger, in patience, forbearance, long-suffering, and chastity, and give you a portion and inheritance amongst his Saints, and to us together with you, and to all under Heaven, who shall believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and in his Father, who raised him from the dead. Pray for all Saints. Pray also for Kings, Magistrates, and Princes, and even for them that hate and persecute you, and for the Enemies of the Cross, that your fruit may be manifest in all, that you may be compleat in him.

IX. YE wrote unto me, both ye and Ignatius, that if any one go into Syria, he might carry your Letters along with him: which I will do so soon as I shall have a convenient opportunity, either myself, or by some other, whom I will send upon your errand. According to your request we have sent you those Epistles of Ignatius, which he wrote to us, and as many others of his as we had by us, which are annexed to this Epistle, by which ye may be greatly profited. For they contain in them faith, and patience, and whatever else is necessary to build you up in our Lord. Send us word what you certainly know both concerning Ignatius himself, and his companions. These things have I written unto you by Crescens, whom I have hitherto commended to you, and do still recommend. For he has unblamably conversed among us, as also I believe amongst you. His sister also ye shall have recommended, when she shall come unto you. Be ye safe in the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with you all. Amen.

The End of S. POLYCARP's Life.

THE LIFE OF  
**S. QUADRATUS**  
 BISHOP of ATHENS.



*Michael Burghors.*

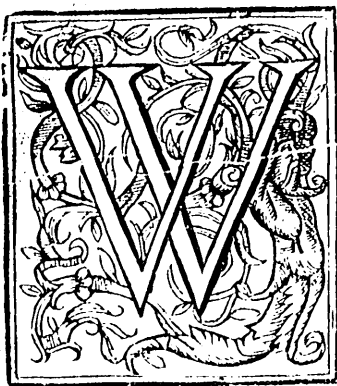
*Delineavit et sculpsit.*

**S. QUADRATUS.**

*His Birth-place enquired into. His Learning. His Education under the Apostles. Publius Bishop of Athens. Quadratus his succession in that Sec. The degenerate state of that Church at his coming to it. His indefatigable*

fatigable zeal and industry in its reformation. Its purity and flourishing condition noted by Origen. Quadratus his being endowed with a spirit of Prophecy, and a power of miracles. This person proved to be the same with our Athenian Bishop. The troubles raised against the Christians under the reign of Hadrian. Hadrian's Character. His disposition towards Religion, and base thoughts of the Christians. His fondness for the Learning and Religion of Greece. His coming to Athens, and kindness to that City. His being initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. These mysteries what, and the degrees of initiation. Several addresses made to the Emperor in behalf of the Christians. Quadratus his Apologetic. Ser. Granianus his Letter to Hadrian concerning the Christians. The Emperor's Rescript. His good opinion afterwards of Christ and his Religion. Quadratus driven from his charge. His Martyrdom and place of Burial.

I.



HETHER S. Quadratus was born at Athens, no notices of Church-Antiquity enable us to determine: though the thing it self be not improbable, his Education and Residence there, and the Government of that Church seeming to give some colour to it. And as Nature had furnished him with incomparable parts, (*excellens ingenium*, as S. Hierom says of him) so the place gave him mighty advantages in his education, to be thoroughly trained up in the choicest parts of Learning,

and most excellent institutions of Philosophy, upon which account the Greeks truly stile him, *ἄνδρα πολυτρόπον*, a man of great Learning and Knowledge. He became acquainted with the Doctrines and Principles of Christianity, by being brought up under Apostolical instruction, for so Eusebius and S. Hierom more than once tells us, that he was an Auditor and a Disciple of the Apostles; which must be understood of the longer lived Apostles, and particularly of S. John, whose Scholar in all probability he was, as were also Ignatius, Polycarp, Papias, and others: and therefore Eusebius places him among those that had *ἡμετέραν παράδοξιν*, that were of the very first rank and order among the Apostles Successors. There are that make him, and that too constituted by S. John (though I confess I know not by what Authority, the Ancients being wholly silent in this matter) Bishop of Philadelphia, one of the seven famous Churches of Asia, and at that time, when S. John sent his Epistle to that Church: which I pass by as a groundless and precarious assertion, seeing they might with equal warrant have made him Bishop of any other place.

II. UNDER the Reign of Trajan, as is probable, though Baronius places it under Hadrian, Ann. Imp. VI. Publius Bishop of Athens suffered Martyrdom, who is thought by some to have been that very Publius whom S. Paul converted in the Island Melita in his voyage to Rome, and who afterwards succeeded Dionysius the Arcopagite in the See of Athens. To him succeeded our Quadratus, (as Dionysius Bishop of Corinth, who lived not long after that time, informs us) who found the state of that Church

Church in a bad condition at his coming to it. For upon Publius his Martyrdom, and the Persecution that attended it, the people were generally dispersed and fled, as what wonder, if when the Shepherd is smitten, the Sheep be scattered, and go astray? their public and solemn Assemblies were deserted, their Zeal grown cold and languid, their lives and manners corrupted, and there wanted but little of a total apostasy from the Christian Faith. This good man therefore set himself with a mighty zeal to retrieve the ancient spirit of Religion, he re-settled Order and Discipline, brought back the People to the public Assemblies, kindled and blew up their faith into an holy flame. Nor did he content himself with a bare Reformation of what was amiss, but with infinite diligence preached the Faith, and by daily Converts enlarged the bounds of his Church, so that (as the Greek Rituals express it) the Sages and Wise men of Greece being convinced by his Doctrines and wise discourses, embraced the Gospel, and acknowledged Christ to be the Creator of the World, and the great Wisdom and Power of God. And in a short time reduced it to such an excellent temper, that Origen (who lived some years after) demonstrating the admirable efficacy of the Christian Faith over the minds of men, and its triumph over all other Religions in the World, instances in this very Church of Athens for its good Order and Constitution, its meekness, quietness, and constancy, and its care to approve it self to God, infinitely beyond the common Assembly at Athens, which was factious and tumultuary, and no way to be compared with the Christian Church in that City; that the Churches of Christ when examined by the Heathen Convocations, shone like Lights in the World, and that every one must confess that the worst parts of the Christian Church were better, then the best of their popular Assemblies; that the Senators of the Church (as he calls them) were fit to govern in any part of the Church of God, while the Vulgar Senate had nothing worthy of that honourable dignity, nor were raised above the manners of the common people.

III. THUS excellently constituted was the Athenian Church; for which it was chiefly beholden to the indefatigable industry, and the prudent care and conduct of its present Bishop, whose success herein was not a little advantaged by those extraordinary supernatural Powers which God had conferred upon him. That he was endued with a Spirit of Prophecy, of speaking suddenly upon great and emergent occasions, in interpreting obscure and difficult Scriptures, but especially of fore-telling future events, we have the express testimonies of Eusebius, affirming him to have lived at the same time with Philips Virgin-Daughters, and to have had *προφητικὴν χάρισμα*, the gift of Prophecy, and of another Author much ancients than he, who confuting the error of the Cataphryges, reckons him among the Prophets who flourished under the Oeconomy of the Gospel. I know a learned man would fain persuade us, that the Quadratus who had the Prophetic gifts, was a person distinct from our Athenian Bishop. But the grounds he proceeds upon seem to me very weak and inconcluding. For whereas he says, that that Quadratus is not by Eusebius stiled a Bishop, who knows not that persons are not in every place mentioned under all their capacities? and less need was there for it here, Quadratus when first spoken of by Eusebius, not being then Bishop of Athens, and so not proper to be taken notice of in that capacity. Nor is his other exception of greater weight,

<sup>a</sup> De Script. in Quadrat.

<sup>b</sup> Nic. Græc. τῶν καὶ ἑρμηνεύ.

<sup>c</sup> Quadrat. ὁ ἰδὼς τὸν Ἀποστόλου ἀκούσας. Euseb. Xer. Kav. Ad Ann. PKZ. p. 211. <sup>d</sup> Hier. de Script. in Quadr. Epist. ad Magn. Orat. Tom. 2. p. 327. <sup>e</sup> H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 37. p. 109.

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. l. 4. c. 23. p. 143.

<sup>g</sup> Epist. ad Athen. apud Euseb. loc. citat.

<sup>a</sup> Men. Græc. ubi supr.

<sup>b</sup> Contr. Cels. l. 3. p. 128.

<sup>c</sup> H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 37. p. 109.

<sup>d</sup> Ap. Euseb. l. 5. c. 17. p. 183.

<sup>e</sup> V. Alf. Annot. ad Euseb. l. 4. c. 23. p. 81.

weight, that the prophetic *Quadratus* did not survive the times of *Adrian*, whereas ours was in the same time with *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, who lived under *M. Antoninus*, and speaks of him as his contemporary, and lately ordained Bishop of *Athens*. But whoever looks into that passage of \* *Dionysius*, will find no foundation for such an assertion, but rather the quite contrary, that he speaks of him as if dead before his time, as I believe any one that impartially considers the place, must needs confess. Not to say, that *S. Hierom* and all after him without any scruple make them to be the same. So that we may still leave him his gift of prophecy, which procured him so much reverence while he lived, and so much honour to his memory since his death. To which may

\* *Ap. Euseb. l. 4. c. 23. p. 143.*

Ἰσὼν τὸ θεῶν, Κοδράτε, διὰ τὴν αὐτῆς ἐκείνου, ὡς Ἀποστόλου θεο-  
λογῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκείνου, ἱεροδότης. Men.  
Giac. loc. sup. cit.

he added what the *Greeks* in their *Menaeon* not improbably say of him, that he was furnished with a power of working miracles, and that by his prayers he ruined the idolatrous Temples of the Heathens, whereby he mightily confoun-

ded the Infidels, and brought in great numbers to the Faith.

IV. BUT the fair weather and prosperity of the Church was not wont to last long in those days. They had enjoyed a short tranquillity about the latter end of *Trajan's* reign, but now alas under *Adrian* his Successor the weather changed, and there arose (as \* *S. Hierom* calls it) a most grievous and heavy Persecution, and which \* *Salpistius Severus* expressly says was the fourth Persecution. And indeed, how grievous it was, sufficiently appears from those many thousands of Martyrs that then suffered, mentioned in the ancient Martyrologies of the Church: Yea, even at *Rome* it self *Eustachius* and his Wife *Theopistis* with their two Sons, are said by the Emperours command to have been thrown to the Lions, and when the mercy of the savage Beasts had spared them, they were ordered to be burnt to death in the belly of a brazen Bull. 'Tis

\* *Epist. ad Mar. ubi sup.*  
\* *Hist. sac. l. 2. p. 142.*

b *Id. Rom. Martyr. ad Sep- temb. XX. p. 583.*

c *Apol. c. 6. p. 6.*

d *Euseb. l. 3. c. 33. p. 105.*

e *Mar. Maxim. ap. Al. Spont. vit. Adrian. c. 20. p. 88. vid. Dion. l. 6. p. non long. ab init.*

f *Scantian. lib. c. 14. p. 69.*

g *Id. ib. c. 22. p. 76.*

true \* *Tertullian* says that *Adrian* published no Laws or Edicts against the Christians; but the Laws enacted by *Trajan* being yet unrepealed, or not laid aside, there would not want those who would put them in execution. We find <sup>a</sup> that though *Trajan* commanded a stop to be put to the persecution against Christians, yet even then both People and Governours of Provinces went on with their accustomed cruelties, and though there was not a general, there were particular and provincial Persecutions. And no doubt it was much more so after his death, when *Adrian* came to the Empire, whom they knew too well, to think he would be an enemy to such proceedings. For whatever some have said concerning the clemency and good nature of that Prince, there are others that plainly affirm, that it was but personated and put on, that he really was in his nature cruel, and that (according to the true *genius* of superstition) whatever works of piety he did, it was for fear lest the same evil fate should happen to him, that fell upon *Domitian*; and of his cruelty instances enough may be met with in the Writers of his Life. In short, there was in him a strange mixture and contemperation of Vice and Vertue, it being a true character which the <sup>f</sup> Historian gives of him, that he was severe and chearful, grave and affable, deliberate and yet eagerly wanton, covetous and liberal, cruel and merciful, a great dissembler, and perpetually inconstant in all his actions.

V. FOR Religion he was a diligent and superstitious observer <sup>g</sup> of their own Rites of Worship, but hated and despised all strange and fo-

reign Religions, and especially the Christian. Indeed how well he thought of the Christians, appears sufficiently from his \* Letter to *Servianus* the Consul, written a little after his return out of *Egypt*, wherein he gives the Christians there so lewd and base a character; not sticking to affirm that the People, yea their Priests, their Bishops and their very Patriarch himself would worship both *Christ* and *Serapis*, and that they were a most turbulent, vain, and injurious generation. From which Epistle it seems plain to me, that at his being there, he had severely persecuted the Christians, and compelled some light or false Professors to worship the Deities of the Country, which probably gave ground to his censure, and to charge the imputation upon all. And since he looked upon the Christians as such a vile sort of men, it's the less to be wondered, that he should connive at, or encourage their being persecuted in other parts of the Empire. He principally applied himself to the Studies of <sup>b</sup> *Greece*, whereof he was so strangely fond, that he was commonly stiled *Græculus*, the Little Greek: this made him delight much in those parts, and to converse with the Learning and Philosophy of those Countries. About the sixth or seventh year of his reign he came to *Athens*, where he took upon him the place and honour of an *Archon*, celebrated their solemn sports, and gave many particular Laws and Privileges to that City, but especially was entered into their *Eleusinian* Mysteries, accounted the most sacred and venerable of the whole Gentile World, and which particularly carried the Title of *The Mysteries*. They were solemn and Religious Rites performed to *Ceres* in memory of great benefits received from her, the Candidates whereof were stiled *μύσται*, and to the full participation whereof they were many times not admitted till after a five years preparatory trial, which had many several steps, and each its peculiar rites: first there were *πύρδρυμμι καὶ δάρις*, the common purgations, then *αἱ ἀποπύρνεσι*, those that were more secret, next the *συστάρις*, or stations, then the *μυστήρις*, the initiations, and lastly, (which was the top of all) the *ἐποπτεία*, or the inspections. Others reckon them thus; that first there were the *πύκα δάρις*, the Purifications and expiations; then followed the *πύκα μυστήρια*, the Lesser Mysteries, when they were solemnly initiated and taken in; and lastly, after some time they arrived at the Greater Mysteries, the *πύκα ἐποπτεία*, which were the most hidden solemnities of all, when they were admitted to a full sight of the whole Mystic Scene, and thenceforth called *ἑποπτεία* or *Inspectors*, and were obliged under a solemn Oath, not to discover these mysterious Rites to any. We cannot well suppose that the Emperour *Adrian* was put to observe these tedious methods of Initiation, their mystic Laws were no doubt dispensed with for so extraordinary a person, and he at once became both a Candidate and an *ἑποπτεία*, a thing which they sometimes granted in some extraordinary cases. And not content to do thus at *Athens*, <sup>c</sup> *S. Hierom* tells us, he was initiated into almost all the sacred Rites of *Greece*, whence <sup>d</sup> *Tertullian* justly stiles him, *The searcher into all curious and hidden Mysteries*, and <sup>e</sup> *Dion* himself tells us of him, that he was infinitely curious, and strangely addicted to all sorts of Divination and Magic Arts.

\* *Ext. at ap. Fl. Vopisc. in vit. Saturn. p. 959.*

b *Sp. vi. c. 1. p. 1.*

c *De Script. in Quadrat.*  
d *Loc. sup. cit.*  
e *Excerpt. ex Dion. d. Valis. edit. p. 714.*

VI. AT *Athens* *Adrian* staid the whole Winter, where his busy and superstitious Zeal being taken notice of; was warrant enough without further order for active Zealots to pursue and oppress the Christians, the Persecution growing so fierce and hot, that the Christians were forced

\* Euseb. l. 4. c. 3.  
p. 116. Hieron.  
ubi supr. & in  
Epiſt. ad Magr.  
Orator.

to remonstrate and declare their case to the Emperour; among whom besides \* *Aristides* a Christian Philosopher at this time at *Athens*, who in an *Apology* addressed himself to *Adrian*, our *Quadratus* presented an *Apologetic* to the Emperour, defending the Christian Religion from the calumnies and exceptions of its Enemies, and vindicating it from those pretences, upon which ill minded men sought to ruine and undo the innocent Christians, wherein also he particularly took notice of our Saviours miracles, his curing diseases, and raising the dead, some instances whereof, he says, were alive in his time. Besides this *Apology* (wherein, as *Eusebius* says, he gave large evidences both of his excellent parts, and true Apostolic Doctrine) 'tis probable he left no other Writings behind him, none being mentioned by any of the Ancients: Where I cannot but note the strange heedlessness of the *Compilers* of the \* *Centuries*, where they tell us out of *Eusebius*, that besides the *Apology*, he composed another excellent Book called *Syngramma*, when nothing can be more plain, then that by that *Writing* *Eusebius* means not a distinct Book, but that very *Apologetic* Oration, which he there speaks of: and yet a modern *German* \* Professor (who frequently transcribes their errors as well as their labours) securely swallows it, purely (I suppose upon their Authority;) though strange it is, that he could read that passage in *Eusebius* himself, which he seems to have done, and not palpably feel the mistake.

\* Cent. II. cap.  
10. col. 152.

\* nihil. Antiq.  
Eccles. Secul. 2.  
Artic. 1. p. 183.

c. J. Mart. Apol.  
II. p. 99. & ap.  
Euseb. l. 4. c. 8.  
p. 122.

a Justin. ib.  
Euseb. c. 9. p. 123

VII. IT happened about thistime that *Serenius Granius* the *Proconsul* of *Asia* wrote \* Letters to the Emperour, representing to him the injustice of the common proceedings against Christians, how unfit it was that without any legal Trial, or crime laid to their charge, they should be put to death meerly to gratifie the unreasonable and tumultuary clamours of the People. With this Letter and the Apologies that had been offered him by the Christians, the keenness of the Emperours fury was taken off, and care was taken that greater moderation should be used towards them. To which purpose he dispatched away \* to *Fundanus*, *Granius* his successor in the *Proconsulship* of *Asia* this following Rescript.

ADRIAN Emperour, to MINUCIUS FUNDANUS.

I Received the Letters which were sent me by the most excellent *Serenius Granius*, your Predecessor. Nor do I look upon it as a matter fit to be passed over without due enquiry, that the men may not be needlessly disquieted, nor Informers have occasion and encouragement of fraudulent accusations ministred unto them. Wherefore if the Subjects of our Provinces be able openly to appear to their indictments against the Christians, so as to answer to them before the public Tribunal, let them take that course, and not deal by Petition and meer noise and clamour: it being much fitter, if any accusation be brought, that you should have the cognizance of it. If any one shall prefer an indictment, and prove that they have transgressed the Laws, then give you sentence against them according to the quality of the crime. But if it shall appear, that he brought it onely out of spite and malice, take care to punish that man according to the heinousness of so wicked a design.

\* A. Euseb. l. 4.  
c. 26. p. 148.

The same Rescripts (as \* *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, who presented an *Apology* to *M. Antoninus* informs us) *Adrian* sent to several other

other Governours of Provinces. Nay was so far wrought into a good mood, that if it be true what their own \* Historian reports of him, he designed to build a Temple to Christ, and to receive him into the number of their gods, and that he commanded Temples to be built in all Cities without Images, which were for a long time after called *Adriani*; but was prohibited to go on by some, who having consulted the Oracle, had been told, that if this succeeded according to some mens desires, the Temples would be deserted and all men become Christians.

VIII. WHAT became of *S. Quadratus* after *Adrians* departure from *Athens*, we find not more then what the \* *Greeks* in their *Menæon* relate, that by the violence of Persecuters he was driven from his charge at *Athens*, and being first set upon by Stones, then tormented by Fire, and several other punishments, he at last under *Adrian* (probably about the latter end of his reign) received the Crown of Martyrdom. To what place he fled when he left *Athens*, and where he suffered martyrdom is uncertain, unless it were at *Magnesia*, a City of *Ionian* in *Asia Minor*, where the same *Menæon* tells us, he preached the Gospel, as he did at *Athens*, and that his body was there entombed, and his remains famous for Miracles done there. A place memorable for the death of *Themistocles*, that great Commander and Citizen of *Athens*, banished also by his own Fellow-Citizens, who after his brave and honourable achievements, did here by a fatal draught put a period to his own life; where (as \* *Plutarch* tells us) his posterity had certain honours and priviledges conferred upon them by the *Magnesian*s, and which his friend *Themistocles* the *Athenian* enjoyed in his time.

\* Lamprid. in  
vit. Alex. St.  
vir. c. 43. p.  
568.

Λίδους νέμειν δόλοισι μαρτυρῶς ἑστῶς  
\* Κοδράτον, βάλλουσιν ἀφ' ὧν Λίδους, Μεν.  
ibid.

c. In vit. The.  
mist. p. 128.

The End of S. QUADRATUS's Life.

T

THE

THE LIFE OF  
**S. JUSTIN**  
 THE  
 MARTYR.



*Michx. Burgh. del. et sculp.*

**S. IUSTINUS MARTYR.**

*His vicinity to the Apostolic times. His Birth-place and Kindred. His Studies. His Travels into Egypt. To what Sect of Philosophy he applied himself. The occasion and manner of his strange conversion to Christianity*

stianity related by himself. Christianity the only safe and satisfactory Philosophy. The great influence which the patience and fortitude of the Christians had upon his conversion. The force of that argument to persuade men. His vindication of himself from the charges of the Gentiles. His continuance in his Philosophic habit. The φιλοσοφικὸν Σχῆμα what, and by whom worn. Ὁ ζῆλος ὁμολογῶν. His coming to Rome, and opposing Hereticks. Marcion who, and what his Principles. Justin's first Apology to the Emperours, and the design of it. Antoninus his Letter to the Common-Council of Asia in favour of the Christians. This shewed not to be the Edict of Marcus Antoninus. Justin's journey into the East, and conference with Trypho the Jew. Trypho who. The malice of the Jews against the Christians. Justin's return to Rome. His contests with Crescens the Philosopher. Crescens his temper and principles. Justin's second Apology. To whom presented. The occasion of it. M. Antoninus his temper. Justin fore-tells his own fate. The Acts of his Martyrdom. His arraignment before Rusticus Præfect of Rome. Rusticus who: the great honours done him by the Emperour. Justin's discourse with the Præfect. His freedom and courage. His sentence and execution. The time of his death. His great Piety, Charity, Impartiality, &c. His natural parts, and excellent learning. His unskilfulness in the Hebrew Language noted. A late Author censured. His Writings. The Epistle to Diognetus. Diognetus who. His stile and character. The unvarnished opinions he is charged with. His indulgence to Heathens. Κατὰ λόγον βίβην, what. Λόγος, in what sense used by the ancient Fathers. How applied to Christ, how to Reason. His opinion concerning Chiliasm. The concurrence of the Ancients with him herein. This by whom first started; by whom corrupted. Concerning the state of the Soul after this life. The doctrine of the Ancients in this matter. His assertion concerning Angels, maintained by most of the first Fathers. The original of it. Their opinion concerning Free-will shewed not to be opposed by them to the Grace of God. What influence Justin's Philosophic education had upon his opinions. His Writings enumerated.

I. **J**USTIN the Martyr was one, as of the most learned, so of the most early Writers of the Eastern Church, not long after the Apostles, as \* Eusebius says of him, near to them χρόνῳ & ἀρῇ says Methodius <sup>b</sup> Bishop of Tyre, both in time and vertue. And near indeed, if we strictly understand what he says of himself, that he was a Disciple of the Apostles; which surely is meant either of the Apostles at large, as comprehending their immediate successors, or probably not of the Persons, but Doctrine and Writings of the Apostles, by which he was instructed in the knowledge of Christianity. He was <sup>a</sup> born at Neapolis, a noted City of Palestine within the Province of Samaria, anciently called Sichem, afterwards as \* Josephus tells us, by the inhabitants Mabartha, (corruptly by Pliny Mamoriba) by the Romans Neapolis, and from a Colony sent thither by Flavius Vespasian, styled Flavia Cæsarea. His Father was Priscus the Son of Bacchus (for so the Πατρις τοῦ Βακχίου, Τὸν ἀπὸ Φλαβίας, as Sylburgius and Valestin observe, must necessarily be understood, implying the one to have been his Father, the other his Grandfather,) a Gentile, and (as \* Scaliger probably thinks) one of those

\* H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 13. p. 50.

<sup>b</sup> Ap. Phot. Cod. CCXXXIV. col. 921.

<sup>c</sup> Ἀποστόλων γινώσκοντες μαθηταίς, ἡρώματι διδασκάλῳ ἐξῆναι. Epist. ad Diognet. p. 501.

<sup>d</sup> Apol. II. p. 53.

<sup>e</sup> De Bell. Jud. l. 4. c. 4. p. 860.

<sup>f</sup> H. Nat. l. 5. c. 13. p. 79.

<sup>g</sup> Animal. ad Nat. Chon. p. MMCLVII. p. 217.

those Greeks which were in that Colony transplanted thither, who took care together with Religion to have him educated in all the Learning and Philosophy of the Gentile World. And indeed how great and exact a Master he was in all their Arts and Learning, how thoroughly he had digested the best and most useful notions, which their Institutions of Philosophy could afford, his Writings at this day are an abundant evidence.

II. IN his younger years, and as is probable, before his conversion to Christianity, he travelled into foreign parts for the accomplishment of his Studies, and particularly into Egypt, the Staple-place of all the more mysterious and recondite parts of Learning and Religion, and therefore constantly visited by all the more grave and sage Philosophers among the Heathens. That he was at <sup>a</sup> Alexandria himself assures us, where he tells us what account he received from the inhabitants of the <sup>b</sup> Seventy Translators, and was shewed the Cells wherein they performed that famous and elaborate work, which probably his inquisitive curiosity as a Philosopher, and the reports he had heard of it by living among the Jews had more particularly induced him to enquire after. Among the several Sects of Philosophers, after he had run through and surveyed all the Forms, he pitched his Tent among the <sup>c</sup> Platonists, whose <sup>d</sup> notions were most agreeable to the natural sentiments of his mind, and which no doubt particularly disposed him for the entertainment of Christianity, <sup>e</sup> himself telling us, that the principles of that Philosophy, though not in all things alike, were yet not alien or contrary to the Doctrines of the Christian Faith. But alas he found no satisfaction to his mind either in this, or any other, till he arrived at a full persuasion of the truth and divinity of that Religion which was so much despised by the Wise and the Learned, so much opposed and trampled on by the Grandees and Powers of the World. Whereof, and of the manner of his conversion to the Christian Religion, he has given us a very large and punctual account in his Discourse with Trypho. I know this account is suspected by some to be only a *Prosopopæia*, to represent the grounds of his becoming a Christian after the Platonic mode by way of Dialogue, a way familiar with the Philosophers of that Sect. But however it may be granted that some few circumstances might be added to make up the decorum of the Conference, yet I see no reason (nor is any thing offered to the contrary besides a bare conjecture) to question the foundation of the Story, whereof the sum is briefly this.

III. BEING from his Youth acted by an inquisitive Philosophic genius, to make researches and enquiries after truth, he first betook himself to the Stoics, but not satisfied with his Master, he left him, and went to a Peripatetic Tutor, whose sordid covetousness soon made him conclude that truth could not dwell with him, accordingly he turned himself over to a Pythagorean, who requiring the preparatory knowledge of Music, Astronomy, and Geometry, him he quickly deserted, and last of all delivered himself over to the Institution of an eminent Platonist, lately come to reside at Neapolis; with whose intellectual notions he was greatly taken, and resolved for some time to give up himself to solitude and contemplation. Walking out therefore into a solitary place by the Sea side, there met him a grave ancient man, of a venerable aspect, who fell into discourse with him. The dispute between them was concerning the excellency of Philosophy in general, and of Plato-

<sup>a</sup> Dialog. cum Trypho. p. 217.

*nism* in particular; which *Justin* asserted to be the only true way to happiness, and of knowing and seeing God. This the grave person refutes at large, and at last comes to shew him, who were the most likely persons to set him in the right way. He tells him, that there were long before his reputed Philosophers, certain blessed and holy men, lovers of God, and divinely inspired, called *Prophets*, who foretold things which have since come to pass; who alone understood the truth, and undesignedly declared it to the World, whose Books yet extant would instruct a man in what most became a Philosopher to know; the accomplishment of whose predictions did sufficiently attest their faithfulness and integrity, and the mighty miracles which they wrought, set the truth of what they said beyond all exception; that they magnified God the great Creator of the World, and published his Son Christ to the World: Concluding his discourse with this advice, *But as for thy self, above all things pray that the Gates of Light may set open to thee; for these are not things discerned and understood by all, unless God and Christ grant to a man the knowledge of them.* Which discourse being ended, he immediately departed from him.

*Ibid.* pag. 225.

IV. THE wise discourse of this venerable man made a deep impression upon the Martyrs mind, kindled in his soul a divine flame, and begot in him a sincere love of the Prophets, and those excellent men that were friends to Christ: And now he began seriously to enquire into, and examine the Christian Religion, which he confesses he found *μόνον φιλοσοφίαν ἀσφαλῆ πρὸς σύμφορον*, the only certain and profitable Philosophy, and which he could not but commend as containing a certain majesty and dread in it, and admirably adapted to terrify and persuade those who were out of the right way, and to beget the sweetest serenity and peace in the minds of those who are conversant in it. Nor was it the least inducement to turn the scale with him, when he beheld the innocence of the Christians lives, and the constancy of their death, with what fearless and undaunted resolutions they courted torments, and encountered Death in its blackest Shape. This very account he gives of it to the Roman Emperour. "For my own part (says he) being yet detained under the Platonic Institutions, when I heard the Christians traduced and reproached, and yet saw them fearlessly rushing upon Death, and venturing upon all those things that are accounted most dreadful and amazing to humane nature, I concluded with my self, 'twas impossible that those men should wallow in Vice, and be carried away with the love of Lust and Pleasure. For what man that is a Slave to Pleasure and Intemperance, that looks upon the eating humane Flesh as a delicacy, can cheerfully bid Death welcom, which he knows must put a period to all his pleasures and delights; and would not rather by all means endeavour to prolong his life as much as is possible, and to delude his adversaries, and conceal himself from the notice of the Magistrate, rather than voluntarily betray and offer himself to a present execution? And certainly the Martyrs reasonings were unanswerable; seeing there could not be a more effectual proof of their innocence, then their laying down their lives to attest it. *Zeno* was wont to say, he had rather see one *Indian* burnt alive, then hear a hundred arguments about enduring labour and suffering. Whence *Clement Alexandrinus* infers the great advantages of Christianity, where in there were daily Fountains of Martyrs springing up, who before their

*Apol.* I. p. 50.

*Stromat.* I. 2. p. 414.

their eyes were roasted, tormented, and beheaded, every day, whom regard to the Law of their Master had taught and obliged, *τὸ εὐλαβῆσαι δὲ ἀμύχανον ἐν δεικνύοντι*, to demonstrate the truth and excellency of their Religion, by sealing it with their blood.

V. WE cannot exactly fix the date of his conversion, yet may we, I think, make a very near conjecture. *Eusebius* tells us, that at the time when *Hadrian* consecrated *Antinous*, *Justin* did yet adhere to the Studies and Religion of the *Greeks*. Now for this we are to know that *Hadrian* coming into *Egypt* lost there his beloved Catamit *Antinous*, whose death he so repented, that he advanced him into the reputation of a Deity; whence in an ancient inscription at *Rome*, he is stiled *ΚΥΝΟΠΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΩ ΘΕΩΝ*, the *Affessor of the Gods in Egypt*. He built a City to him in the place where he died called *Antinoe*, erected a Temple, and appointed Priests and Prophets to attend it, instituted annual solemnities, and every five years Sacred Games, called *Ἀκνεία*, held not in *Egypt* only, but in other parts; whence an Inscription not long after those times, set up by the Senate of *Smyrna*, mentions *Lerchius Septimius Heliodorus ANTINOEA*, who overcame in the Sports at *Smyrna*. But to return. 'Tis very evident that *Hadrian* had not been in *Egypt*, till about the time of *Servianus* or *Severianus* his being Consul (as appears from that Emperours Letters to him) whose Consulship fell in with *Ann. Chr.* CXXXII. *Traj.* XVI. So that this of *Antinous* must be done either, that, or at most, the foregoing year; and accordingly about this time (as *Eusebius* intimates) *Justin* deserted the *Greeks*, and came over to the Christians. Whence in his first Apology presented not many years after to *Antoninus Pius*, *Adrians* Successor, he speaks of *Antinous* *τὸν ὑν γεγενημένον*, who very lately lived and was consecrated, and of the Jewish War, headed by *Barabbas*, as but lately past, which we know was concurrent with the death and apoth. of *Antinous*. For that *Justin's* *ὁ ὑν γεγενημένος* in both passages, cannot be precisely confined to the time of pretending that Apology, is evident to all, and therefore (as the phrase is sometimes used) must be extended to what was lately done.

VI. THE wiser and more considerate part of the *Gentiles* were not a little troubled at the loss of so useful and eminent a person, and wondered what should cause so sudden a change. For whose satisfaction and conversion, as well as his own vindication, he thought good particularly to write a Discourse to them, in the very first words whereof he thus bespeaks them. "Think not, O ye *Greeks*, that I have rashly, and without any judgment or deliberation departed from the Rites of your Religion. For I could find nothing in it really sacred, and worthy of the divine acceptance. The matters among you, as your Poets have ordered them, are monuments of nothing but madness and intemperance: and a man can no sooner apply himself even to the most learned among you for instruction, but he shall be intangled in a thousand difficulties, and become the most confused man in the World. And then proceeds with a great deal of wit and eloquence to expose the folly and absurdness of the main foundations of the *Pagan* Creed, concluding his address with these exhortations; "Come hither, O ye *Greeks*, and partake of a most incomparable wisdom, and be instructed in a divine Religion, and acquaint your selves with an immortal King.----- "Become as I am, for I sometimes was as you are. These are the Arguments

*Ibid.* p. 40.



Emperour in his own nature of a merciful and generous disposition, being moved partly by this Apology, partly by the notices he had received from other parts of the Empire, gave order that Christians henceforward should be treated in more gentle and regular ways, as appears among others by his Letter to the *Commonalty of Asia*, yet extant, which I shall here insert.

<sup>a</sup> Ap. J. Mart.  
ad Cal. Apol.  
II. p. 100. & ap.  
Euseb. l. 4. c. 13.  
p. 126. & Chron.  
Alex. Ann. 2.  
Olymp.  
CCXXXVII.  
Ind. VII. p. 608.

EMPEROUR Cæsar Titus, Ælius Adrian, Antoninus, Augustus, Pius, High-priest, the XV. time Tribune, thrice Consul, Father of the Countrey, to the Common Assembly of Asia, Greeting. *I am very well assured, that the Gods themselves will take care, that this kind of men shall not escape, it being much more their concern, then it can be yours, to punish those that refuse to worship them; whom you do but the stronger confirm in their own sentiments and opinions, while you vex and oppress them, accuse them for Atheists, and charge other things upon them, which you are not able to make good: nor can a more acceptable kindness be done them, then that being accused they may seem to chuse to die rather then live, for the sake of that God whom they worship. By which means they get the better, being ready to lay down their lives, rather then be persuaded to comply with your commands. As for the Earth-quakes that have been, or that do yet happen, it may not be amiss to advertise you, whose minds are ready to despond under any such accidents, to compare your case with theirs. They at such a time are much more secure and confident in their God, whereas you seeming to disown God all the while, neglect both the Rites of other Gods, and the Religion of that immortal deity, nay banish and persecute to death the Christians that worship him. Concerning these men several Governours of Provinces have heretofore written to my Father of sacred memory: to whom he returned this answer, That they should be no way molested, unless it appeared that they attempted something against the state of the Roman Empire. Tea, and I myself have received many notices of this nature, to which I answered according to the tenor of my Fathers constitution. After all which if any shall still go on to create them trouble, merely because they are Christians, let him that is indicted be discharged, although it appear that he be a Christian, and let the Informer himself undergo the punishment.*

Published at Ephesus in the place of the *Common Assembly of Asia*.

X. THIS Letter was sent (as appears from the year of his Consulship) *Ann. Clr. CXL. Antonini III.* If it be objected, that this seems not consistent with the year of his being Tribune, said here to be the XV. I answer that the *δημαρχική ἐξουσία*, or *Tribunitian Power* did not always commence with the beginning of their reign, but was sometimes granted, and that more then once, to persons in a private capacity, especially those who were Candidates for the Empire. Thus (as appears from the *Fasti Consulares*) *M. Agrippa* had the *Tribunitia potestas* seven, as after his death *Tiberius* had it fifteen times during the life of *Augustus*. So that *Antoninus* his fifteenth Tribuneship might well enough consist with the third year of his Empire. Though I confess I am apt to suspect an error in the number, and the rather because *Sylburgius* tells us, that these XV. years were not in the Edict, as it is in *Justin Martyr*, but were supplied out of *Eusebius* his Copy, which I have some reason

<sup>b</sup> *Vide fasti Fasti Consulares*  
ad Sigon.  
Edit. ad Ann.  
V. C. DCCXLI.  
c. DCCCLXVI.

<sup>c</sup> *Annot. in Justin. Mart. p. 10. c. 2.*

reason to think to be corrupted in other parts of this Epistle. I am not ignorant that some learned men would have this Imperial Edict to be the decree of *Marcus Aurelius*, son of *Antoninus*. Indeed in the inscription of it, as it is extant in *Eusebius*, it is *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*: but then nothing can be more evident, then that that part of it is corrupted, as is plain, both because *Eusebius* himself a few lines before expressly ascribes it to *Antoninus Pius*, and because in the original inscription in *Justin* own Apology (from whence *Eusebius* transcribed his) it is *Titus Ælius Antoninus Pius*. And besides that nothing else of moment is offered to make good the conjecture, the whole consent of Antiquity, and the tenor of the Epistle it self clearly adjudge it to the elder *Antoninus*; and <sup>a</sup> *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, who presented an Apology to his Son and Successor, tells him of the Letters which his Father at the time when he was his Partner in the Empire, wrote to the Cities that they should not raise any new troubles against the Christians.

<sup>a</sup> Ap. Euseb. l. 4.  
c. 26. p. 148.  
vid. c. 13. p. 127.

XI. NOT long after his first Apology, *Justin* seems to have revisited the Eastern parts: for besides what he says in the *Acts* of his Martyrdom, that he was twice at *Rome*, <sup>b</sup> *Eusebius* expressly affirms, that he was at *Ephesus*, where he had his discourse with *Tryphon*, which 'tis plain was after the presenting his first Apology to the Emperour. And 'tis no ways improbable but that he went to *Ephesus* in company with those who carried the Emperours Edict to the Common-Council of *Asia*, then assembled in that City, where he fell into acquaintance with *Tryphon* the Jew. This *Tryphon* was probably that Rabbi *Tarphon*, הכהן העשיר, as they commonly call him, the wealthy Priest, the Master or associate of *R. Aquiba*, of whom mention is often made in the Jewish Writings. A man of great note and eminency, who had fled his Countrey in the late War, wherein *Barchochab* had excited and headed the Jews to a Rebellion against the Romans, since which time he had lived in Greece, and especially at *Corinth*, and had mightily improved himself by converse with the Philosophers of those Countries. With him *Justin* enters the lists in a two-days dispute, the account whereof he has given us in his Dialogue with that subtle man, wherein he so admirably defends and makes good the truth of the Christian Religion, cuts the very sinews of the Jewish cause, dissolves all their pleas and pretences against Christianity, and discovers their implacable spight and malice, who not barely content to reject Christianity, sent peculiar persons up and down the World to spread abroad, that *Jesus* the Galilean was a Deceiver and Seducer, and his whole Religion nothing but a Cheat and an Imposture, that in their public Synagogues they solemnly anathematized all that turned Christians, hated them, as elsewhere <sup>c</sup> he tells us, with a mortal enmity, oppressed and murdered them when ever they got them in their power; *Barchochab* their late General making them the onely objects of his greatest severity and revenge, unless they would renounce and blaspheme Christ. The issue of the conference was, that the Jew acknowledged himself highly pleased with his discourse, professing he found more in it, then he thought could have been expected from it, wishing he might enjoy it oftner, as what would greatly conduce to the true understanding of the Scripture, and begging his friendship in what part of the World soever he was.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. 4. c. 17.  
p. 140.  
<sup>c</sup> Vid. Dialog. cum Tryph. f. 349.

<sup>d</sup> Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 217.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. pag. 335.  
<sup>f</sup> Ap. Euseb. l. 4. c. 18. p. 140.

<sup>g</sup> Pag. 323.  
<sup>h</sup> Apolog. II. p. 72.

XII. IN the conclusion of this discourse with *Tryphon*, he tells us, he was ready to set sail, and depart from *Ephesus*, but whether in order

to his return to *Rome*, or some other place, is not known. That he returned thither at last, is unquestionable, the thing being evident, though the time uncertain, whether it was while *Antoninus* was yet alive, or in the beginning of his successors reign, I will not venture to determine. At his coming he had among others, frequent contests with *Crescens* the Philosopher, a man of some note at that time in *Rome*. He was a *Cynic*, and according to the *genius* of that Sect, proud and conceited, furly and ill-natured, a Philosopher in appearance, but a notorious Slave to all Vice and Wickedness. *Tatian*, *Justin's* Scholar, (who saw the man at *Rome*, admired and despised him for his childish and trifling, his wanton and effeminate manners) gives him this character, that he was the traducer of all their gods, the Epitome of Superstition, the accuser of generous and heroic actions, the subtle contriver of Murders, the prompter of Adultery, a pursuer of Wealth even to rage and madness, a Tutor of the vilest sort of Lust, and the great Engine and Instigator of mens being condemned to execution: he tells us of him, that when at *Rome*, he was above all others miserably enslaved to *Sodomy* and Covetousness; and though he pretended to despise death, yet did he himself abhor it, and to which as the greatest evil he sought to betray *Justin* and *Tatian*, for their free reproving the vicious and degenerate lives of those Philosophical Impostors. This was his adversary, *Φιλόσοφος* & *Φιλόσοφος*, as he calls him<sup>a</sup>, a lover of Popular Applause, not of true Wisdom and Philosophy, and who by all the base Arts of insinuation endeavoured to traduce the Christians, and to represent their Religion under the most infamous Character. But in all his disputes the Martyr found him wretchedly ignorant of the affairs of Christians, and strongly biassed by malice and envy, which he offered to make good (if it might be admitted) in a public disputation with him before the Emperour and the Senate: assuring them, that either he had never considered the Christian Doctrines, and then he was worse then the meanest Idots, who are not wont to bear witness and pronounce sentence in matters whereof they have no knowledge; or if he had taken notice of them, it was plain that either he did not understand them, or if he did, out of a base compliance with his Auditors, dissembled his knowledge and approbation, for fear of being accounted a Christian, and lest freely speaking his mind, he should fall under the sentence and the fate of *Socrates*; so far was he from the excellent principle of that wise man, that *no man was to be regarded before the truth*. Which free and impartial censure did but more exasperate the man, the sooner to hasten and promote his ruine.

XIII. IN the mean time *Justin* presented his *second* Apology to *M. Antoninus* (his Colleague *L. Verus* being then, probably, absent from the City) and the Senate; for that it was not addressed to the Senate alone, is evident from several passages in the Apology it self. There are, that will have this as well as the former to have been presented to *Antoninus Pius*, but certainly without any just ground of evidence, besides that *Eusebius* and the Ancients expressly ascribe it to *Marcus Aurelius*, his son and successor. And were the inscription and beginning of it, which are now wanting, extant, they would quickly determine and resolve the doubt. The occasion of it was this. A Woman at *Rome* had together with her husband lived in all manner of wantonness and debauchery, but being converted to Christianity, she sought by all Arguments and persuasions to reclaim him from his loose and vicious course.

But

But the man was obstinate, and deaf to all reason and importunity; however by the advice of her friends, she still continued with him, hoping in time she might reduce him; till finding him to grow intolerable, she procured a Bill of divorce from him. The man was so far from being cured, that he was more enraged by his Wifes departure, and accused her to the Emperour for being a Christian; she also put in her Petition, to obtain leave to answer for her self. Whereupon he deserted the prosecution of his Wife, and fell upon one *Ptolomeus*, by whom she had been converted to the Christian Faith, whom he procured to be cast into prison, and there a long time tortured merely upon his confessing himself a Christian. At last being brought before *Urbicus* Prefect to the City, he was condemned to death. Whereat *Lucius*, a Christian that stood by, could not forbear to tell the Judge, it was very hard that an innocent and vertuous man, charged with no crime, should be adjudged to die merely for bearing the name of a Christian, a thing no way creditable to the Government of such Emperours as they had, and of the August Senate of *Rome*. Which he had no sooner said, but he was together with a third person sentenced to the same fate. The severity of these proceedings awakened *Justin's* solicitude and care for the rest of his brethren, who immediately drew up an Apology for them, wherein he lays down a true and naked relation of the case, complains of the injustice and cruelty of such procedures, to punish men merely for the name of Christians, without ever accusing them of any material crimes, answers the objections usually urged against them, and desires no more favour, then that what determination soever they should make of it, his Apology might be put before it, that so the whole World might judge of them, when they had been once truly acquainted with their case.

XIV. THE *Martyrs* activity and zeal in the cause of Christianity did but set the keener edge upon *Crescens* his malice and rage against him. The Philosopher could not confute him by force of Argument, and therefore resolved to attack him by clancular and ignoble Arts, and could think of no surer way to oppress him, then by engaging the secular Powers against him. *Marcus Antoninus* the Emperour was a great Philosopher, but withall zealous of *Pagan* Rites to the highest degree of superstition; he had from his youth been educated in the *Salian Colledge*, all the Offices whereof he had gone through in his own person, affecting an imitation of *Numa Pompilius*, the first Master of Religious Ceremonies among the *Romans*, from whom he pretended to derive his pedigree and original: nay so very strict in his way of Religion (says *Dion*) that even upon the *Dies Nefasti*, the unlucky and inauspicious days, when all public Sacrifices were prohibited, he would then privately offer Sacrifices at home. What apprehensions he had of the Christians is evident from hence, that he ascribes their ready and resolute undergoing death, not to a judicious and deliberate consideration; but to a *ῥαδί ὀβριότης*, a meer stubbornness and obstinacy; which he being so eminent and professed a *Stoic*, had of all men in the world the least reason to charge them with. With him it was no hard matter for *Crescens* to insinuate himself, and to procure his particular dis-favour towards *Justin*, a man so able, and so active to promote the interest of the Christian Religion. Indeed *Justin* himself had publicly told the Emperour what he expected should be his own fate, that he looked that *Crescens* or some

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Hieron. de Script. in Justin.  
<sup>b</sup> Orat. contr. Græc. p. 160.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 157.

<sup>d</sup> Apol. I. (veterins II.) p. 46.

<sup>e</sup> Apolog. I. p. 41.

<sup>f</sup> J. Capitol. in ult. M. Anton. c. 4. p. 156.

<sup>g</sup> Excerpt. Dion. p. 721.

<sup>h</sup> Ταυ εἰς ἑαυτῶν. l. 11. §. 3 p. 105.

<sup>i</sup> Apolog. I. p. 45.

<sup>a</sup> Men. Græc.  
Τῇ α'. τοῦ 'Ιαν.

<sup>b</sup> Apud Sur. ad  
XII. Jun. p. 382  
<sup>c</sup> Baron. ad  
Ann. 165. n. 2.  
<sup>d</sup> seq.

<sup>e</sup> Sur. loc. citat.

of their titular Philosophers, should lay snares to undermine, torment, or crucifie him. Nor was he at all mistaken, the envious man procuring him to be cast in Prison, whereif the *Greeks* say true, he was exercised with many preparatory tortures in order to his martyrdom. I confess *Ensebins* gives us no particular account of his death, but the *Acts* of his Martyrdom are still <sup>b</sup> extant, and (as there is reason to believe) genuine and uncorrupt, the shortness of them being not the least Argument that they are the sincere Transcripts of the Primitive Records, and that they have for the main escaped the interpolations of later Ages, which most others have been obnoxious to. I know 'tis doubted by <sup>c</sup> one, whether these *Acts* contain the Martyrdom of ours, or another *Justin*: but whoever considers the particulars of them, most agreeable to our *Justin*, and especially their fixing his death under the *Prefecture* of *Rusticus*, which *Epiphanius* expressly affirms of our *S. Justin*, will see little reason to question, whether they belong to him. In them then we have this following account.

<sup>a</sup> J. capit. ubi  
ubi supr. c. 9. p.  
154.

<sup>c</sup> Τὸν εἰς τὴν  
l. 1. §. 7. p. 1.

XV. *JUSTIN* and six of his companions having been apprehended, were brought before *Rusticus*, Prefect of the City. This *Rusticus* was <sup>a</sup> *Q. Junius Rusticus*, a man famous both for Court and Camp, a wise Statesman, and great Philosopher, peculiarly addicted to the Sect of the *Stoics*. He was Tutor to the present Emperour *M. Aurelius*, and what remarkable rules and instructions he had given him, *Antoninus* himself sets down at large. Above all his Masters he had a particular reverence and regard to him, communicated to him all his public and private Counsels, shewed him respect before all the great Officers of the Empire, and after his death required of the Senate that he might be honoured with a public Statue. He had been *Consul* in the second year of *Hadrian*, and again in the second of the present Emperours, and was now *Prefect* of *Rome*: before whom these good men being brought, he persuaded *Justin* to obey the gods, and comply with the Emperours Edicts. The *Martyr* told him, that no man could be justly found fault with, or condemned, that obeyed the commands of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*. Then the Governour enquired in what kind of learning and discipline he had been brought up: he told him, that he had endeavoured to understand all kinds of Discipline, and tried all methods of Learning, but had finally taken up his rest in the Christian Discipline, how little soever it was esteemed by those who were led by error and false opinions. Wretch that thou art (said the Governour) art thou then taken with that Discipline? I am, replied the *Martyr*, for with right doctrine do I follow the Christians. And when asked what that Doctrine was; he answered, the right Doctrine which we Christians piously profess, is this, We believe the one onely God to be the Creator of all things visible and invisible, and confess our Lord *Jesus Christ* to be the Son of God, foretold by the Prophets of old, and who shall hereafter come to be the Judge of Mankind, a Saviour, Preacher, and Master to all those, who are duly instructed by him: that as for himself, he thought himself too mean to be able to say any thing becoming his infinite deity; that this was the business of the Prophets, who had many Ages before foretold the coming of this Son of God into the World.

XVI. THE *Prefect* next enquired where the Christians were wont to assemble, and being told, that the God of the Christians was not confined to a particular place, he asked in what place *Justin* was wont to instruct

instruct his Disciples, who gave him an account of the place where he dwelt, and told him that there he preached the Christian Doctrine to all that resorted to him. Then having severally examined his companions, he again addressed himself to *Justin* in this manner. Hear thou that art noted for thy eloquence, and thinkest thou art in the truth; if I cause thee to be scourged from head to foot, thinkest thou thou shalt go to Heaven? He answered, that although he should suffer what the other had threatned, yet he hoped he should enjoy the portion of all true Christians, well knowing that the divine grace and favour was laid up for all such, and should be as long as the World endured. And when again asked, whether he thought he should go to Heaven, and receive a reward; he replied, that he did not think it onely, but knew, and was so certain of it, that there was no cause to doubt it. The Governour seeing it was to no purpose to argue, came closer to the matter in hand, and bad them go together, and unanimously sacrifice to the gods. No man (replied the *Martyr*) that is in his right mind, will desert true Religion to fall into error and impiety. And when threatned that unless they complied, they should be tormented without mercy; There is nothing (said *Justin*) which we more earnestly desire, then to endure torments for the sake of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and be saved. For this is that which will promote our happiness, and procure us confidence before that dreadful Tribunal of our Lord and Saviour, before which by the divine appointment, the whole World must appear. To which the rest assented, adding, Dispatch quickly what thou hast a mind to, for we are Christians, and cannot sacrifice to Idols. Whereupon the Governour pronounced this sentence; *They who refuse to do sacrifice to the gods, and to obey the Imperial Edict, let them be first scourged, and then beheaded according to the Laws*. The holy Martyrs rejoiced and blessed God for the sentence passed upon them, and being led back to prison, were accordingly whipped, and afterwards beheaded. The *Greeks* in their *Rituals*, though very briefly, give the same account, onely they differ in the manner of the *Martyrs* death, which they tell us was by a draught of poyson, while the rest of his companions lost their heads. Though there are that by that fatal potion understand no more then the poysonous malice and envy of *Cresseus* the Philosopher, by which *Justin's* death was procured. And indeed if literally taken, the account of the *Greeks* in that place will not be very consistent with it self. Their dead bodies the Christians took up and decently interred. This was done, as *Baronius* conjectures, *Ann.*

<sup>a</sup> Ἰουστίνον καὶ ἑκκατὸν ἄλλους ἐκ θέν.  
<sup>b</sup> Ὡς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ δεδωκότα.  
Πρῶτον Ἰουστίνον ἐκκατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους.

Men. Græcor. Τῇ α'. τοῦ 'Ιαν.

*Chr.* CLXV. with whom seems to concur the *Alexandrine Chronicle*, *Olymp.* 236. *M.* which says, that *Justin* having presented his second Apology to the Emperours, was not long after crowned with Martyrdom. This is all the certainty that can be recovered concerning the time of his death, the date of it not being consigned by any other ancient Writer. 'Tis a vast mistake (or rather error of Transcribers) of *Epiphanius*, who makes him suffer under *Adrian*, when yet he could not be ignorant that he dedicated his first Apology to *Antoninus Pius* his successor, in the close whereof he makes mention of *Adrian*, his illustrious Parent and predecessor, and annexes the Letter which he had written to *Minucius Fundanus* in favour of the Christians; and no less his mistake (if it was not an error in the number) concerning his age, making him but thirty years

<sup>b</sup> Ad ann. 2.  
Olymp. 236. M.  
Aurel. & L. Pr.  
Imp. 6. Indict.  
3. p. 606.

<sup>c</sup> Hieron. XLVI.  
p. 171.

years old at the time of his death, a thing no ways consistent with the course of his life: and for what he adds of ἐν καθεστώσει ἡλικίας, that he died in a firm and consistent age, it may be very well applied to many years after that period of his life.

XVII. THUS have we traced the Martyr through the several stages of his life, and brought him to his last fatal period. And now let us view him a little nearer. He was a man of a pious mind, and a very virtuous life; tenderly sensible of the honour of God, and the great interests of Religion. He was not elated, nor valued himself upon the account of his great abilities, but upon every occasion intirely resolved the glory of all into the divine grace and goodness. He had a true love to all men, and a mighty concern for the good of souls, whose happiness he continually prayed for and promoted, yea, that of their fiercest Enemies. From none did he and his Religion receive more bitter affronts and oppositions than from the Jews, yet he tells \* Tryphon that they heartily prayed for them, and all other Persecutors, that they might repent, and ceasing to blaspheme Christ, might believe in him, and be saved from eternal vengeance at his glorious appearing: † that though they were wont solemnly to curse them in their Synagogues, and to join with any that would persecute them to death, yet they returned no other answer then that, You are our Brethren, we beseech you own and embrace the truth of God. And in his † Apology to the Emperour and the Senate, he thus concludes, I have no more to say, but that we shall endeavour what in us lies, and heartily pray, that all men in the World may be blessed with the knowledge and entertainment of the truth. In the pursuit of this noble and generous design he feared no dangers, but delivered himself with the greatest freedom and impartiality; he acquaints the † Emperours, how much 'twas their duty to honour and esteem the truth, that he came not to smooth and flatter them, but to desire them to pass sentence according to the exactest rules of Justice; \* that it was their place and infinitely reasonable when they had heard the cause, to discharge the duty of righteous Judges, which if they did not, they would at length be found inexcusable before God; † nay that if they went on to punish and persecute such innocent persons, he tells them before hand, 'twas impossible they should escape the future judgment of God, while they persisted in this evil and unrighteous course. In this case he regarded not the persons of men, nor was scared with the dangers that attended it, and therefore in his conference with the Jew, tells † him, that he regarded nothing but to speak the truth, not caring whom in this matter he disobliged, yea, though they should presently tear him all in pieces; neither fearing nor favouring his own Countrymen the Samaritans, whom he had accused in his Apology to the Emperour, for being so much bewitched and seduced with the impostures of Simon Magnus, whom they cried up as a supreme deity, above all principality and power.

XVIII. FOR his natural endowments, he was a man of acute parts, a smart and pleasant wit, a judgment able to weigh the differences of things, and to adapt and accommodate them to the most useful purposes; all which were mightily improved and accomplished by the advantages of Foreign Studies, being both in the Christian and Ethnic Philosophy,

ἐν ἄλλοις ἀνιηγμένοι, πολυμαθείαι τε ἐν ἰστορίαις περὶ ἑρμηνείας πλείω, says † Photius, arrived at the very height, flowing with abundance of History,

story, and all sorts of Learning. In one thing indeed he seems to have come short, and wherein the first Fathers were generally defective, skill in the Hebrew, and other Eastern Languages, as appears (to omit others) by one instance, his derivation of the word *Satanas*; *Sata* (as he tells \* us) in the Hebrew and the Syriac signifying an Apostate, and *Nas* the same with the Hebrew *Sata*, out of the composition of both which arises this one word *Satanas*. A trifling conceit, and the less to be pardoned in one that was born and lived among the Samaritans and the Jews; every one that has but conversed with those Languages at a distance, knowing it to spring from יָשָׁע to be an adversary, which being formed according to the mode of the Greeks, (as † Origen long since observed in this very instance) who were wont to add *as* to the termination of words borrowed from a Foreign Language, becomes *Satanas*, an adversary. And therefore a late † Author (who has weeded the Writings of the Ancients, and whose quotations favour of infinitely greater ostentation, then either judgment or fidelity) sufficiently betrays his ignorance in those very Fathers, with which he pretends so much acquaintance, when to prove the *Quest. & Resp. ad Orthodoxos*, not to be the genuine work of our Justin, he urges the odd and ridiculous interpretation of the word *Osanna*, there rendered † by μεγαλοσύνη ὑπερκαμένη, super-excellent magnificence: of the true signification whereof (says he) Justin himself being a Samaritan could not be ignorant. When as his unquestionable Tracts afford such evident footsteps of his lamentable unskilfulness in that Language. But the man must be excused, seeing in this (as in many other things) he traded purely upon trust, securely stealing the whole passage word for word out of another Author: so little skill had he to distinguish between true and false, and to know when to follow his Guides, and where to leave them. As for Justin himself his ignorance herein is the less to be wondered at, if we consider that his Religion, as a Gentile born, his early and almost sole converse with the Greeks, his constant study of the Writings of the Gentile Philosophers, might well make him a stranger to that Language, which had not much in it to tempt a meer Philosopher to learn it. In all other parts of Learning how great his abilities were, may be seen in his Writings yet extant, (to say nothing of them that are lost) πεπαιδευμένος διδρασκῶν ἐπεὶ πᾶσι θείαις ἰσχυραῖς ἐπιστημαῖς, πᾶσις ὡφελέας ἐμπλεα, as † Eusebius says of them, the Monuments of his singular Parts, and of a mind studiously conversant about divine things, richly fraught with excellent and useful knowledge. They are all designed either in defence of the Christian Religion both against Jews and Gentiles, or in beating down that common Religion, and those prophane and ridiculous Rites of Worship which then governed the World, or in prescribing Rules for the ordinary conduct of the Christian Life, all which he has managed with an admirable acuteness and dexterity. Some Books indeed have obtruded themselves under his name, as the *Expositio Fidei*, *Questiones & Responsa ad Orthodoxos*, *Questiones Græcicæ ad Christianos*, *Questiones V. ad Græcos*, &c. all which are undoubtedly of a later Age, composed after Christianity was fully settled in the World, and the *Arrian* controversies had begun to disturb the Christian Church. Or if any of them were originally his, they have been so miserably interpolated and defaced by after-ages, that it is almost impossible to discern true from false.

XIX. AS for the Epistle to *Diognetus*, though excepted against by some,

\* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 254.

† Ibid. pag. 323.

\* Apolog. I. p. 52.

† Apol. II. p. 53.

\* Ibid. p. 54.

† Ibid. p. 99.

\* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 349.

\* Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 331.

\* Contr. Cel. l. 6. p. 306.

† Sand. Tract. de Vet. Script. Eccl. Hist. Eccles. Tom. 1. Præfix. p. 44.

\* Vid. Quest. L. p. 421.

† Vid. Rivet. Crit. Sac. l. 2. c. 5. p. 198.

\* H. Eccl. l. 4. c. 18. p. 139.

some, yet is it fairly able to maintain its title, without any just cause alledged against it. Nor is it improbable but that this might be that very *Diogenes* who was Tutor to the Emperour *M. Aurelius*, who (as himself confesses<sup>a</sup>) persuaded him to the study of Philosophy, and gave him wise counsels and directions to that purpose, and being a person of note and eminency, is accordingly saluted by the Martyr with a *καλὸν Διόγηνε*, most excellent *Diogenes*. His temper and course of life had made him infinitely curious (as is evident from the first part of that Epistle) to know particularly what was the Religion, what the Manners and Rites of Christians, what it was that inspired them with so brave and generous a courage, as to condemn the world, and to despise death; upon what grounds they rejected the Religion, and disowned the deities of the *Gentiles*, and yet separated themselves from the *Jewish* Discipline and way of worship; what was that admirable love and friendship by which they were so fast knit together, and why this novel Institution came so late into the World. To all which enquiries (suitable enough to a man of a Philosophic genius) *Justin* (to whom probably he had addressed himself as the most noted Champion of the Christian cause) returns a very particular and rational satisfaction in this Epistle, though what effect it had upon the Philosopher is unknown. That this Epistle is not mentioned by *Eusebius*, is no just exception, seeing he confesses<sup>b</sup> there were many other Books of *Justins* besides those which he there reckons up: that it is a little more then ordinary polite and philosophical, is yet less; for who can wonder if so great a Scholar as *Justin* writing to a person so eminent for Learning and Philosophy, endeavoured to give it all the advantages of a florid and eloquent discourse. It must be confessed that his ordinary stile does not reach this; for which let us take *Photius*<sup>c</sup> his censure, a man able to pass a judgment in this case: *he studied not (says he) to set off the native beauty of Philosophy with the paint and varnish of Rhetorical Arts. For which cause his Discourses, though otherwise very weighty and powerful, and observing a composure agreeable enough to Art and Science, have not yet those sweet and lascivious insinuations, those attractives and allurements that are wont to prevail upon vulgar Auditors, and to draw them after them.*

XX. THAT which may seem most to impair the credit of this ancient and venerable man, is that he is commonly said to be guilty of some unorthodox sentiments and opinions, disagreeing with the received Doctrines of the Church. True it is, that he has some notions not warranted by general entertainment or the sense of the Church, especially in later Ages, but yet scarce any but what were held by most of the Fathers in those early times, and which for the main are speculative and have no ill influence upon a good life; the most considerable whereof we shall here remark. First he is charged with too much kindness and indulgence to the more eminent sort of Heathens, and particularly to-

ward *Socrates*, *Heraclitus*, and such like: such indeed he seems to allow to have been in some sense *Christians*, and of *Socrates* particularly<sup>d</sup> affirms, that *Christ was ἀπο μέρους in part known to him*, and the like elsewhere more then once. The ground of all which was this, that such persons did *μὲν λόγῳ βιών, live according to the λόγῳ, the*

*word, or reason*, and that this naturally is in every man, and manifest to him

<sup>a</sup> Τὸν Κεῖρον θεωροῦντες ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ διδάσκων αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ φιλοσοφίας λόγον ἔχοντα, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἀνθρώπων μετέχευε. Καὶ οἱ μὲν λόγον καὶ βίωσαντες, Κεῖσαντες εἰσι, καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ ἐνομιζόμενοι. ὅς ἐν ἑλληνιστῇ Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡρακλείτης, καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς. *Apol. II. pag. 83.*

<sup>b</sup> *Apol. I. p. 48.*

<sup>c</sup> *H. E. I. l. 4. c. 18. p. 140.*

<sup>d</sup> *Loc. citat.*

him, if he but govern himself according to it. For the clearer understanding whereof it may not be amiss briefly to enquire in what sense the Primitive Fathers, and especially our *Justin* use this word *λόγῳ*. And their notion was plainly this, that *Christ* was the eternal *λόγῳ*, or Word of the Father, the sum and center of all reason and wisdom, as the Sun is the Fountain of Light, and that from him there was a *λόγῳ*, or reason naturally derived into every man, as a beam and emanation of Light from that Sun; to which purpose they usually bring that of *S. John*, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: that was the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the World.* God (says *Justin*) first and before the production of any Creatures begot of himself *δυνάμην τινὰ λογικὴν*, a certain rational

power, sometimes stiled in Scripture the glory of God, the Son, Wisdom, an Angel, God, Lord, and Word; by all which names he is described both according to the Oeconomy of his Fathers Will, and according to his voluntary generation of him. And elsewhere<sup>b</sup>, We love<sup>c</sup> and worship the Word of the unbegotten and ineffable God, which (Word) for our sakes became Man, that by partaking of our sufferings he might work out our cure. Hence *Christ* is called *τὸ πρῶτον λόγῳ*, the universal Word, and with respect to him reason is stiled *σπερματικὸς λόγῳ*, the seminal Word that is sown in our natures, *τὸ σπερματικὸν θεῶν λόγῳ* *δὲ συζῆτες*<sup>d</sup>, and *ἡ ἐννοία ἐμφύτου τῷ λόγῳ σπερμῇ*, the internal semination of the implanted Word, which he there distinguishes from the *ἑνὸς τοῦ σπέρματος*, the primary and original seed it self, from which according to the measure of grace given by it, all participation and imitation does proceed. This is that which he means by the *σπέρμα ἀληθείας*, the seeds of truth, which he tells us seem to be in all men in the World; they are a derivation from *Christ*, who is the root, a kind of participation of a divine nature from him. *Clement* of *Alexandria* thus deduces the pedigree. The image of God (says<sup>e</sup> he) is his Word (for the divine Word is the genuine off-spring of the mind, the Archetypal light of light) and the image of the Word is Man. The true mind that is in man (said therefore to be made after the image and likeness of God) as to the frame of the heart is conformed to the divine Word, and by that means partakes of the Word or Reason.

XXI. *ORIGEN*, *Clement* his Scholar treads exactly in his Masters steps. He tells us, that as God the Father is *ἀπόθεν*, the Fountain of Deity to the Son, so God the Son, *ὁ λόγῳ*, the Word, or the supreme and eternal Reason, is the Fountain and Original that communicates reason to all rational Beings, who as such are *εἰκόνες τῆ εἰκόνος*, the image of the image, that is, some kind of shadow of the Word, who is the brightness of his Fathers glory, and the express image of his person. And he further adds, that *λόγῳ* with an article is meant of *Christ*, but without it of that Word or Reason that is derived from him. The case then in short is this, every man naturally is endued with principles of Reason, and lively notices of good and evil, as a light kindled

<sup>a</sup> ὁ δὲ *Κατὰ ἐκλάμπων τῶν λογικῶν καὶ ἡμιλογικῶν, ἵνα αὐτῷ ὁ νῦν τὰ ἴδια ὁρῶντα βλάπτῃ, τὴ νοητὴν κόσμῳ ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ* λέγων ὅτι ἡ λογικῶν *ψυχῶν* ἡ ἐν τῷ αἰσθητῶν κόσμῳ, &c. *Orig. Com. in Joan. p. 25. vid. etiam p. 40.*

<sup>b</sup> *Dial. cum Tryph. p. 234. p. 285. D.*

<sup>c</sup> *Apol. I. p. 51.*

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid. p. 46.*

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid. p. 51.*

<sup>f</sup> *Apol. I. 2 p. 82.*

<sup>g</sup> *Admonit. ad Gent. p. 52.*

<sup>h</sup> ὁ δὲ ἐν ἐκείνῳ λόγῳ ἡ λογικὴν ἡσυχίαν τὸν λόγον ἔχει σπερμῇ ἐν ἀρχῇ λόγον σπερμῇ ἢ θεὸν ἔντα λόγον θεόν, ἐν ὃ ὁ θεὸς λόγος σπερμῇ ἢ θεόν. Ὡς δὲ αὐτὸς ἐστὶν, καὶ ἀληθινὸς ὁ θεός, ὁ πατὴρ σπερμῇ εἰκόνα, καὶ εἰκόνα ἢ εἰκόνος (ὡς καὶ εἰκόνα λόγον) ἢ οἱ ἀνθρώποι, ἔχοντες ἢ σπερμῇ ἢ αὐτῷ λόγῳ σπερμῇ ἐν ἐκείνῳ λόγον ἀμρότητα δὲ πηγῆς ἔχει χάριν, ὁ πατὴρ θεός ἐστι, ὁ ὅς ἐστις, λόγος. *Tom. I. Comment. in Joan. p. 17. Edit. Huet. Tom. 2. ἐν ἵσταν δὲ ὁ δὲ πᾶσι θεός, ὁ θεός, καὶ ἔχοντες ἀπλῶς θεός, ἢ πᾶσι ἢ πηγῇ τῷ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἡ λογικὴν λόγον, ὁ λόγος. τὸ ἐν ἐκείνῳ λόγον ἔχον ἀν κλεισὶ ὁμοίως τῷ σπερμῇ ὁμοιωμένη καὶ ἀληθινή, ὁ λόγος. *Ibid. p. 40.**

from him, who is the Word and Wisdom of the Father, and may so far be said to partake of Christ, the primitive and original Word, and that more or less according to their improvement of them; so that whatever wise and excellent things either Philosophers or Poets have spoken, says Justin the Martyr, it was *διὰ τοῦ ἐμφυτοῦ πνεύματος γενέσθαι ἀνθρώπων σωτήρια λόγου*, from that seed of the λόγος, the Word, or Reason that implanted in all mankind: thus he says that Socrates<sup>b</sup> exhorted the Greeks to the knowledge of the Unknown God by the inquisition of the Word. To conclude this, he nowhere affirms, that Gentiles might be saved without the entertainment of Christianity, nor that their knowledge was of itself sufficient to that end (no man more strongly proves Reason and Natural Philosophy to be of themselves insufficient to salvation) but that so far as they improved their Reason and internal Word to the great and excellent purposes of Religion, so far they were Christians, and

οὐ μόνον Ἕλλησι διὰ Σωκράτους ὑπὸ λόγου ἡλέγχθη τυττα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν βαρβάρους ὑποδύσθαι τὰ λόγια μορφωθέντες καὶ ἀνθρώπων γινώσκοντες, καὶ ἰνὸς θεοῦ κληρονομήσαντες. Just. Apol. II. p. 56.

akin to the eternal and original Word, and that whatever was rightly dictated or reformed by this inward Word, either by Socrates among the Greeks, or by others among the Barbarians, was in effect done by Christ himself, the Word made Flesh.

<sup>c</sup> Dial. cum Tryph. p. 306, 307. vid. p. 369.

XXII. ANOTHER opinion with which he was charged is *Chiliasm*, or the reign of a thousand years. This indeed he expressly asserts<sup>c</sup>, that after the Resurrection of the dead is over, Jerusalem should be rebuilt, beautified and enlarged, where our Saviour with all the holy Patriarchs and Prophets, the Saints and Martyrs should visibly reign a thousand years. He confesses indeed that there are many sincere and devout Christians that would not subscribe to this opinion; but withal affirms that there were abundance of the same mind with him. As indeed there

<sup>a</sup> Apud Iren. l. 5. c. 33. p. 498. vid. Euseb. l. 3. c. ult. p. 112. <sup>e</sup> Loc. cit. & ap. Euseb. ubi supr. <sup>f</sup> Ap. Euseb. l. 7. c. 24. p. 270. <sup>g</sup> Ap. Hieron. Comment. in Exech. c. 36. Tom. 5. p. 507. <sup>h</sup> Adv. Marcion. l. 3. c. 23. p. 411. de Resur. Carn. c. 25. p. 340. <sup>i</sup> Apud Hieron. loc. supr. cit. <sup>k</sup> De vit. beat. l. 7. c. 24. p. 722. c. 26. p. 727. & seq. <sup>l</sup> Ap. Hieron. ubi supr. vid. titulum de script. Eccles. in Papias. <sup>m</sup> Lib. 3. c. 39. p. 112.

were, <sup>a</sup> Papias Bishop of Hierapolis, <sup>e</sup> Irenaeus Bishop of Lyons, <sup>f</sup> Nepos, <sup>g</sup> Apollinaris, <sup>h</sup> Tertullian, <sup>i</sup> Victorinus, <sup>k</sup> Lactantius, <sup>l</sup> Severus Gallus, and many more. The first that started this notion among the Orthodox Christians of those early Times seems to have been the fore-mentioned Papias, who (as <sup>m</sup> Eusebius tells us) pretended it to be an Apostolical Tradition, misunderstanding the

Apostles discourses, and too lightly running away with what they meant in a mystical and hidden sense. For he was, though a good man, yet of no great depth of understanding, and so easily mistaken; and yet as he observes, his mistake imposed upon several Ecclesiastical persons, the venerable antiquity of the man recommending the error to them with great advantage. Among which especially were our S. Justin and

Irenaeus, who held it in an innocent and harmless sense. 'Tis true <sup>n</sup> Cerinthus and his followers, mixing it with Jewish Dreams and Fables, and pretending divine Revelations to patronize and countenance it, improved it to brutish and sensual purposes, placing it in a state of eating and drinking, and all manner of bodily pleasures and delights. And what use Heretics of later times have made of it, and how much they have improved and enlarged it, is not my present business to enquire.

<sup>o</sup> Dial. cum Tryph. p. 333.

XXIII. CONCERNING the state of the soul after this life, he affirms<sup>o</sup> that the souls even of the Prophets and righteous men fell under the power of Demons, though how far that power should extend, he tells us not, grounding his assertion upon no other basis than the single instance

instance of Samuels being summoned up by the enchantments of the Pythonesse. Nor does he assert it to be necessarily so, seeing he grants that by our hearty endeavours and prayers to God, our souls at the hour of their departure may escape the seizure of those evil powers. To this we may add, what he seems<sup>a</sup> to maintain, That the souls of good<sup>b</sup> men are not received into Heaven till the Resurrection; that when they depart the body, they remain *ἐν καὶ τῷ πνεύματι*, in a better state, <sup>b</sup> where being gathered within it self, the soul perpetually enjoys what it loved; but that the souls of the unrighteous and the wicked are thrust into a worse condition, where they expect the judgment of the great day: and he reckons<sup>c</sup> it among the errors of some pretended Christians, who denied the Resurrection, and affirmed that their souls immediately after death were taken into Heaven. Nor herein did he stand alone, but had the almost unanimous suffrage of primitive Writers voting with him, <sup>d</sup> Irenaeus, <sup>e</sup> Tertullian, <sup>f</sup> Origen, <sup>g</sup> Hilary, <sup>h</sup> Prudentinus, <sup>i</sup> Ambrose, <sup>k</sup> Augustin, <sup>l</sup> Anastasius Sinaita, and indeed who not, there being a general concurrence in this matter, that the souls of the righteous were not upon the dissolution presently translated into Heaven, that is, not admitted to a full and perfect fruition of the divine presence, but determined to certain secret and unknown Repositories, where they enjoyed a state of imperfect blessedness, waiting for the accomplishment of it at the general Resurrection, which intermediate state they will have described under the notion of Paradise and Abrahams Bosom, and which some of them make to be a subterranean Region within the bowels of the Earth.

XXIV. THE like concurrence, though not altogether so uncontrollably entertained of the Ancients with our Justin, we may observe in his opinion concerning the<sup>a</sup> Angels, that God having committed to them<sup>b</sup> the care and superintendency of this sublunary World, they abused the power intrusted with them, mixing themselves with Women in wanton and sensual embraces, of whom they begat a race and posterity of Demons. An assertion not onely intimated by<sup>c</sup> Philo and<sup>d</sup> Josephus, but expressly owned by<sup>e</sup> Papias, <sup>f</sup> Athenagoras, <sup>g</sup> Clemens Alexandrinus, <sup>h</sup> Tertullian, <sup>i</sup> Cyprian, <sup>k</sup> Lactantius, <sup>l</sup> Sulpitius Severus, <sup>m</sup> S. Ambrose, and many more. That which first gave birth to this opinion (easily embraced by those who held Angels to be corporeal) was a misunderstanding that place, *the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them to wife, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men, men of renown.* And it more particularly furthered the mistake, that many ancient Copies of the Septuagint (as is evident from Philo and S. Augustin, and the Kings ancient Alexandrian Manuscript at this day) in stead of the Sons read the Angels of God, which the Fathers who generally understood no Hebrew, were not able to correct. And I doubt not what gave further patronage to this error, was the Authority of the Book of Enoch (highly valued by many in those days) wherein this Story was related, as appears from the fragments of it still extant.

XXV. I might here also insist upon, what some find so much fault with

<sup>a</sup> Adv. Heres. l. 5. c. 31. p. 491. <sup>c</sup> Apol. c. 47. p. 37. <sup>d</sup> Πρὸς Ἀρχ. l. 2. c. 12. fol. 136. l. 4. c. 2. fol. 154. confer. Philoc. c. 1. p. 18. & Homil. 7. in Levit. fol. 7. <sup>e</sup> Enarrat. in Psal. CXX p. 532. <sup>f</sup> Cathemer. Hymn. X. p. 485. <sup>g</sup> Ambros. de Cain & Ab. lib. 2. pag. 131. T. 4. de bon. Mort. c. 10. p. 240. <sup>h</sup> Enchirid. c. 109. col. 190. Tom. 3. in Psal. 36. Conc. i. col. 281. T. 3. <sup>i</sup> Quest. XCI.

<sup>a</sup> De Gigant. l. 1. p. 221. <sup>c</sup> Antiq. l. 1. c. 4. p. 8. <sup>d</sup> Apud Andr. Cesar. Comment. in Apoc. Sermon. 12. <sup>e</sup> Legat. pro Christ. pag. 27. <sup>f</sup> Stromat. l. 5. p. 550. <sup>g</sup> De Hab. mul. seu de Cult. femina. l. 1. c. 2. p. 150. <sup>h</sup> De Discipl. & hab. Virg. p. 166. <sup>i</sup> De Orig. error. l. 2. c. 14. p. 216. <sup>k</sup> Sac. Hist. lib. 1. p. 8. <sup>l</sup> De Noe & Arc. c. 4. p. 144. T. 4.



THE LIFE OF  
**S. IRENÆUS**  
 BISHOP of LYONS.



*His Countrey enquired into. His Philosophical Studies His institution by  
 Papias. Papias who. His education under S. Polycarp. His coming  
 into France, and being made Presbyter of Lyons. Pothinus who; how  
 Y and*

and by whom sent into France. The grievous Persecution there under M. Aurelius. The Letters of the Martyrs to the Bishop of Rome. Pope Eleutherius guilty of Montanism. Irenæus sent to Rome. His writing against Florinus and Blaſtus. The martyrdom of Pothinus Bishop of Lyons, and the cruelty exercised towards him. Irenæus succeeds. His great diligence in his charge. His opposition of Heretics. The Synods said to have been held under him to that purpose. The Gnostic Heresies spread in France. Their monstrous Villanies. His confutation of them by word and writing. Variety of Sects and Divisions objected by the Heathens against Christianity. This largely answered by Clemens of Alexandria. Pope Victor's reviving the controversy about Easter. The contests between him and the Asiatics. Several Synods to determine this matter. Irenæus his moderate interposul. His Synodical Epistle to Victor. The Persecution under Severus. Its rage about Lyons. Irenæus his Martyrdom, and place of Burial. His Vertues. His industrious and elaborate confutation of the Gnostics. His stile and phrase. Photius his censure of his Works. His error concerning Christs Age. Miraculous gifts and powers common in his time. His Writings.

<sup>a</sup> De Spirit. S.  
c. 29. p. 358.  
Tom. 2.  
<sup>b</sup> Epist. ad Theo-  
dor. p. 196. T. I.



I RENÆUS may justly challenge to go next the Martyr, ὁ ἐργὸς ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων γανόμενος, as <sup>a</sup> S. Basil stiles him, one near to the Apostles, which <sup>b</sup> S. Hierom expresses by being a man of the Apostolic times. His Originals are so obscure, that some dispute has been to what part of the World he belonged, whether East or West, though that he was a Greek, there can be no just cause to doubt.

The Ancients having not particularly fixed the place of his Nativity, he is generally supposed to have been born at Smyrna, or thereabouts. In his youth he wanted not an ingenuous education in the Studies of Philosophy and Humane Learning, whereby he was prepared to be afterwards an useful Instrument in the Church. His first institution in the Doctrine of Christianity was laid under some of the most eminent persons that then were in the Christian Church. <sup>c</sup> S. Hierom makes him Scholar to Papias Bishop of Hierapolis, who had himself conversed with the Apostles and their Followers. This Papias (as <sup>d</sup> Irenæus and others inform us) was one of S. Johns Disciples; by whom though <sup>e</sup> Eusebius understands not the Apostle, but one surnamed the Elder, which he seems to collect from a passage of <sup>f</sup> Papias himself, yet evident it is, that though Papias in that place affirms, that he diligently picked up what <sup>g</sup> Memoirs he could meet with concerning the Apostles from those that had attended and followed them, yet he nowhere denies that he himself conversed with them. He was (as <sup>h</sup> Eusebius characterizes him) a man very learned and eloquent, and knowing in the Scriptures; though as <sup>i</sup> elsewhere he adds, ὁ πόρρα ἑμικροῦς ὢν ἄνθρωπος, of a very weak and undiscerning judgment, especially in the more abstruse and mysterious parts of the Christian Doctrine, which easily betrayed him, and others that followed him into great errors and mistakes. He wrote five Books entitled, Λογιῶν Κυριακῶν Ἑξηγήσεις, the explanation of our Lords Discourses, and, as he in <sup>j</sup> Photius intimates, and the <sup>k</sup> Alexandrine Chronicle expressly affirms, died a Martyr, being put to death at Pergamus in the Persecution under M. Aurelius. He is said to have trained up many Scholars in

<sup>a</sup> Steph. Gob. ap.  
Phot. Cod.  
CCXXXII  
col. 901.  
<sup>b</sup> An. III. Olymp.  
235. Ind. I.  
M. An. 114.

the

the Christian Institution, and among the rest our Irenæus. Which though not improbable, yet we are sure not onely from the testimonies of <sup>a</sup> Eusebius and <sup>b</sup> Theodoret, but what is more, from his own, that he was trained up under the tutorage and instructions of S. Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna, and S. Johns Disciple, from whom he received the seeds of the true Apostolic Doctrine, and for whom he had so great a reverence and regard, that he took a most exact and particular notice of whatever was memorable in him, even to the minutest circumstances of his conversation, the memory whereof he preserved fresh and lively to his dying day.

II. BY whose hands he was consecrated to the Ministeries of Religion, as also when, and upon what occasion he came into France is not known. Probable it is that he accompanied S. Polycarp in his journey to Rome about the Paschal controversy, where by his and Anicetus his persuasions he might be prevailed with to go for France, (in some parts whereof, and especially about Marseilles, great numbers of Greeks did reside) then beginning to be over-run with those pernicious Heresies which at that time invaded and disturbed the Church, that so he might be helpful and assisting to Pothinus the aged Bishop of Lyons in quelling and subduing of them. This Pothinus (if we may believe Gregory Bishop of Tours, who resided some time in this City with his Uncle Nicetius Bishop of it) came out of the East, and had been dispatched hither also by S. Polycarp to govern and superintend this Church. If it seem strange to any how S. Polycarps care came to extend so far, as to send a Bishop into so remote and distant parts of the World; it seems not improbable to suppose, that Lyons being a City famous for Commerce and Traffique, some of its Merchants might trade to Smyrna, where being converted by Polycarp, they might desire of him to send some grave and able person along with them to plant and propagate the Christian Faith in their own Country, which accordingly fell to Pothinus his share. But then that this must needs be done by the Authority, and ratified by the Decree of the Bishop of Rome, a learned man will never be able to convince us, though he offers at three Arguments to make it good: weak I must needs say, and inconcluding, and which rather shew that he designed thereby to reconcile himself to the Court of Rome (whose favour at the time of his writing that Tract, he stood in need of, in order to his admission to the Bishoprick of S. Leiger de Conserans, to which he was nominated, and wherein he was delayed by that Court, offended with his late Book *De Concordia Sacerdotii & Imperii*) then argue the truth of what he asserts, so unsuitable are they to the learning and judgment of that great man. But I return to Irenæus. He came to Lyons, the Metropolis of Gallia Celtica, situate upon the confluence of the two famous Rivers the Roan and La Saona, or the ancient Arar, famous among other things for its Temple and Altars, erected to the honour of Augustus at the common charge of all France, where they held an annual solemnity from all parts of the Countrey upon the first of August: and upon <sup>a</sup> this day it was that most of the Martyrs suffered in the following Persecution. These Festival solemnities were usually celebrated not onely with great contentions for Learning and Eloquence, but with Sports and Shews, and especially with the bloody conflicts of Gladiators, with barbarous usages, and throwing Malefactors to wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre; wherein the Martyrs mentioned by Eusebius bore a

<sup>a</sup> H. Eccl. l. 5. c. 5. p. 170.  
<sup>b</sup> Ad. H. Eccl. l. 1. c. 1. p. 170.  
<sup>c</sup> Epist. ad Flor. apud Euseb. l. 6. c. 20. p. 188. & Hieron. de Script. in Iren.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. Franc. lib. 1. c. 29.

<sup>e</sup> P. de Marc. diff. de Primat. n. 111. p. 227.

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 5. c. 1. p. 162.

fad and miserable part. *Irenæus* being arrived at *Lyons*, continued several years in the station of a Presbyter, under the care and Government of *Pothinus*, till a heavy storm arose upon them. For in the reign of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, *Ann. Chr.* CLXXVII. began a violent Persecution against the Christians, which broke out in all places, but more peculiarly raged in *France*, whereof the Churches of *Lyons* and *Vien* in a Letter to them of *Asia* and *Phrygia*, give them an account; where they tell them, 'twas impossible for them exactly to describe the brutish fierceness and cruelty of their Enemies, and the severity of those torments which the Martyrs suffered, banished from their houses, and forbid so much as to shew their heads, reproached, beaten, hurried from place to place, plundered, stoned, imprisoned, and there treated with all the expressions of an ungovernable rage and fury, as they particularly relate at large. The occasion of writing this account, was a controversy lately raised in the *Asian* Churches by *Montanus* and his followers, concerning the Prophetic Spirit, to which they pretended: for the composing whereof these Churches thought good to send their judgment and opinion in the case, adjoining the Epistles which several of the Martyrs (while in Prison) had written to those Churches about that very matter, all which they annexed to their Commentary about the Martyrs sufferings, penned, no doubt, by the hand of *Irenæus*.

III. NOR did the Martyrs write onely to the *Asian* Churches, but to *Eleutherus* Bishop of *Rome* about these controversies. And just occasion there was for it, if (which is most probable) this very *Eleutherus* was infected with the errors of *Montanus*: for *Tertullian* tells us, that the Bishop of *Rome* did then own and embrace the Prophecies of *Montanus* and his two Prophetesses, and upon that account had given Letters of Peace to the Churches of *Asia* and *Phrygia*, though by the persuasions of one *Praxeas* he was afterwards prevailed with to revoke them. Where by the way may be observed, that the infallibility of the Pope was then from home, or so fast asleep, that the envious man could sow Tares in the very Pontifical Chair it self. This Bishop *Baronius* will have to be *Anicetus*, but in all likelihood was our *Eleutherus*, who in his after-commendation of the *Montanists* followed the example of his Predecessors, (no doubt *Soter* and *Anicetus*) who had disowned and rejected *Montanus* his Prophecy; nor can it well be otherwise conceived why the Martyrs should so particularly write to him about it. And whereas *Baronius* would have Pope *Eleutherus* dead long before *Tertullian* became a *Montanist*, because in his Book against Heresies he styles him the blessed *Eleutherus*, as if it were tantamount with *ejus memoria est in benedictione*, nothing was more common then to give that title to eminent persons while alive, as *Alexander* of *Jerusalem* calls *Clemens Alexandrinus* who carried the Letter, the blessed *Clemens*, in his Epistle to the Church of *Antioch*, and the Clergy of the Church of *Rome* styles *S. Cyprian* (then in his retirement) the Blessed Pope *Cyprian*, in their Letter to them of *Carthage*. To this *Eleutherus* then these Martyrs directed their Epistle: For the Martyrs in those times had a mighty honour and reverence paid to them, and their sentence in any weighty case was always entertained with a just esteem and veneration. These Letters they sent to *Rome* by *Irenæus*, whom they persuaded to undertake the journey, and whom they particularly recommended to *Eleutherus* by a very honourable testimony, desiring him to receive him not onely as

<sup>a</sup> *Euseb. l. 5. Pres. p. 153.*

<sup>b</sup> *Apud Euseb. ibid. p. 154, 155, &c.*

<sup>c</sup> *Euseb. ibid. c. 3. p. 168.*

<sup>d</sup> *Adv. Prax. c. 1. p. 501.*

<sup>e</sup> *Ad Ann. 173. n. IV.*

<sup>f</sup> *Tertull. ibid.*

<sup>g</sup> *Ad. Ann. 201. n. IX.*

<sup>h</sup> *De Prescript. Heret. c. 30. p. 212.*

<sup>i</sup> *Euseb. l. 6. c. 11. p. 113.*

<sup>k</sup> *Ad Cler. Carthag. Epist. II. p. 8.*

<sup>l</sup> *Euseb. ib. c. 4.*

their Brother and Companion, but as a zealous professor and defender of that Religion which Christ had ratified with his blood. I know *Monf. Valois* will not allow that *Irenæus* actually went this journey, <sup>a</sup> *Annot. in P. n. sub. p. 91, & 92.* that the Martyrs indeed had desired him, and he had promised to undertake it, but that the heat of the Persecution coming on, and he being fixed in the Government and Presidency over that Church, could not be spared personally to undergo it. But since *Eusebius* clearly intimates and <sup>b</sup> *S. Hierom* expressly affirms, that the Martyrs sent him upon this errand, 'tis safest to grant his journey thither, though it must be while he was yet Presbyter, for so they particularly say he was in their Epistle to the Bishop of *Rome*. And there probably it was that he took more particular notice of *Florinus* and *Blasius*, who being Presbyters of the Church of *Rome*, were about this time fallen into the *Valentinian* Heresie, the first of whom he had formerly known with *S. Polycarp* in *Asia*, and noted him for his soft and delicate manners, and to whom after his return home, as also to *Blasius*, he wrote Epistles to convince them of those novel and dangerous sentiments which they had espoused.

IV. AND now the Persecution at *Lyons* was daily carried on with a fiercer violence. Vast numbers had already gone to Heaven through infinite and inexpressible racks and torments, and to crown all, *Pothinus* their reverend and aged Bishop, above ninety years old, was seized in order to his being sent the same way. Age and sickness had rendered him so infirm and weak, that he was hardly able to crawl to his execution. But he had a vigorous and sprightly soul in a decayed and ruinous body, and his great desire to give the highest testimony to his Religion, and that Christ might triumph in his Martyrdom, added new life and spirit to him. Being apprehended by the Officers, he was brought before the Public Tribunal, the Magistrates of the City following after, and the common People giving such loud and joyful acclamations, as if our Lord himself had been leading to execution. The Governour presently asked him, Who the God of the Christians was? Which he knowing to be a captious and sarcastic question, returned no other answer then *Wert thou worthy, thou shouldst know*. Instruction takes hold onely of the humble and obedient ear. Truth is usually lost by being exposed to the vitious and the scornful: 'tis in vain to hold a Candle either to the Blind that cannot, or to them that shut their eyes, and will not see: there is a reverence due to the Principles of Religion that obliges us not to cast Pearls before Swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend us. Here-

upon without any reverence to his age, or so much as respect to humanity it self, he was rudely dragged away, and unmercifully beaten, they that were near, kicking him with their feet, and striking him with their fists; they that were farther off, throwing at him what they could meet with, making whatsoever came next to hand the instruments of their fury: every man looking upon it as impious and piacular, not to do something that might testify his petulant scorn and rage against him. For by this means they thought to revenge the quarrel of their gods. But their savage cruelty thought it too much kindness to dispatch him at once, it is like they intended him a second Tragædy, which if so, Heaven disappointed their designs. For being taken up with scarce so much breath as would entitle him to live, he was thrown

<sup>b</sup> *De Script. in Iren.*

<sup>c</sup> *Euseb. ibid. c. 15. p. 178.*

<sup>d</sup> *Id. ibid. c. 20.*

<sup>e</sup> *Epist. Euseb. Lugd. & Vien. ap. Euseb. ubi sup. c. 1. p. 159.*

*Καθὼς ἡ περὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου λέγεται καὶ φωνάζει, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀποχρίσιν αὐτοῦ ὅτι καὶ χεῖρα λαμβάνον ἐπιπόρρωσιν. Origen. de Martyr. p. 169.*

into the Prison, where two days after he resigned up his soul to God.

V. THE Church of *Lyons* being thus deprived of its venerable Guide, none could stand fairer for the Chair than *Irenæus*, a person honoured and admired by all, who succeeded accordingly about the year CLXXIX. in a troublesome and tempestuous time. But he was a wise and skilful Pilot, and steered the Ship with a prudent Conduct. And need enough there was both of his courage and his conduct; for the Church at this time was not only assaulted by Enemies from without, but undermined and betrayed by Heresies within. The attempts of the one he endured with meekness and patience, while he endeavoured to prevent the infection and poison of the other by a diligent and vigilant circumspection, discovering their persons, laying open their designs, confuting and condemning their errors, so that *their folly was made manifest unto all*. The Author of the ancient *Synodicon* published by *Pappus*, tells us of a Provincial Synod held at *Lyons* by *Irenæus*, where with the assistance and suffrage of twelve other Bishops he condemned the Heresies of *Valentinus*, *Marcion*, *Basilides*, and the rest of that Antichristian crew. Whence he derived this intelligence, I know not, it not being mentioned by any other of the Ancients. However the thing itself is not improbable, *Irenæus* his zeal against that sort of men engaging him to oppose them both by word and writing, and especially when 'tis remembered what himself informs us of, that they had invaded his own Province, and were come home to his very door. For having given us an account of *Marcus*, one of those *Gnostic* Heresiarchs, and his followers, their beastly and licentious practices, and by what ludicrous and senseless Arts, what Magic and hellish Rites they were wont to ensnare and initiate their seduced Profelytes, he tells us<sup>b</sup>, they were come into the Countries round him, all along the *Rhône*, where they generally prevailed (which seems to have been observed as a Maxim and first principle by all Authors of Sects) upon the weaker Sex, corrupting their minds, and debauching their bodies, whose cauterized consciences being afterwards awakened, some of them made public confession of their crimes, others though deserting their Party, were ashamed to return to the Church, while others made a desperate and total Apostasy from any pretences to the Faith. With some of these Ring-leaders *Irenæus* had personally encountered, and read the Books of others, which gave him occasion (what the desires of many had importuned him to undertake) to set upon that elaborate Work *against Heresies*, wherein he has fully displayed their wild and phantastic principles, their brutish and abominable practices, and with such infinite pains endeavoured to refute them: though indeed so prodigiously extravagant, so utterly irreconcilable were they to any principles of sober reason, that as he himself<sup>a</sup> observes, it was Victory enough over them, only to discover and detect them. This Work he composed in the time of *Eleutherus* Bishop of *Rome*, as is evident from his Catalogue<sup>c</sup> of the Bishops of that See, ending in *Eleutherus*, the twelfth successive Bishop, who did then possess the place.

VI. AND indeed it was but time for *Irenæus* and the rest of the wise and holy Bishops of those days to bestir themselves, *grievous Wolves having entered in, and made havock of the flock*. The field of the Church was miserably over-run with tares, which did not only endanger the

<sup>a</sup> Edit. Argent.  
1501.4. p. 12.2.

<sup>b</sup> Adv. Heres.  
l. 1. c. 9. p. 2.  
vid. Hæron  
Epist. ad Theo-  
dor. p. 196.

<sup>c</sup> Pref. ad lib. 1.  
p. 2.

<sup>a</sup> lib. 1. c. 12.  
p. 139.

<sup>c</sup> lib. 3. c. 2. p.  
233. & ap. Euseb.  
l. 5. c. 6. p. 171.

choaking of Religion within the Church, but obstruct the planting and propagating the Faith among them that were without. Nothing being more commonly objected against the truth and divinity of the Christian Religion, then that they were rent and torn into so many Schisms and Heresies. *S. Clemens of Alexandria* particularly encounters this exception, some of whose excellent reasonings are to this effect. <sup>a</sup> *Stromat. l. 7. p. 753.* The first thing (says he) they charge upon us, and pretend why they cannot embrace the Faith, is the diversity of Sects that are among us, truth being delayed and neglected, while some assert one thing and some another. To which he answers, that there were various Sects and Parties both among the *Jews*, and the Philosophers of the *Gentiles*, and yet no man thought this a sufficient reason why they should cease to study Philosophy, or adhere to the *Jewish* Rites and Discipline: that our Lord had foretold, that Errors would spring up with Truth, like Tares growing up with the Wheat, and that therefore 'twas no wonder if it accordingly came to pass, and that we ought not to be wanting to our duty, because others cast off theirs, but rather stick closer to them who continue constant in the profession of the Truth: that a mind diseased and distempered with Error and Idolatry, ought no more to be discouraged from complying with an Institution that will cure it, by reason of some differences and divisions that are in it, then a sick man would refuse to take any Medicines, because of the different opinions that are among Physicians, and that they do not all use the same Prescriptions: that the Apostle hath told us, that *there must be heresies, that they that are approved may be made manifest*, that they heartily entertain the Christian Doctrine, improve and persevere in Faith and a holy Life: that if Truth be difficult to be discerned, yet the finding it out will abundantly recompence the trouble and the labour: that a wise man would not refuse to eat of fruit, because he must take a little pains to discover what is ripe and real, from that which is only painted and counterfeit: Shall the Traveller resolve not to go his journey because there are a great many ways that cross and thwart the common Road, and not rather enquire which is the plain and Kings High-way? or the Husbandman refuse to till his ground, because Weeds grow up together with the Plants? We ought rather to make these differences an argument and incentive the more accurately to examine Truth from Falshood, and Realities from Pretences, that escaping the snares that are plausibly laid, we may attain *ἐπιγνωσιν τῆς ὁμολογίας ἀληθείας*, to the knowledge of that which is really truth indeed, and which is not hard to find, of them that sincerely seek it. But to return back to *Irenæus*.

VII. HAVING passed over the times of the Emperour *Commodus* (the only honour of whose Reign was, that he created no great disturbance to the Christians, being otherwise a most debauched and dissolute Prince, in whom the Vices of all his Predecessors seemed to meet as in one Common-Sewer) *Eleutherus* died, and *Victor* succeeded in the See of *Rome*. A man furious and intemperate, impatient of contradiction, and who let loose the Reins to an impotent and ungovernable Passion. He revived the Controversie about the celebration of *Easter*, and endeavoured imperiously to impose the *Roman* Custom, of keeping it on the next Lords day after the *Jewish* Passover, upon the Churches of the Lesser *Asia*, and those who observed the contrary usage; and because they would not yield, rashly thundred out an Excommunication against them,

<sup>a</sup> Lib. 5. c. 24. p. 192. them, not only endeavouring, but as *Eusebius* explains it in the following words, actually proscribing and pronouncing them cut off from the Communion of the Church. The *Asiatics* little regarding the fierce threatnings from *Rome*, under the conduct of *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus* stood their ground, justifying their observing it upon the fourteenth day after the appearance of the Moon, let it fall upon what day of the Week it would, after the rule of the *Jewish* Pasover, and this by constant Tradition, and uninterrupted usage derived from *S. John* and *S. Philip* the Apostles, *S. Polycarp* and several others to that very day. All which he told Pope *Victor*, but prevailed nothing (as what will satisfy a wilful and passionate mind?) to prevent his rending the Church in sunder.

<sup>b</sup> *Eusebius* ibid. c. 23. p. 190. For the composition of this unhappy Schism <sup>c</sup> Synods were called in several places, as besides one at *Rome*, one in *Palestine* under *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cæsarea Palestina*, and *Narcissus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, another in *Pontus* under *Palmas*, and many more in other places, who were willing

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* c. 24. p. 192. to lend their hands toward the quenching of the common Flame, who all wrote to *Victor* sharply reproving him, and advising him rather to mind what concerned the Peace of the Church, and the love and unity of Christians among one another. And among the rest our *Irenæus* (who as *Eusebius* observes, truly answered his name in his peaceable and peace-making temper) convened a <sup>d</sup> Synod of the Churches of *France* under his jurisdiction, where with thirteen Bishops besides himself (says the fore-mentioned *Synodicon*) he considered and determined of this matter. In whose name he wrote a Synodical Epistle to Pope *Victor*, wherein he told him that they agreed with him in the main of the Controversie, but withall duly and gravely advised him to take heed how he excommunicated whole Churches for observing the ancient Customs derived down to them from their Ancestors: that there was as little agreement in the manner of the *Preparatory* Fast before *Easter*, as in the day it self, some thinking that they were to fast but one day, (probably he means of the great or solemn week) others two, others more, and some measuring the time by a continued fast of forty hours (whether in memory of Christ lying so long in the Grave, or in imitation of his forty days Fast in the Wilderness, I know not) and that this variety was of long standing, and had crept into several places, while the Governours of the Church took less care about these different Customs, who yet maintained a sincere and mutual love and peace towards one another, a thing practised by all his own pious Predecessors, putting him in mind of *Anicetus* and *Polycarp*, who though they could not so far convince each other as to lay aside their different usages, did yet mutually embrace, orderly receive the Communion together and peaceably part from one another. And Letters to the same effect he wrote to several other Bishops for allaying the difference thus unhappily started in the Church.

<sup>e</sup> *Al. Spartian.*  
*in vit. Sever. c.*  
*3. p. 335.*

VIII. THE calm and quiet days which the Church had for some years of late enjoyed, now expired, and the wind changed into a more stormy quarter, *Severus* the Emperour hitherto favourable, began a bitter and bloody Persecution against the Christians, prosecuted with great severity in all parts of the Empire. Himself had heretofore governed this very Province of *Lyons*, and probably had taken peculiar notice of *Irenæus*, and the flourishing state of the Church in that City, and might therefore give more particular Orders for the proceeding against

against them in this place. The Persecution, that in other parts picked out some few to make them exemplary here served all alike, and went through with the Work. For so *Gregory of Tours*, and the ancient *Martyrologies* inform us, that *Irenæus* having been prepared by several torments, was at length put to death (beheaded say the *Greeks*; likely enough) and together with him almost all the Christians of that vast populous City, whose numbers could not be reckoned up, so that the Streets of the City flowed with the blood of Christians. His Body was taken up by *Zacharias* his Presbyter, and buried in a Vault, laid between *Epipodius* and *Alexander*, who had suffered in the Persecution under *Antoninus*. It is not easie to assign the certain date of his Martyrdom, which may with almost equal probability be referred to a double period, either to the time of that bloody Edict which *Severus* published against the Christians about the tenth year of his reign, *Ann. Chr. CCII.* or to his expedition into *Britain*, *Ann. Chr. CCVIII.* when he took *Lyons* in his way, and might see execution done with his own eyes. And indeed the vast numbers that are there said to have suffered, agree well enough with the temper of that fierce and cruel Prince, who had conceived before a particular displeasure against the Citizens of *Lyons*, and a worse against the Christians there.

IX. HE was a true lover of God, and of the souls of men, for the promoting whose happiness he thought no dangers or difficulties to be great; he scrupled not to leave his own Countrey, to take so troublesome and tedious a journey, and instead of the smooth and polite manners of the *Eastern* Nations to fix his dwelling among a People of a wild and savage temper, and whom he must convert to civility, before he gained them to Religion. Nor was it the least part of his trouble (as himself plainly intimates) that he was forced to learn the Language of the Countrey, a rugged and (as he calls it) barbarous Dialect before he could do any good upon them. All which and a great deal more, he cheerfully underwent, that he might be serviceable to the great interests of men. And because he knew that nothing usually more hinders the progress of Piety, then to have mens minds vitiated and depraved with false and corrupt Notions and Principles, and that nothing could more expose the Christian Religion to the scorn and contempt of wise and discerning men, then the wild *Schemes* of those absurd and ridiculous opinions that were then set on foot, therefore he set himself with all imaginable industry to oppose them, reading over all their Writings, considering and unravelling all their principles with incomparable patience as well as diligence, whence he is deservedly stiled by *Tertullian*, <sup>e</sup> *Prof. et l. 1. p. 4.* *Omnium doctrinarum curiosissimus explorator*, the most curious searcher into all kinds of Doctrines. In the successful managery whereof he was greatly advantaged by the natural *acumen* and subtlety of his parts, and those Studies of Philosophy and Humane Literature, of which he had made himself Master in his younger days, sufficient foot-steps whereof appear in the Writings which he left behind him. For besides his Epistles, he wrote many Volumes, (though he<sup>e</sup> that tells us that he composed an Ecclesiastical History, which *Eusebius* made use of, reckons up one more then ever he wrote, and doubtless mistook it for his Work *Adversus Hæreses*) which are all lost, except his five Books against *Heretics*, intituled anciently *Περὶ ἐλέγχου καὶ ἀνατροπῆς τῶν ἑσφαλόμενων ἑνὶ ὧσις*, *The Confutation and Subversion of Knowledge falsely so called, i.e. of Gnosticism.*

<sup>e</sup> *St. Hieron. Comment. l. 1. c. 1. p. 1.*  
*16. col. 55.*

*cism*, those abstruse and mystical Heretics pretending that all sublime and excellent knowledge dwelt with them. What his proper stile and phrase was in these Books is not easily guessed, the far greatest part of the Original Greek being wanting (the conjecture of those who will have them originally penned in *Latine* is not worth the mentioning) probably it was simple and unaffected, vulgar and ordinary, embased, it is like and he seems to confess as much, with the natural Language of the Countrey where he lived, nor had he studied the Arts of Rhetoric, the ornaments of Speech, or had any skill in the elaborate methods and artifices of persuasion, as he modestly <sup>a</sup>apologizes for himself. However his Discourses are grave and well digested, and (as far as the Argument he manages would admit) clear and perspicuous, in all which he betrays a mighty zeal, and a spirit prepared for Martyrdom. For the Martyrs (as <sup>b</sup>*Erasmus* truly notes) have a certain serious, strenuous, and masculine way of writing beyond other men.

<sup>Lo. citat.</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Præfat. ut  
supr.*

<sup>b</sup> *Præf. in Iren.*

<sup>c</sup> *cod. CXX.  
col. 301.*

<sup>d</sup> *Adv. Hæres.  
l. 2 c. 39. p. 192.  
& c. 40. ibid.*

X. AS for his Works themselves <sup>e</sup>*Photinus* thus censures them, that in some of them the accuracy of truth in Ecclesiastic Doctrines is sophisticated *νόδοις λογισμοῖς*, with false and spurious reasonings, which ought to be taken notice of. In the Books yet extant there are some assertions, that will not bear a strict rigorous examination, the principal whereof are such as we have already remarked in the life of *Justin Martyr*, the rest are of an inferiour and more inconsiderable notice. As for his affirming that our Lord was near <sup>a</sup>*fifty years* of age at the time of his public Ministry, it was an error into which he was betrayed partly from a false supposition, that our Lord must be of a more mature and elderly Age, that so he might deliver his doctrine with the greater authority; partly from a mistaken report (which he had somewhere picked up, and it may be from his Master *Papias*) that *S. John* and the rest of the Apostles had so affirmed and taught it; and partly out of opposition to his adversaries, who maintained that our Saviour staid no longer upon earth then till the thirty first year of his age; against whom the eagerness of disputation tempted him to make good his assertion from any plausible pretence, and to take the hint (though his *impetus*, and the desire of prosecuting his Argument would not give his thoughts leave to cool, and take the place into sober consideration) from that question of the *Jews* to Christ, *thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?* whence *in transitu* he took it for granted that the *Jews* had some ground for what they said, and that he must be near that age.

<sup>e</sup> *Ap. Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 5. c. 20. p. 187.*

XI. HIS care to have his Writings derived pure and uncorrupted to posterity was great and admirable, adding to his Book *Περὶ ὁρθότητος*, this solemn and religious obtestation; <sup>a</sup>*I adjure thee, whoever thou art that shalt transcribe this Book, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and by his glorious coming, wherein he shall judge the quick and the dead, that thou compare what thou transcribest, and diligently correct it by the Copy from whence thou transcribest it, and that thou likewise transcribe this adjuration, and annex it to thy Copy.* And well had it been with the ancient Writers of the Church, had their Books been treated with this care and reverence: more of them had been conveyed down to us; at least those few that are, had arrived more sound and unpolluted. I note no more (and it is what *Eusebius* long since thought worth taking notice of) then that in his time miraculous gifts and powers were very common in the Church. For so he <sup>b</sup>tells us, that some expelled and cast out Devils, the

<sup>a</sup> *Adv. Hæres. l. 2 c. 57. p. 218.  
& ap. Euseb. l. 5. c. 7. p. 171.*

the persons often embracing Christianity upon it; others had Visions and Revelations, and foretold things to come; some spake all manner of Languages, and as occasion was, discovered mens thoughts and secret purposes, and expounded the mysteries and deep things of God; others miraculously healed the sick, and by laying their hands upon them restored their health, and many who raised the dead, the persons so raised living among them many years after. The Gifts (as he speaks) which God in the name of our crucified Lord then bestowed upon the Church being innumerable, all which they sincerely and freely improved to the great advantage and benefit of the World. Whence with just reason he urges the truth of our Religion in general, and how much advantage true Christians had to triumph over all those Impostors and Seducers, who sheltered themselves under the venerable Title of being Christians.

### His Writings.

Extant.  
*Adversus Hæreses,*  
seu  
*De refutatione & everfione falsæ  
scientiæ, Libri V.*

Not extant.  
*Libellus de Scientia adversus Gentes.  
Demonstratio Apostolica prædicationis,  
ad Marcianum fratrem.*

*Liber de Ogdoadæ.  
Epistola ad Blastum de Schismate.  
Ad Florinum de Monarchia,  
seu,  
Quod Deus non sit conditor mali,  
Epistola.  
Ad Victorem Episcopum Romanum de  
Paschate, Epistola.  
Ad varios Episcopos de eadem re,  
Epistolæ plures.  
Variorum Tractatum Liber.*

The End of S. IRENÆUS's Life.

THE LIFE OF  
**S. THEOPHILUS**  
 BISHOP of ANTIOCH.



**S. THEOPHILUS ANTIOCHENUS.**

*The great obscurity of his Originals. His learned and ingenious Education, and natural parts. An account of his Conversion to Christianity, and the reasons inducing him thereunto, collected out of his own Writings. His*  
*scrupling*

scrupling the Doctrine of the Resurrection. The great difficulty of entertaining that Principle. Synesius his case. Theophilus his conquering this objection. His great satisfaction in the Christian Religion. His election to the Bishoprick of Antioch. His desire to convert Autolycus. Autolycus who. His mighty prejudice against Christianity. Theophilus his undertaking him, and his free and impartial debating the case with him. His excellent manage of the controversy. His vigorous opposing the Heresies of those times. His Books against Marcion and Hermogenes. His death, and the time of it. S. Hieroms Character of his Works. His Writings.

I.



HOUGH the Ancients furnish us with very few notices concerning this venerable Bishop, yet perhaps it may not be unacceptable to the Reader to pick up that little which may be found. The mistake is not worth confuting and scarce deserves mentioning, that makes him the same with that *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, to whom *S. Luke* dedicates his Evangelical Writings, so great the distance of time (if there

were nothing more) between them. Whether he was born at *Antioch* is uncertain: but where-ever he was born, his Parents were *Gentiles*, by whom he was brought up in the common Rites of that Religion that then governed the World. They gave him all the accomplishments of a learned and liberal Education, and vast improvements he made in the progress of his Studies, so that he was thoroughly versed in the Writings of all the great Masters of Learning and Philosophy in the Heathen World: which being set off with a quick and a pleasant wit (as appears from his Disputes against the *Gentiles*) rendered him a man of no inconsiderable note and account among them.

II. WHEN or by what means converted to Christianity, is impossible particularly to determine: thus much only may be gathered from the Discourses which he left behind him. Being a man of an inquisitive temper, and doubtless of a very honest mind, he gave up himself to a more free and impartial search into the nature and state of things. He found that the account of things which that Religion gave, wherein he was then engaged, was altogether unsatisfactory, that the stories of their gods were absurd and frivolous, and some of them prophane and impious, that their Rites of Worship were trifling and ridiculous; he considered the several parts of the Creation, and that excellent providence that governed the World, wherein he easily discerned the plain notices of a wise and omnipotent Being, and that God had purposely disposed things thus, that his *Grandeur* and Majesty might appear to all. Accordingly he directs his friend to this method of conviction, as that which doubtless he had found most successful and satisfactory to himself. He bids \* him survey and consider the Works of God, the vicissitude and alteration of times according to their proper seasons, the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, the wisely established course of the Elements, the beautiful order and disposition of Nights and Days, and Months and Years, the pleasant and admirable variety of Seeds, Plants, and Fruits, the manifold generations of Beasts, Birds, Creeping things, Fishes, and the Inhabitants of the Watery Regions; the prudent instinct

by

\* *Ad Autolyc.*  
l. i. p. 72.

by which all these Creatures are excited to preserve their kind, and nourish their young, and that not for their own advantage, but for the necessity and pleasure of mankind, God by a wise and secret Providence having so ordained, that all things should be in subjection unto man. And indeed so strangely was he ravished with the consideration of this Argument, that he professes\*, that no man is able duly to describe the singular Order and Oeconomy of the Creation, no though he had a thousand mouths, and as many tongues, and were to live in the World a thousand years, διὰ τὸ ὑπερβαλλόν μέγεθος, ἐν ᾧ πλεονεῖ τῆς σοφίας τῆς Θεοῦ, so incomprehensibly great and unfathomable is that Divine Wisdom that shines in the Works of the Creation. Thus prepared he seems to have betaken himself (and to this also he advises *Autolycus* \*) to the consideration of other Volumes, the Books that contained the Religion of the Christians, especially the writings of the Prophets, and to have weighed the importance of their Revelations, the variety of the persons, the meanness and obscurity of their education, their exact harmony and agreement, the certainty of their predictions, and how accurately the prophecy and the event met together; so that (as he adds<sup>b</sup>) whoever would but seriously apply himself to the study of them, had a way ready open to come to the exact knowledge of the truth.

III. ONE thing there was, which he himself seems to intimate, did more especially obstruct his full compliance with the Christian Doctrine, the belief of the Resurrection. He had been brought up in the Schools of Philosophy, where he had been taught that from a privation of life there can be no return to the possession of it; it is like he could not conceive how mens scattered dust after so many Ages could be recollected, and built up again into the same bodies. Indeed there is scarce any Principle of the Christian Faith, that generally met with more opposition from the wise and the learned, and which was more difficultly admitted into their Creed. When *S. Paul* preached to the Philosophers at *Athens*, while he told them of a judgment to come, they made no scruple to give it entertainment, it being a principle evident by natural light, till he discoursed of a future Resurrection; and this they rejected with contempt and scorn, and when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked; and the most grave and sober took time to consider of it; others said, we will hear thee again of this matter. And *Synesius* himself, that great Philosopher, after his being baptized into the Christian Religion, when courted by *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* to take upon him the Bishoprick of *Ptolemais*, would not yield till he had publicly entered his dissent to the doctrine of the Resurrection, at least as to the common explication of the Article: he looked upon it as *ἰερόν τε καὶ ἀπόρητον*, as containing a kind of sacred and ineffable mystery in it, but could not comply with the vulgar and received opinions; being willing probably to admit it, if he might explain it according to the principles of Philosophy, and after the *Platonic* mode. Though why the credibility of this Article should stick with any, that own a Being of Infinite Power, I see not: it being equally easie to Omnipotence (as *Athenagoras* and others discourse upon this Argument) to restore our scattered parts, and combine them again into the same Mass, as it was at first to create them out of nothing. But to return to our *Theophilus*. By a frequent reflection upon those many shadows of a Resurrection which God hath impressed upon the course of Nature, and the standing

\* *Ibid.* l. 2. p. 57.

\* *Ibid.* p. 110.  
111.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* p. 112.

\* *Lib.* 1. p. 78.

*Acts* 17. 32.

\* *Synes. Epist.*  
CV. p. 249. 254.  
*Enag.* H. E. cl.  
l. 1. c. 15. p. 273.

\* *De Resurr.*  
*mort.* p. 43.

\* *Lex. sup.* it. it.

standing *Phænomena* of Divine Providence, he conquered this objection, especially after he had conversed with, and embraced the holy Volumes, wherein these things were so positively declared and published. And thus he became a Christian, being baffled and disappointed in all other refuges, he took sanctuary in the Church, which (as himself expresses it \*) God has set in the World, like an Island in the midst of the Sea, into whose safe and convenient Harbours the lovers of truth might fly, and all those who desired to be saved, and to escape the judgment and the wrath to come. And glad he was that he was got thither, rejoicing that he bore the name of a Christian, ὁ Θεοφιλὴς ὄνομα, that name that was so dear to God, how much soever otherwise despised and scorned by an ignorant and evil Age.

IV. ABOUT the year \*CLXIX. ( \* *Eutychius* refers it to the sixteenth year of *Antoninus* his reign) or rather the year before, his Predecessor *Eros* being dead, he was made Bishop of *Antioch*, accounted by some the sixth, by the others the seventh Bishop of that See. And neither of them mistaken, both being true according to different computations, some reckoning *S. Peter* the first, while others beholding him as an Apostle, and as acting in a larger and more Occumenical sphere than a private Bishop, begin the account from *Enodius* as the first Bishop of it. *S. Theophilus* thus fixed in his charge, set himself to promote the true interest and happiness of men, and as goodness always delights to communicate and diffuse itself, he studied to bring over others to that Faith, which he had entertained himself. Among the rest he attempted a person of note, his great friend *Autolycus*. Who this *Autolycus* was we have no account, more than what is given us by *Theophilus* himself. He was a person learned and eloquent, curious in all Arts and Sciences, the acquit whereof he pursued with so indefatigable a diligence, that he would bury himself among Books, and steal hours for study from his necessary rest, spending whole nights in Libraries, and in conversing with the monuments of the dead. But withall a *Gentile* <sup>a</sup>, infinitely zealous for his Religion, and unreasonably prejudiced against Christianity, which he cried out of as the highest folly and madness, and loaded with all the common charges and calumnies which either the wit or malice of those times had invented to make it odious, and for the defence and vindication whereof he had bitterly quarrelled with *Theophilus*. This notwithstanding, he is not affrighted from undertaking him, but treats him with all the freedom and ingenuity that became a Friend and a Philosopher, tells him that the cause was in himself, why he did not discern and embrace the truth, that his wickedness and impieties had depraved his mind, and darkened his understanding, and that men were not to blame the Sun for want of light, when themselves were blind and wanted eyes to see it; that the rust and soil must be wiped off from the Glass before 'twould make a true and clear representation of the object; and that God would not discover himself, but to purged and prepared minds, and such who by innocency and a divine life were become fit and disposed to receive and entertain him. Then he explains to him the nature of God, and gives him an account of the Origin of the World according to the Christian doctrine, disproves and derides the ridiculous deities of the Heathens, and particularly answers those black imputations usually laid upon the Christians; and because *Autolycus* had mainly urged the lateness and novelty of the Christian Faith, he shews

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shews at large how much superiour it was in many parts of it in point of Seniority, and that by many Ages, to any thing which the Heathen Religion could pretend to: pressing him at every turn to comply with so excellent a Religion, and assuring him the \* People whom he invited \* *Lib. 3. p. 127.* him to, were so far from being such as he represented them, that they lived under the Conduct of Modesty and Sobriety, Temperance and Chastity, banished Injustice; and rooted up all Vice and Wickedness, loved Righteousness, lived under Law and Rule, exercised a Divine Religion, acknowledged God, served the Truth, were under the preservation of Grace and Peace, directed by a sacred Word, taught by Wisdom, rewarded by a life immortal, and governed by God himself. What the issue of his Discourses was, we cannot tell, but may probably hope they had a desired success, especially since we find *Autolycus* after the first conference a little more favourable to the cause, abating of his conceived displeasure against *Theophilus*, and desiring of him a further account of his Religion. And certainly if Wisdom and Eloquence, if strength of Reason, and a prudent managing the Controversie were able to do it, he could not well fail of reclaiming the man from his Errour and Idolatry.

V. NOR was he more solicitous to gain others to the Faith, then he was to keep those who already had embraced it from being infected and depraved with Errour. For which cause he continually stood upon his guard, faithfully gave warning of the approach of Heresie, and vigorously set himself against it. For notwithstanding the care and vigilance of the good and pious men of those days (as \* *Eusebius* observes) \* *H. Eccl. l. 4. c. 24. p. 140.* envious men crept in, and sowed Tares among the sincere Apostolic Doctrine: so that the Pastors of the Church were forced to rise up in every place, and to set themselves to drive away these wild Beasts from Christs Sheep-fold, partly by exhorting and warning the Brethren, partly by entering the lists with the Heretics themselves, some personally disputing with, and confuting them, others accurately convincing and refuting their Opinions by the Books which they wrote against them. Among whom he tells us was our *Theophilus*, who conflicted with these Heretics, and particularly wrote against *Marcion*, who asserted two Deities, and that the Soul onely, as being the divine and better part, and not the Body, was capable of the happiness of the other World, and this too granted to none but his Followers, with many such impious and fond Opinions. Another Book he wrote against *Hermogenes*, one better skilled in Painting, then drawing Schemes of new Divinity, he forsook the Church, and fled to the *Stoics*, and being tinctured with their Principles maintained matter to be eternal, out of which God created all things, and that all evils proceeded out of Matter, asserting moreover (as *Clement* of *Alexandria* <sup>b</sup> informs us) that our Lords Body was lodged in the Sun, ridiculously interpreting that place, *in them habebat* <sup>c</sup> *he set a Tabernacle for the Sun.* Nor did our *Theophilus* neglect the weak and younger part of the charge, he had not onely Physic for the Sick, and *strong meat for them of full age, but milk for Babes, and such as were yet unskilful in the word of righteousness*, composing many Catechetical Discourses, that contained the first rudiments of the Faith.

VI. HE sate thirteen years in his Bishoprick, (XXI. says the *Patriarch of Alexandria* <sup>d</sup>) and died about the second or third year of the Emperour *Commodus*, for that he out-lived *M. Antoninus*, is evident from

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\* *Lib. 2. p. 53.*  
54.

\* *Phil. l. 1. p. 69.*

\* *Basile. Chron. eccl. anno.*

\* *Annal. p. 359.*

\* *Theoph. l. 3. p. 119.*

\* *Id. l. 2. p. 8.*

\* *Id. l. 1. p. 70.*

<sup>b</sup> In excerpt.  
*Græc. Theod. ap. cl. Alex. p. 808. D.*

<sup>c</sup> *Nicet. C. P. Chronograph. ap. Scalig. p. 311.*  
<sup>d</sup> *Eutych. Annal. p. 359.*

<sup>a</sup> *Ad Autol.* l. 3. his mentioning • his death and the time of his reign in his Discourses with *Autolycus*, after which he composed those Discourses, but what kind of death it was, whether natural or violent, is to me unknown. From the calmness and tranquillity of *Commodus* his reign, as to any Persecution against the Christians, we may probably guess it to have been a peaceable and quiet death. Books he wrote many, whereof <sup>b</sup> *S. Hieron* gives this Character, that they were elegant Tracts, and greatly conducive to the edification of the Church. And further adds, that he had met with Commentaries upon the Gospel and the Proverbs of *Solomon*, bearing his name, but which seemed not to answer his other Writings in the elegance and politeness of the stile.

<sup>b</sup> *Hieron. de de Script. in Theoph.*

## His Writings.

Extant.	<i>Libri aliquot Catechetici.</i>
<i>Ad Autolycum Libri III.</i>	Doubtful.
Not Extant.	<i>Commentarii in Evangelium.</i>
<i>Contra Hæresin Hermogenis.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Proverbia</i>
<i>Adversus Marcionem.</i>	<i>Solomonis.</i>

The End of S. THEOPHILUS's Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF  
S. MELITO  
BISHOP of SARDIS.



S. MELITO.

His Countrey and Birth-place. His excellent Parts and Learning. His being made Bishop of Sardis. His celibacy. His Prophetic gifts. The Persecution under Marcus Aurelius. Melito his Apology for the Christians.

stians. A fragment of it cited out of Eusebius. The great advantages of Christianity to the Empire. His endeavour to compose the Paschal Controversie. His Book concerning that Subject. His journey to Jerusalem to search what Books of the Old Testament were received by that Church. The Copy of his Letter to his Brother Onesimus concerning the Canon of the Old Testament. What Books admitted by the ancient Church. Solomons Proverbs stiled by the Ancients the Book of Wisdom. His death and burial. The great variety of his works. Unjustly suspected of dangerous notions. An account given of the titles of two of his Books most liable to suspicion. His Writings enumerated.

I.



**S.** MELITO was born in Asia, and probably at Sardis, the Metropolis of Lydia, a great and ancient City, the Seat of the Lydian Kings; it was one of the Seven Churches to which S. John wrote Epistles, and wherein he takes notice of some that durst own and stand up for God and Religion in that great degeneracy that was come upon it. He was a man of admirable parts, enriched with the furniture of all useful Learning,

acute and eloquent, but especially conversant in the paths of Divine Knowledge, having made deep enquiries into all the more uncommon parts and speculations of the Christian Doctrine. He was for his singular eminency and usefulness chosen Bishop of Sardis, though we cannot exactly define the time, which were I to conjecture, I should guess it about the latter end of Antoninus Pius his reign, or the beginning of his Successors. He filled up all the parts of a very excellent Governour and Guide of Souls, whose good he was careful to advance both by Word and Writing. Which that he might attend with less solicitude and distraction, he not onely kept himself within the compass of a single life, but was more than ordinarily exemplary for his Chastity and Sobriety, his self-denial and contempt of the World; upon which account he is by Polycrates Bishop of Ephesus stiled an Eunuch, that is, in our Saviours explication, one of those, who make themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heavens sake; who for the service of Religion, and the hopes of a better life, are content to deny themselves the comforts of a married state, and to renounce even the lawful pleasures of this World. And God who delights to multiply his Grace upon pious and holy souls, crowned his other Vertues with the gift of Prophecy, for so Tertullian tells us, that he was accounted by the Orthodox Christians as a Prophet, and Polycrates says of him, that he did ἐν ἀρίῳ πνεύματι πρῶτον προλετρεῖν, was in all things governed and directed by the afflatus and suggestion of the Holy Ghost. Accordingly in the Catalogue of his Writings we find one περὶ πολιτείας, ἢ θεωρητικῆς, of the right way of living, and concerning Prophets, and another concerning Prophecy.

II. IT was about the year CLXX. and the tenth of M. Antoninus, (his Brother L. Verus, having died the year before of an Apoplexy, as he fate in his Chariot) when the Persecution grew high against the Christians, greedy and malicious men taking occasion from the Imperial Edicts lately published by all the methods of cruelty and rapine to oppress and spoil innocent Christians. Whereupon as others, so especially S. Melito presents an Apology and humble Supplication in their behalf

<sup>a</sup> Ap. Euseb. l. 5. c. 24. p. 191.

<sup>b</sup> Ap. Hieron. de Script. in Melit.

<sup>c</sup> Loc. sup. citat.

<sup>d</sup> Ap. Euseb. l. 4. c. 26. p. 147.

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. Chron. ad Ann. CLXXI.

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. H. Eccl. loc. sup. citat.

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to the Emperour, wherein among other things he thus bespeaks him. "If these things, Sir, be done by your Order, let them be thought well done. For a righteous Prince will not at any time command what is unjust; and we shall not think much to undergo the award of such a death. This onely request we beg, that your self would please first to examine the case of these resolute persons, and then impartially determine, whether they deserve punishment and death, or safety and protection. But if this new Edict and Decree, which ought not to have been proclaimed against the most barbarous Enemies, did not come out with your cognizance and consent, we humbly pray, and that with the greater importunity, that you would not suffer us to be any longer exposed to this public rapine.

III. AFTER this he put him in mind how much the Empire had prospered since the rise of Christianity, and that none but the worst of his Predecessors had entertained an implacable spight against the Christians. "This new Sect of Philosophy (says he) which we profess, heretofore flourished among the Barbarians (by which probably he means the Jews.) Afterwards under the reign of Augustus your Predecessor, it spread it self over the Provinces of your Empire, commencing with a happy omen to it: since which time the Majesty and Greatness of the Roman Empire hath mightily increased, whereof you are the wished-for Heir and Successor, and together with your Son shall so continue, especially while you protect that Religion, which begun with Augustus, and grew up together with the Empire, and for which your Predecessors had together with other Rites of Worship, some kind of reverence and regard. And that our Religion, which was bred up with the prosperity of the Empire, was born for public good, there is this great Argument to convince you, that since the reign of Augustus there has no considerable mischief happened; but on the contrary all things according to every ones desire have fallen out glorious and successful. None but Nero and Domitian instigated by cruel and ill-minded men, have attempted to reproach and calumniate our Religion; whence sprang the common slanders concerning us, the injudicious Vulgar greedily entertaining such reports without any strict examination. But your Parents of Religious Memory gave a check to this Ignorance and injustice, by frequent Rescripts reproving those who made any new attempts in this matter. Among whom was your Grandfather Adrian, who wrote, as to several others, so to Fundanus the Proconsul of Asia; and your Father, at what time your self was Colleague with him in the Empire, wrote to several Cities (particularly to Laodicea, Thessalonica, Athens, and all the Cities of Greece) that they should not create any new disturbance about this affair. And for your self, who have the same opinion of us which they had, and a great deal better, more becoming a good man and a Philosopher, we promise our selves that you will grant all our Petitions and Requests. An Address managed with great prudence and ingenuous freedom, and which striking in with other Apologies presented about the same time, did not a little contribute to the general quiet and prosperity of Christians.

IV. NOR was he so wholly swallowed up with care for the general Peace of Christians, as to neglect the particular good of his own, or neighbour Churches. During the Government of Servilius Paulus Pro-

*Proconsul of Asia, Sagaris Bishop of Laodicea* had suffered Martyrdom in the late persecution; \* at what time the controversy about the *Paschal* solemnity was hotly ventilated in that Church, some, strangers probably, urging the observation of the Festival according to the *Roman* usage celebrating it upon the Lords-day, contrary to the custom of those Churches, who had ever kept it upon the fourteenth day of the Moon, according to the manner of the *Jews*. For the quieting of which contention *Melito* presently wrote two Books *περὶ τῆς Πάσχα*, concerning the *Paschever*, wherein no doubt he treated at large of the celebration of *Easter* according to the observation of the *Asian* Churches, and therefore *Polycrates* in his Letter to Pope *Victor* particularly reckons *Sagaris* and *Melito*, among the chief Champions of the Cause. This *Paschal* Book of *S. Melito* was mentioned also by *Clemens of Alexandria* in a Tract concerning the same subject, wherein he confesses that he was moved to that undertaking by the discourse which *Melito* had published upon that subject.

\* *Ap. Euseb. l. 5. c. 24. p. 191.*

\* *Ap. Euseb. ubi sup. p. 147.*

V. HOW unwearied is true goodness and a love to souls! how willing to digest any difficulties, by which anothers happiness may be advanced! his brother *Onesimus* had desired of him to remark such passages of the Old Testament as principally made for the confirmation of the Christian Religion, and to let him know how many of those Books were admitted into the holy Canon. Wherein that he might at once thoroughly satisfy both his brother and himself, he took a journey on purpose into the *East*, that is, I suppose, to *Jerusalem*, where he was likeliest to receive full satisfaction in this matter, and where having informed himself, he gave his Brother at his return an account of it. The Letter it self, because but short, and containing so authentic an evidence what Books of the Old Testament were received by the ancient Church, we shall here subjoin.

*Melito to his Brother Onesimus, greeting.*

FORASMUCH as out of your great love to and delight in the Holy Scriptures, you have oft desired me to collect such passages out of the Law and the Prophets as relate to our Saviour and the several parts of our Christian Faith, and to be certainly informed of the Books of the Old Testament, how many in number, and in what order they were written, I have endeavoured to comply with your desires in this affair. For I know your great zeal and care concerning the Faith, and how much you desire to be instructed in matters of Religion, and especially out of your love to God how infinitely you prefer these above all other things, and are solicitous about your eternal salvation. In order hereunto I travelled into the East, and being arrived at the place where these things were done and published, and having accurately informed myself of the Books of the Old Testament, I have sent you the following account. The five Books of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Jesus or Joshua the son of Nun; Judges, Ruth; the four Books of Kings. Two Books of Chronicles. The Psalms of David. The Proverbs of Solomon, which is Wisdom; Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Job. The Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the twelve [minor] Prophets in one Book. Daniel, Ezekiel: Esdras or Ezra. Out of all which I have made Collections, which I have digested into six Books.

VI. IN

VI. IN which Catalogue we may observe the Book of *Esther* is omitted, as it is also by *S. Athanasius*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Leontius*, in their enumeration of the Books of the holy Canon: though for what reason is uncertain, unless (as *Sixtus Senensis*, not improbably conjectures) because it was not in those times looked upon as of such unquestionable credit and authority as the rest; the spurious additions at the end of it causing the whole Book to be called in question. Nor is here any particular mention made of *Nehemiah*, probably because it was anciently comprehended under that of *Esdras*. And by that of *Wisdom* we see is not meant the Apocryphal Book, called the *Wisdom of Solomon* (as *Bellarmino* and most Writers of that Church confidently enough assert) but his *Proverbs*, of which *Eusebius* expressly tells us, that not only *Hegeippus* but *Irenaeus*, and all the Ancients were wont to call the *Proverbs* of *Solomon* by the name of *Wisdom*, *πρόφῃταις Σοφίας*, a wisdom containing a System of all kind of virtues. And indeed that *Melito* in this place could mean no other, the words of his Letter as restored by *Valesius* (*Σολομῶντος προφῃταί, ἡ δὲ Σοφία*) according to *Nicéphorus* his quotation, and the faith of all the best and most ancient Manuscripts, puts the case beyond all peradventure.

VII. AT last this good man broken with infinite pains and labours, and wearied with the inquietudes of a troublesome World, retreated to the place of rest. The time and manner of his death is unknown; this onely we find that he died, and lies buried at *Sardis*, waiting *ἡ ἀπό τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκ τῆς οὐρανόθεν*, the Episcopal Visitation from Heaven, when our Lord shall come and raise him up from the dead. He was a man, besides the piety of his mind, and the strictness and innocency of his life, of great parts and learning, he had *elegans & declamatorium ingenium*, as *Tertullian* said of him, a smart elegant Wit, able to represent things with their most proper aggravations. He wrote Books almost in all kinds of Subjects, Divine, Moral, and Philosophical, the Monuments of no less Industry than Learning, which are all long since lost, some very few fragments onely excepted. I know there are that suspected him to have had notions less Orthodox about some of the great principles of Religion: which I confess seems to me a most uncharitable and unjust reflection upon so holy and so good a man, especially seeing the conjecture is founded upon the meer titles of some of his Books, none of the Books themselves being extant, and of those titles a fair account might be given to satisfy any sober and impartial man; there being but two that can be liable to exception, the one *Περὶ ἐνσωμάτου Θεοῦ*, *de Deo*, not *Corporeo*, (however *Theodoret*, and as it seems from *Origen*, understands it) but *Corporato* (as *Tertullian* would express it) *de Deo corpore induto*, as *Rufinus* of old translated it, concerning God clothed with a body, or the Word made flesh; the other *Περὶ κτίσεως* (most Copies read *κτίσεως*) *ἡ ἀφ' ὧν ἡμεῖς Χριστῷ*, of the Creation and Generation of Christ. Where admit it to have been *κτίσεως*, Creation, he alluded I doubt not to that of *Solomon*, the Lord possessed, *ἐκτίσας*, created me in the beginning of his way. And evident it is, that before the rise of the *Arrian* Controversies the Fathers

*Conflic. Apost. l. 5. c. 19. col. 370.* Caterum ne tunc quidem solus habebat enim sciam, quem habebat in semetipso, rationem suam scilicet: hanc Graeci λόγον dicunt. — Itaque Sophiam quoque exaudi, ut secundum personam conditam, Primo, Dominus creavit me initium viarum in opera sua, &c. nam ut primum Deus voluit ea quae cum Sophia ratione & sermone disposuerat intra se, ipsum primum protulit sermonem. — Haec est natiuitas perfecta sermonis, dum ex deo procedit: conditus ab eo primum ad cogitatum in nomine Sophiae, Dominus condidit me initium viarum. *Tertul. adv. Prax. c. 5, 6, 7. p. 503.* ubi plura.

used

used the word for any manner of production, and usually understand that place of *Solomon* of the ineffable Generation of the Son of God.

His Writings.

None whereof are now extant.

*De Paschate, Libri II.*  
*De recta vivendi ratione, & de*  
*Prophetis, liber unus.*  
*De Ecclesia.*  
*De die Dominica.*  
*De Natura Hominis.*  
*De Creatione.*  
*De obedientia sensuum fidei.*  
*De Anima, & corpore, & mente.*  
*De Lavacro.*  
*De Veritate.*

*De fide [Creatione] & Generatione Christi.*  
*De Prophetia.*  
*De Hospitalitate.*  
*Liber Clavis dictus.*  
*De Diabolo.*  
*De Joannis Apocalypsi.*  
*De Incarnatione Dei.*  
*Apologia ad Imp. Antoninum.*  
*Excerptorum ex libris Veteris Testamenti, Libri VI.*

*The End of S. MELITO's Life.*

THE LIFE OF  
**S. PANTÆNUS**  
 CATECHIST OF  
 ALEXANDRIA.



*Michael Burghers.*

*Delineavit et sculpsit.*

**S. PANTÆNUS.**

*The various conjectures concerning his Original. The probabilities of his Jewish descent, what. Whether born in Sicily or at Alexandria. His first institution. The famous Platonic School erected by Ammonius at*  
 Bb Alexan-

Alexandria. The renown of that place for other parts of Learning. Pantænus addicted to the Sect of the Stoics. The Principles of that Sect shewed to agree best with the dictates of Christianity. His great improvements in the Christian Doctrine. The Catechetic School at Alexandria, with its antiquity. Pantænus made Regent of it. When he first entered upon this Office. An Embassy from India to the Bishop of Alexandria for some to preach the Christian Faith. Pantænus sent upon this errand. This Country where situate. His arrival in India, and converse with the Brachmans. Their temper, principles, and way of life. Their agreement with the Stoics. Foot-steps of Christianity formerly planted there. S. Matthews Hebrew Gospel found among them and brought by Pantænus to Alexandria. How far and by whom Christianity was propagated in India afterwards. Pantænus his return to Alexandria, and resuming his Catechetic Office. His Death. His great Piety and Learning.

I.



THE silence of Antiquity as to the Countrey and Kindred of this excellent person has administred to variety of conjectures concerning his original. Some conceive him to have been born of Jewish Parents, and they of note and quality. For Clemens Alexandrinus reckoning up his Tutors, tells us that one, (whom he names last) was of Palestine, an Hebrew of very long descent; and then adds, that having found the last, (mean-

ing, say some, the last of those whom he had reckoned up) though he justly deserved to be placed first, after he had with infinite diligence and curiosity hunted him out in Egypt, where he lay obscure, he sat down under his Discipline and Institution. This person Eusebius plainly supposes to have been our Pantænus; and that he intended him in the latter clause there is no cause to doubt, the former onely is ambiguous, it not being clear, whether the latter sentence be necessarily connected and joined to the former, or that he designed any more, then to intimate the last Master he addressed to, as distinct from those he had named before. And this I am the rather inclined to think, because whoever considerably weighs Clemens his period, will find that by his Hebrew or Palestine Master, he means one of the two whom he heard in the East, whereas Pantænus was his Master in Egypt, whom he both found and heard there. Others make him born in Sicily, because Clemens in the following words styles him, a truly Sicilian Bee: but whether there may not be something proverbial in that expression even as it relates to Sicily, I shall not now enquire. However it is certain that the Inhabitants of that Island were generally Greeks, that many eminent Philosophers were born, or resided there, and particularly the famous Porphyry, who had retired hither for some years, and here wrote his virulent Books against the Christians. Let this then stand for his Countrey, till something more probable offer it self, unless we will say, that being descended of Sicilian ancestors, he was born at Alexandria, the place of his education.

II. HIS younger years were seasoned with all learned and philosophical studies, under the best Masters which Alexandria (for there I presume to place his education) afforded, at that time a noted staple place of Learning. As Egypt had in all Ages been famous for the choicest

parts

parts of literature, and the more uncommon speculations of Theology, so more especially Alexandria, where there were Professors in all Arts and Sciences, and public Schools of institution, not a little advantaged by that noble Library, placed here by Ptolomy Philadelphus, and so much celebrated by the Ancients. In after-times here was a fixed and settled succession of Philosophers in the Platonic School, begun by Ammonius Saccas, and carried on by Photinus and Origen, and their successors for several Ages. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us that in his time, though not so famous as formerly, yet in some good degree it still maintained its reputation, and that all ingenuous Arts and Methods of recondite Learning, and celebrated Professors of all sorts flourished here, and that it was enough to recommend a Physician to public notice, if he had studied at Alexandria. Nay many Ages after him, Benjamin the Jew\* at his being there, found near twenty several Schools of Aristotelians (the onely men that then ruled the Chair) whither men flocked from all parts of the World to learn the Peripatetic Philosophy.

III. AMONG all the Sects of Philosophy he principally applied himself to the Stoics, with whose notions and rules of life he was most enamoured; and no wonder, seeing (as S. Hierom observes) their dogmata in many things come nearest to the doctrines of Christianity. As indeed they do, especially as to the moral and practic part of their Principles. They held that nothing was good but what was just and pious, nothing evil but what was vicious and dishonest; that a bad man could never be happy, nor a good man miserable, who was always free, generous, and dear to Heaven; that the deity was perpetually concerned for humane affairs, and that there was a wise and powerful providence that particularly superintended the happiness of mankind, and was ready to assist men in all lawful and vertuous undertakings; that therefore this God was above all things to be admired, adored, and worshipped, prayed to, acknowledged, obeyed, praised, and that it is the most comely and reasonable thing in the World, that we should universally submit to his will, and ἀπαραιστέως ὅλην τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ σωματικὰ πάντα, cheerfully embrace with all our souls all the issues and determinations of his providence; that we ought not to think it enough to be happy alone, but that 'tis our duty ἀπὸ καρδίας φιλεῖν, to love men from the very heart, to relieve and help them, advise and assist them, and contribute what is in our power to their welfare and safety, and this not once or twice, but throughout the whole life, and that unbiassedly, without any little designs of applause, or advantage to our selves; that nothing should be equally dear to a man as honesty and virtue, and that this is the first thing he should look at, whether the thing he is going about be good or bad, and the part of a good or a wicked man, and if excellent and vertuous, that he ought not to let any loss or damage, torment, or death it self deter him from it. And whoever runs over the Writings of Seneca, Antoninus, Epictetus, Arrian, &c. will find these, and a great many more claiming a very near kindred with the main rules of life prescribed in the Christian Faith. And what wonder if Pantænus was in love with such generous and manly principles, which he liked so well, that as he always retained the title of the Stoic Philosopher, so for the main he owned the profession of that Sect, even after his being admitted to eminent Offices and Employments in the Christian Church.

B b 2

IV. BY

\* Stromat. l. i.  
p. 274.

\* H. Eccl. l. 5. c.  
21. p. 175, 176.

\* Vales. Annot.  
in Euseb. p. 96.

\* Lib. 22. nov.  
longe à fin. p.  
1638.

\* Itiner. p. 121.

\* Euseb. l. 5. c.  
20. p. 175.  
\* Com. in Hs.  
c. 11. p. 49.  
Tom. 5.

IV. BY whom he was instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion, I find not; • Photinus tells us that he was Scholar to those who had seen the Apostles, though I cannot allow of what he adds, that he had been an Auditor of some of the Apostles themselves, his great distance from their times rendring it next door to impossible. But whoever were his Tutors, he made such vast proficiencies in his Learning, that his singular eminency quickly recommended him to a place of great trust and honour in the Church, to be Master of the Catechetical School at Alexandria. For there were not onely Academies and Schools of Humane Literature, but an Ecclesiastical School for the training persons up in divine knowledge and the first principles of Christianity: and this *ἡ ἀρχαία σχολή*, says • Eusebius, of very ancient custom, from the very times of S. Mark (says • S. Hierom.) the first Planter of Christianity and Bishop of that place. From whose time there had been a constant succession of Catechists in that School, which Eusebius tells us, continued in his time, and was managed by men famous for eloquence and the study of divine things. The fame and glory of Pantænus did above all others at that time design him for this place, in which he accordingly succeeded, and that (as • Eusebius intimates) about the beginning of Commodus his reign, when Julian entered upon the See of Alexandria, for about that time (says he) he became Governour of the School of the Faithful there. And whereas others before him had discharged the place in a more private way, he made the School more open and public, freely teaching all that addressed themselves to him. In this employment he continued without intermission the whole time of Julian (who sat ten years) till under his Successor he was dispatched upon a long and dangerous journey, whereof this the occasion.

V. ALEXANDRIA was πολυδυσσεύς πόλις (as the Orator • styles it) one of the most populous and frequented Cities in the World, whither there was a constant resort not onely of neighbour Nations, but of the most remote and distant Countries, Æthiopians, Arabians, Bactrians, Scythians, Persians, and even Indians themselves. It happened that some Indian Embassadors (whether sent for this particular purpose is not certain) intreated • Demetrius then Bishop of Alexandria to send some worthy and excellent person along with them to preach the Faith in those Countries. None appeared qualified for this errand like Pantænus, a grave man, and a great Philosopher, incomparably furnished both with divine and secular Learning. Him Demetrius persuades to undertake the Embassy; and though he could not but be sufficiently apprehensive, that he quitted a pleasant and delightful Country, a place where he was beloved and honoured by all with a just esteem and reverence, and that he ventured upon a journey where he must expect to encounter with dangers and hardships, and the greatest difficulties and oppositions, yet were all these easily conquered by his insatiable desire to propagate the Christian Religion, even to the remotest corners of the World. For there were many Evangelical Preachers even at that time (as • Eusebius adds upon this occasion) who inflamed with a divine and holy zeal, in imitation of the Apostles were willing to travel up and down the World for enlarging the bounds of Christianity, and building men up on the most holy Faith. What India this was to which Pantænus, and after him Frumentius (for that they both went to the same Countrey, is highly probable) was dispatched, is not easie

to

to determine. There are, and they men of no inconsiderable note, that conceive it was not the Oriental, but African India, conterminous to Æthiopia, or rather a part of it. These Indians were a Colony and Plantation derived at first out of the East. For so • Eusebius tells us, that in the more early Ages the Æthiopians quitting the parts about the River Indus, fate down near Egypt. Whence • Philostratus expressly styles the Æthiopians a Colony of Indians, as • elsewhere he calls them *Ἰνδοί*, an Indian generation. The Metropolis of this Countrey was Axumis, of which Frumentius is afterwards said to be ordained Bishop by Athanasius. An opinion, which I confess my self very inclinable to embrace, and should without any scruple comply with, did not • Eusebius expressly say, that Pantænus preached the Gospel to the Eastern Nations, and came as far as to India it self. A passage, which how it can suit with the African India, and the Countries that lie so directly South of Egypt, I am not able to imagine. For which reason we have elsewhere fixed it in the East. Nor is there any need to send them as far as India intra Gangem, there are places in Asia nearer hand, and particularly some parts of Arabia that anciently passed under that name, whence the Persian Gulf is sometimes called the Indian Sea. But let the judicious Reader determine as he please in this matter.

VI. BEING arrived in India, he set himself to plant the Christian Faith in those parts, especially conversing with the • Brachmans, the Sages and Philosophers of those Countries, whose Principles and way of life seemed more immediately to dispose them for the entertainment of Christianity. Their children as soon as born they committed to Nurseries, and then to Guardians according to their different ages, who instructed them in principles according to their capacities and improvements: they were educated with all imaginable severity of Discipline, not suffered so much as to speak or spit, or cough, while their Masters were discoursing to them, and this till they were seven and thirty years of Age. They were infinitely strict and abstemious in their diet, eat no flesh, drunk no wine or strong drink, feeding onely upon wild Acorns, and such Roots as nature furnished them withall, and quenching their thirst at the next Spring or River, and as sparing of all other lawful pleasures and delights. They adored no Images, but sincerely worshiped God, to whom they continually prayed, and in stead of the custom of those Eastern Nations of turning to the East, they devoutly lift up their eyes to Heaven, and while they drew near to God, took a peculiar care to keep themselves from being defiled with any vice or wickedness, spending a great part both of night and day in Hymns and Prayers to God. They accounted themselves the most free and victorious people, having hardned their bodies against all external accidents, and subdued in their minds all irregular passions and desires. Gold and Silver they despised, as that which could neither quench their thirst nor allay their hunger, nor heal their wounds, nor cure their distempers, nor serve any real and necessary ends of nature, but onely minister to Vice and Luxury, to trouble and inquietude, and set the mind upon Racks and Tents. They looked upon none of the little accidents of this World to be either good or evil, frequently discoursed concerning Death, which they maintained to be *ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ*

οὐτως

<sup>a</sup> Pallad. de  
Brachman. p. 52.

ὄντως βίον, a being born into a real and happy life, and in order whereunto they made use of the present time onely as a state of preparation for a better life. In short, they seemed in most things to conspire and agree with the *Stoics*, whom therefore of all other Sects they esteemed to be λογίως φιλοσόφους<sup>a</sup>, the most excellent Philosophers: and upon that account could not but be somewhat the more acceptable to *Pantænus*, who had so thoroughly imbibed all the wise and rational principles of that Institution.

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. l. 5. c. 10. p. 175. Hier. de Script. in Pantæn.

VII. WHAT success he had in these parts, we are not particularly told. Certainly his preaching could not want some considerable effect, especially where persons were by the rules of their order, and the course of their life so well qualified to receive it, and that too where Christianity had been heretofore planted, though now overgrown with Weeds and Rubbish for want of due care and culture. For he met with several<sup>b</sup> that retained the knowledge of Christ, preached here long since by *S. Bartholomew the Apostle* (as we have elsewhere shewed in his life) whereof not the least evidence was his finding *S. Matthews Gospel* written in *Hebrew*, which *S. Bartholomew* had left at his being there, and which *Pantænus* (as *S. Hierom* informs us, though I question whether it be any more then his own conjecture) brought back with him to *Alexandria*, and there no doubt laid it up as an inestimable treasure. And as our Philosopher succeeded in the labours of *S. Bartholomew* in these *Indian Plantations*, so another afterwards succeeded in his, an account whereof, to make the story more intire, the Reader I presume, will not think it impertinent, if I here insert. *Ædesius* and *Frumentius*, two Youths of *Tyre*, accompanied *Meropius* the Philosopher into *India*, where being taken by the Natives, they were presented to the King of the Countrey, who pleased with their persons and their parts, made one of them his Butler, the other (*Frumentius*) the Keeper of his Records, or as *Sozomen* will have it, his Treasurer and *Major-domo*, committing to his care the Government of his house. For their great diligence and fidelity the King at his death gave them their liberty, who thereupon determined to return to their own Countrey, but were prevailed with by the Queen to stay, and superintend affairs during the Minority of her Son. Which they did, the main of the Government being in the hands of *Frumentius*, who assisted by some Christian Merchants that traffiqued there, built an Oratory, where they assembled to worship God according to the Rites of Christianity, and instructed several of the Natives, who joined themselves to their Assembly. The young King now of age, *Frumentius* resigned his trust, and begged leave to return; which being with some difficulty obtained, they presently departed, *Ædesius* going for *Tyre*, while *Frumentius* went to *Alexandria*, where he gave *Athanasius*, then Bishop of that place, an account of the whole affair, shewing him what hopes there were that the *Indians* would come over to the Faith of Christ, withall begging of him, to send a Bishop and some Clergy-men among them, and not to neglect so fair an opportunity of advancing their salvation. *Athanasius* having advised with his Clergy, persuaded *Frumentius* to accept the office, assuring him he had none fitter for it then himself. Which was done accordingly, and *Frumentius* being made Bishop, returned back into *India*, where he preached the Christian Faith, erected many Churches, and being assisted by the Divine Grace wrought innumerable miracles, healing both

<sup>c</sup> Socrat. H. Eccl. l. 1. c. 19. p. 50. Sozom. lib. 2. c. 24. p. 477. Theod. H. Eccl. l. 1. c. 23. p. 54.

both the souls and bodies of many at the same time. An account of all which *Rufinus* professes to have received from *Ædesius* his own mouth, then Presbyter of the Church of *Tyre*. But it's time to look back to *Pantænus*.

VIII. BEING returned to *Alexandria*, he resumed his *Catechetic* office, which I gather partly from *Eusebius*, who again mentions it just after his *Indian* expedition, and adds *παιδευτὴς ἡγήσατο*, that after all, or when he drew near to his latter end, he governed the School of *Alexandria*; partly from *S. Hierom*<sup>b</sup>, who says expressly, that he taught in the reigns of *Severus* and *Caracalla*, his first regency being under *Commodus*. He died in the time of *Antoninus Caracalla*, who began his reign *Ann. CCXI*. though the exact date and manner of his death be lost; his memory is preserved in the *Roman Calendar* on the seventh of *July*. And certainly a just tribute of honour is due to his memory for his admirable zeal and piety, his indefatigable pains and industry, his exquisite abilities, *καὶ ἀπὸ παιδείας ἀνὴρ ἐκδοξότατος*, as *Eusebius* truly characters him, a man singularly eminent in all kinds of Learning; and *Origen*, who lived nearer to him, and was one of his Successors, commends him for his great usefulness and ability both in Philosophical speculations, and Theological Studies, in the one able to deal with Philosophers, in the other to refute Heretics and Seducers. In his School he displayed (as *Eusebius* tells us) both by word and writing the Treasures of the Sacred Doctrines; though he taught (says *S. Hierom*) rather *viva voce*, then by Books, who mentions onely his Commentaries upon the holy Scripture, and of them not the least fragment is remaining at this day.

<sup>b</sup> Loc. citat.

<sup>c</sup> Apud Euseb. l. 6. c. 19. p. 221.

The End of S. PANTÆNUS's Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF  
**S. CLEMENS**  
 OF  
 ALEXANDRIA.



S. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

*His Country. The progress of his Studies. His instruction in the Christian doctrine. His several Masters. His impartial enquiry after truth. The elective Sect, what. Its excellent genius. Clemens of this Sect.*  
 His

His succeeding Pantæus in the Catechetical School. He is made Prefbyter of Alexandria. His Stromata published, when. Lawfulness of flying in time of persecution. His journey into the East. What Tracts he wrote there. His going from Jerusalem to Antioch, and return to Alexandria. His death. The Elogia given of him by the Ancients. His admirable learning. His Writings. His Hypotyposes: Photius his account of them; corrupted by the Arrians. His Books yet extant, and the orderly gradation of them. His Stromata, what the design of it. His stile, what in this, what in his other Books. A short Apology for some unwary assertions in his Writings. His Writings enumerated.

\* Havil.  
XXXII. p. 56.



I. **IT**US Flavius Clemens was, probably, born at Athens. For when \* Epiphanius tells us, that some affirmed him to be an Alexandrian, others an Athenian, he might well be both; the one being the place of his nativity, as the other was of his constant residence and employment. Nor can I imagine any other account, upon which the title of Athenian should be given to him. And the conjecture is further countenanced from the course and progress of his Studies, the foundations whereof were laid in Greece, improved in the East, and perfected in Egypt. And indeed his incomparable abilities in all parts of Science render it a little more probable, that his early years commenced in that great School of Arts and Learning. But he staid not here, his insatiable thirst after Knowledge made him traverse almost all parts of the World, and converse with the Learned of all Nations, that he might furnish himself with the knowledge of whatever was useful and excellent, especially a thorough acquaintance with the mysteries of the Christian Doctrine. He tells us <sup>b</sup> of those lively and powerful Discourses, which he had the happiness to hear from blessed and truly worthy and memorable persons, who preserving that sincere and excellent doctrine, which like children from the hands of their Parents, they had immediately received from Peter, James, John, and Paul, the holy Apostles, were by Gods blessing come down to his time, sowing those ancient and Apostolic seeds of Truth. A passage, which I doubt not <sup>c</sup> Eusebius intended, when he says, that Clemens speaking concerning himself in the first Book of his Stromata, affirms himself to have been of the next succession to the Apostles.

<sup>b</sup> Stromat. l. i.  
p. 274. & ap.  
Euseb. l. 5. c. 11.  
p. 176.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. 6. c. 13.  
p. 215.

<sup>d</sup> Loc. citat.  
\* Ad Ann. 185.  
n. IV.

<sup>1</sup> V. l. s. Annot.  
in Euseb. p. 95.

II. OF these venerable men to whose tuition he committed himself, he himself has given <sup>d</sup> us some, though but obscure account. The first was Ionian, a Cælo-Syrian, whom he heard in Greece, and whom <sup>e</sup> Baronius conjectures to have been Caius, or Dionysius Bishop of Corinth; a second an Egyptian, under whose Discipline he was, in that part of Italy called Magna Græcia, and since Calabria. Hence he travelled into the East, where the first of his Masters was an Assyrian, supposed by some to have been Bardesanes, by others Tatian, the Scholar of Justin Martyr: the next originally a Jew, of a very ancient stock, whom he heard in Palestine, whom Baronius will have to have been Theophilus Bishop of Cæsarea (though for his Hebrew descent there be no evidence among the Ancients) others <sup>f</sup> more probably Theodotus, whence the excerpts out of his Hypotyposes still extant, are stiled, ἐκ τῆς Θεοδοτῆος ἀπολογικῆς διδασκα-

λίας,

λίας, the Epitome of Theodotus his Oriental Doctrine, that is, the Doctrine which he learnt from Theodotus in the East. The last of the Masters whom he met with, <sup>g</sup> δωδάμη ὁ ἀγαπῶν, as he says of him, but the first and chief in power and virtue, was one whom he inquisitively sought out, and found in Egypt, and in whose institution he fully acquiesced, and sought no further. This person is generally supposed to have been Pantæus, whom Clemens elsewhere <sup>h</sup> expressly affirms to have been his Master, and whom in the forementioned Epitome he stiles <sup>i</sup> our Pantæus.

<sup>a</sup> In lib. Hypot.  
ap. Euseb. l. 5. c.  
11. p. 175.  
<sup>b</sup> Ad Cat. Clem.  
p. 802.

III. BUT though he put himself under the discipline of so many several Masters, yet was it not out of any vain desultory lightness, or phantastic curiosity, but to make researches after truth with an honest and inquisitive mind. He loved what was manly and generous, wherever he met it: and therefore tells us <sup>j</sup>, he did not simply approve all <sup>k</sup> Philosophy, but that of which Socrates in Plato speaks concerning their <sup>l</sup> mysterious Rites,

—ναρρηγοῦσιν ἢ πολλοί· βέλτε δὲ πὶ πάντες;

intimating as he expresses it in the stile of the Scripture, that many are called, but few elect, or who make the right choice. And such (adds Socrates) and such onely, in my opinion, are those who embrace the true Philosophy. Of which sort (says Clemens) through my whole life I have to my power approved my self, desiring and endeavouring by all means to become one of that number. For this purpose he never tied himself to any particular institution of Philosophy, but took up in the ἀρετῆς ἐκλεκτικῇ, the Elective Sect, who obliged not themselves to the dictates and sentiments of any one Philosopher, but freely made choice of the most excellent principles out of all. This Sect (as the Philosophic Historian <sup>m</sup> informs us) was begun by Potamon, an Alexandrian too, <sup>n</sup> who out of every Sect of Philosophy selected what he judged best. He gave himself liberty impartially to enquire into the natures of things, and what was the true standard and measure of truth; he considered, that no man knows every thing, that some things are obvious to one, that are overseen or neglected by another, that there are wholesome herbs and flowers in every Field, and that if the thing be well said, 'tis no matter who 'tis that says it; that reason is to be submitted to, before authority, and though a fair regard be due to the opinions and principles of our Friends, yet that it is ὁσιον προτιμᾶν ἢ ἀλλόθεν, (as <sup>o</sup> Aristotle himself confesses) more pious and reasonable to honour and esteem the truth. And thus he picked up a System of noble principles, like so many Flowers out of several Gardens, professing <sup>p</sup> this to be the great end of all his disquisitions, ζῶντι καὶ πατρὶ ἀρετῇ τελείῃ, a life perfected according to all the rules of Vertue. Of this incomparable Order was our divine Philosopher: I espoused not (says he <sup>q</sup>) this or that Philosophy, not the Stoic, nor the Platonic, not the Epicurean, or that of Aristotle, but whatever any of these Sects had said, that was fit and just, that taught righteousness with a divine and religious knowledge, τὸ τοιοῦτον δὲ ἐκλεκτικῇ, all that being selected, I call Philosophy. Though it cannot be denied, but that of any Sect, he came nearest to the Stoics, as appears from his discoursing by way of Paradoxes, and his affected novelty of words, two things peculiar to the men of that way, as a very learned and ingenious person <sup>r</sup> has

<sup>d</sup> D. I. cent.  
proem. ad vit.  
Philos. p. 14.

<sup>e</sup> Ethic. l. 1. c. 4.  
p. 3. tom. 2.

<sup>f</sup> I. l. i. loc. cit.

<sup>g</sup> Strom. l. 1. p.  
288.

<sup>h</sup> H. Dodwel.  
Prolegom. Apol.  
ad l. b. D. Stearns  
de Obsin. p.  
115.

observed. And I doubt not but he was more peculiarly disposed towards this Sect by the instructions of his Master *Pantenus*, so great and professed an admirer of the *Stoical Philosophy*.

IV. *PANTÆNUS* being dead, he succeeded him in the *Schola Kατηχησέων*, the *Catechetical School* at *Alexandria*, though questionless he taught in it long before that, and probably during *Pantenus* his absence in *India*, supplying his place till his return, and succeeding in it after his death, for that he was *Pantenus* his Successor, the Ancients \*are all agreed. Here he taught with great industry and fidelity, and with no less success, some of the most eminent men of those times, *Origen*, *Alexander Bishop of Jerusalem*, and others being bred under him. And now (as \*himself confesses) he found his *Philosophy* and *Gentile-Learning* very useful to him: for as the Husbandman first waters the soil, and then casts in the Seed, so the notions he derived out of the Writings of the *Gentiles*, served first to water and soften τὸ γῆδες αὐτοῦ, the gross and terrestrial parts of the soul, that the spiritual seed might be the better cast in, and take vital root in the minds of men. Besides the Office of a *Catechist*, he was made *Presbyter* of the Church of *Alexandria*, and that at least about the beginning of *Severus* his reign, for under that capacity *Eusebius* takes notice of him, *Ann. CXC*. About which time prompted by his own zeal, and obliged by the iniquity of the times, he set himself to vindicate the cause of Christianity both against Heathens and Heretics, which he has done at large with singular learning and dexterity in his Book called *Stromata*, published about this time; for drawing down a *Chronological* \*account of things, he ends his computation in the death of the Emperor *Commodus*. Whence 'tis evident, as *Eusebius* observes, that he compiled that Volume in the reign of *Severus* that succeeded him.

V. THE Persecution under *Severus* raged in all Provinces of the Empire, and particularly at *Alexandria*, which made many of the Christians for the present willing to retire, and *Clemens* probably among the rest, whom we therefore find particularly discoursing \*the lawfulness of withdrawing in a time of Persecution: that though we may not cowardly decline a danger or death, when 'tis necessary for the sake of Religion, yet in other cases we are to follow the direction of our Saviour, when they persecute you in one City, flee ye into another; and not to obey in such a case, is to be bold and rash, and unwarrantably to precipitate our selves into danger, that if it be a great sin against God to destroy a man, who is his image, that man makes himself guilty of the crime, who offers himself to the public tribunal; and little better does he, that when he may, declines not the Persecution, but rashly exposes himself to be apprehended, thereby to his power conspiring with the wickedness of his Persecutors. And if further, he irritate and provoke them, he is unquestionably the cause of his own ruine, like a man that needlessly rouses and enrages a wild Beast to fall upon him. And this opportunity I doubt not he took to visit the *Eastern* parts, where he had studied in his younger days. We find him about this time at *Jerusalem* with *Alexander* shortly after Bishop of that place, between whom there seems to have been a peculiar intimacy, insomuch that *S. Clemens* dedicated \*his Book to him, called *The Ecclesiastical Canon*, ἡ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, or against them that Judaize. During his stay here he preached constantly, and declined no pains even in that evil time, and

\* *Euseb. l. 6. c. 6. p. 208. Hieron. de Script. in Clement. Phor. Cod. C. XVIII. col. 257. Strom. l. 1. p. 278.*

*Strom. l. 1. p. 336.*

*Lib. 6. c. 6. p. 208.*

*Stromat. l. 4. p. 504.*

*Euseb. l. 6. c. 14. pag. 214. Hieron. in Clement.*

with what success, we may see by a piece of a Letter written by *Alexander*, then in prison, and sent by our *S. Clemens* to *Antioch*, which we here insert. \**Alexander, a Servant of God, and a prisoner of Jesus Christ, to the blessed Church at Antioch, in the Lord greeting. Our Lord has made my bonds in this time of my imprisonment light and easie to me, while I understood that Asclepiades, a person admirably qualified by his eminency in the faith, was by the divine Providence become Bishop of your holy Church of Antioch. Concluding, these Letters, worthy Brethren, I have sent you by Clemens, the blessed Presbyter, a man virtuous and approved, whom ye both do, and shall yet further know: who having been here with us according to the good will and providence of God, has greatly established and encreased the Church of Christ. By which Epistle we may by the way remarque the error of \*Eusebius, who places Asclepiades his coming to the See of Antioch in the first year of Caracalla, Ann. CCXII. whereas we see it was while Alexander was yet in prison under Severus, which he himself makes to be Ann. CCV. From Jerusalem then Clemens went to Antioch, where we cannot question but he took the same pains, and laboured with the same zeal and industry. After which he returned to Alexandria, and the discharge of his Office, where how long he continued, or by what death he died, Antiquity is silent. Certain it is, that for some considerable time he out-lived Pantenus, who died in the time of Caracalla; and when he wrote his Stromata, he tells us that he did it that he might lay up things in store against old Age: a plain intimation that he was then pretty far from it. I add no more but what Alexander of Jerusalem \*says in a Letter to Origen, where having told him that their friendship which had commenced under their Predecessors should continue sacred and inviolable, yea grow more firm and fervent, he adds, "For we acknowledge for our Fathers those blessed Saints, who are gone before us, and to whom we shall go after a little time; Pantenus I mean, the truly happy, and my Master; and the holy Clemens, my Master, and one that was greatly useful and helpful to me."*

VI. TO commend this excellent man after the great things spoken of him by the Ancients, were to hold a Candle to the Sun. Let us hear the character which some of them give of him. *The holy and the blessed Clemens, a man very virtuous and approved*, as we have seen *Alexander Bishop of Jerusalem*, who knew him best, testifying of him. Indeed his zeal and piety, modesty, and humility, could not but endear him unto all. For his learning, he was in \**S. Hieroms* judgment the most learned of all the Ancients. *A man admirably learned and skilful, and that searched to the very bottom of all the learning of the Greeks with that exactness that perhaps few before him ever attained to*, says \**S. Cyril of Alexandria*. *Another holy man* (says \**Theodoret*) ὁ πολυτελής ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπολιπῶν, and one that for his vast and diffusive learning incomparably surpassed all other men. Nor was he less accurate in matters of Theology, then humane learning, an incomparable Master in the Christian Philosophy, as *Eusebius* styles him. Witness his many Books, crowded, as \**Eusebius* tells us, with variety and plenty of useful knowledge, derived (as \**S. Hierom* adds) both from the holy Scriptures and secular learning, wherein there is nothing unlearned, nothing that it is not fetched out of the very center and bowels of Philosophy. The titles of them those two Authors have preserved, the far greatest part of the Books themselves having perished, among which the most memorable was the *Hypotyposis* or Books

\* *Apud Euseb. ib. c. 11. p. 212.*

*In Chron. ad Ann. CCXII.*

*Ap. Euseb. l. 6. c. 14. p. 216.*

*Epist. ad Magn. Orat. p. 327.*

*Contr. Julian. l. 7. p. 221. Tom. 6. id. l. 6. p. 203. d. Heret. Fabul. l. 1. c. 6. p. 197.*

*H. Eccl. l. 6. c. 13. p. 215. f. De Script. in Clem. & ad Magn. Or. loc. cit.*

of *Institution*, so often cited by *Eusebius*, which contained short and strict explications of many passages of holy Scriptures, wherein *Photinus* tells us there were many wild and impious opinions, as, That Matter was eternal, and that *Ideas* were introduced by certain Decrees, that there is a transmigration of Souls, and were many Worlds before *Adam*, that the Son is among the number of created Beings, and that the Word was not really *made flesh*, but only appeared so, and many more βλάσφημι περιτολογία, monstrous blasphemies: But withall insinuates, that probably these things were inserted by another hand, as *Rufinus*, expressly assures us, that Heretics had corrupted *Clemens* his Writings. Certainly had these Books been infected with these prophane and poisonous dogmata in *Eusebius* his time, we can hardly think, but that he would have given us at least some obscure intimations of it. And considerable it is what *Photinus* observes, that these things are not countenanced by his other Books, nay many of them plainly contradicted by them.

VII. THE Books yet extant (besides the little Tract, entituled, Τὸ σὺν ἑκαστῷ πνεύματι, lately published) are chiefly three, which seem to have been written in a very wise and excellent order, the Λόγος Προπαιδείας, or *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, the *Pædagogus*, or Christian Instructor, and the *Stromata*, or Various Discourses; in the first he very rationally refutes the follies and impieties of the *Gentile Religion*, and strongly persuades men to embrace Christianity: in the second he tutors and instructs new Converts, and by the most admirable rules, and pathetical insinuations prepares and forms them to an holy and truly Christian life: in the third he administers *strong meat to them that are of a more full age*, a clearer explication of the Christian Doctrine, and a more particular confutation both of *Gentile* and *Heretical* opinions, admitting the Disciple after his first purgation and initiation into a more immediate acquaintance, with the sacred Mysteries of Religion. His

*Stromata* are nothing but Miscellaneous Discourses composed out of the holy Writings, and the Books of the *Gentiles*, explaining and (as occasion is) confuting the opinions of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, the Sentiments of Philosophers, the notions of Heretics, inserting variety of Stories, and Treasures out of all sorts of Learning; which as himself tells us,

he therefore styled *Stromata*, that is, a *variegated contexture of Discourses*, and which he compares not to a curious Garden, wherein the Trees and Plants are disposed according to the exactest rules of Method and Order, but to a thick shady Mountain, whereon trees of all sorts, the *Cypress* and the *Plantane*, the *Laurel* and the *Ivy*, the *Apple*, the *Olive*, and the *Figtree*, promiscuously grow together. In the two

former of his Books (as *Photinus* observes) his stile is florid, but set off with a well proportioned gravity, and a becoming variety of Learning: In the latter he neither designed the ornaments of Eloquence, nor would the nature of his design well admit it, as he truly apologizes for himself; his main care was so to express things that he might be understood, and further eloquence then this, he neither studied nor desired.

If in these Books of his there be what *Photinus* affirms, some few things here and there ἐκ ἑταῶς, not soundly or warily expressed, yet not, as he adds, like those of the *Hypotyposes*, but capable of a candid and benign interpretation, not considerably prejudicial either to the doctrine and practice of Religion, and such as are generally to be met with in the

Writers

Writers of those early Ages. And it is no wonder, if the good and pious men of those times, who were continually engaged in fierce disputes with Heathens on the one side, and Jews and Heretics on the other, did not always ὀρθότως, *divide the truth aright*, in some nicer lines and strokes of it. The best is, their great piety and serviceableness in their generations, while they lived, and the singular usefulness of their Writings to posterity since they are dead, are abundantly enough to weigh down any little failures or mistakes that dropt from them.

### His Writings.

Extant.  
*Protrepticon ad Gentes.*  
*Pædagogi*, Libri III.  
*Stromateων*, Libri VIII.  
*Orat. Quisnam dives ille sit, qui salvetur.*  
*Epitome doctrinæ Orientalis Theodoti, &c.*

Not Extant.  
*Hypotyposeων, seu Institutionum*, Libri VIII.

*Canon Ecclesiasticus.*  
seu  
*Adversus Judaizantes.*  
*De Paschate.*  
*De obsecratione.*  
*Disputationes de jejunio.*  
*Exhortatio ad Patientiam ad Neophytos.*

Supposititious.  
*Commentariola in Prim. Canonicam S. Petri, in Epistolam Judæ, & tres Epistolas S. Joannis Apostoli.*

*The End of S. CLEMENS Alexandrinus his Life.*

THE

THE LIFE OF  
**TERTULLIAN**  
 PRESBYTER OF  
 CARTHAGE.



*His names, whence. His Father, who. His education in all kinds of Learning. His skill in the Roman Laws. Different from Tertulian the Lawyer. His way of life before his conversion, enquired into. His married*

ried condition. His Conversion to Christianity, when. The great cruelty used towards the Christians. Severus his kindness to them. Tertullians excellent Apology in their behalf. His address to Scapula, and the tendency of that discourse. Severus his violent persecuting the Christians. His prohibition of the Heteria. Tertullians Book to the Martyrs, and concerning Patience. His zeal against Heresies, and Writings that way. His Book De Pallio, when written, and upon what occasion. His becoming Presbyter, when. His Book De Corona, and what the occasion of it. His declining from the Catholic Party. Montanus who and whence. His principles and practices. Tertullians owning them, and upon what occasion. His morose and stubborn temper. How far he complied with the Montanists, and acknowledged the Paraclete. How he was imposed upon. His writings against the Catholics. The severity of the ancient Discipline. Episcopus Episcoporum, in what sense meant by Tertullian concerning the Bishop of Rome. His separate meetings at Carthage. His death. His Character. His singular parts and learning. His Books. His phrase and stile. What contributed to its perplexedness and obscurity. His un-orthodox opinions. A brief plea for him.

I.



QUINTUS Septimius Florens Tertullianus, was (as the Ancients \* affirm, and himself \* implies when he calls it his Countrey) born at Carthage, the Metropolis of Afric, famous above all others for Antiquity, Sovereignty, and Power, inso-much that for some Ages it contended for glory and superiority even with Rome it self. He was called Septimius, because descended of the Gens Septimia, a Tribe of great account among the

Romans, being first Regal, afterwards Plebeian, and last of all Consular and Patrician. Florens from some particular Family of that House, so called, and Quintus (a title common among the Romans) probably because the fifth child which his Parents had; and Tertullian, a derivative from Tertullus, it is like from his immediate Parent. His Father was a Souldier, a Centurion under the Proconsul of Afric (called therefore by S. Hierom and others Centurio Proconsularis) not a man of Proconsular dignity, as some make him; he was a Gentile, in which Religion Tertullian also was brought up, as himself \* confesses. He was educated in all the accomplishments which the learning either of the Greeks or Romans could add to him, he seems to have left no paths untraced, to have intimately conversed with Poets, Historians, Orators, not to have looked onely, but to have entered into the secrets of Philosophy and the Mathematics, not unseen in Physic, and the curiosities of nature, and as Eusebius \* notes, a man famous for other things, but especially admirably skilled in the Roman Laws; though they who would hence infer him to have been a professed Lawyer, and the same with him whose Excerpta are yet extant in the Pandects, are guilty of a notorious mistake, the name of that Lawyer being Tertiliannus; besides that dissimilarity that is in their stile and language. Or suppose with others that this Tertilian was one of Papinians Scholars in the reign of Alexander Severus, he must by this account be at least thirty years after the others Conversion to Christianity. The original of the Error doubtless arose from the nearness and similitude of the names, and the character of his skill

\* Hieron. de script. in Tertul. Nicoph. H. Eccl. l. 4. c. 34. p. 334. \* De Pallio. l. 1. p. 112. & Apolog. c. 9. p. 9.

\* Apol. c. 18. p. 17.

\* H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 2. p. 41.

skill in the Roman Laws given by Eusebius, which indeed is evident from his Works, and especially his Apology for the Christians.

II. WHAT was his particular course of life before he came over to the Christian Religion, is uncertain. They that conceive him to have been an Advocate, and publicly to have pleaded Causes, because after his Conversion he \* says of himself, that he owed nothing to the Forum, took up no place among the Rostra, made no noise among the Benches, did not toss about the Laws, nor clamour out Causes, as if he had done all this before, might by the same reason conclude him to have been a Souldier, because he adds in the same place, that he owed nothing to the Camp, with some other Offices there mentioned by him. That he was married is evident, though whether before or after his embracing the Christian Faith, I cannot positively determine, probably before. However according to the severity of his principles, he lived with his wife a great part of his life in a state of Continency, conversing with her as his sister, exhorting her to perpetual celibacy, and the utmost strictness of a single life, as appears by his two Books written to her upon that Subject.

III. HIS conversion to Christianity we may conceive to have hapned not long after the beginning of Severus his reign, and a little before the conclusion of the second Century. Being a man of an inquisitive and sagacious mind, he had observed the powerful and triumphant efficacy of the Christian Faith over the minds and lives of men, its great Antiquity, the admirable consent and truth of the Predictions recorded in the Books of the Christians, the frequent Testimonies which the Heathen deities themselves gave to its truth and divinity, the ordinary confessions of their Demons when forced to abandon the persons they had possessed, at the command of a Christian, all which he shews \* at large (at least as we may probably guess) to have been the main inducements of his Conversion. In the very entrance of the following Seculum, Severus being gone to make War upon the Parthians, the Magistrates at Rome, and proportionably the Governours of Provinces, began to bear hard upon the Christians, beholding them as infamous persons, and especially Traitors to the Empire. Among whom the most principal person, I doubt not, was Plantianus, a man in great favour with the Emperour, whose daughter was married to Antoninus the Emperours eldest Son, and whom Severus at his going into the East, had made Praefect of Rome; of him we read <sup>b</sup>, that in the Emperours absence he put to death an infinite number both of the Nobility and Common People. Among whom we cannot question but the Christians had theirs, and it's like the far greatest share. And so notorious was the cruelty, that \* Severus at his return was forced to apologize for himself, that he had no hand in it. And indeed Severus in the first part of his reign (was as Tertullian informs <sup>d</sup> us) very benign and favourable to the Christians; for having been cured of a dangerous distemper by one Proculus a Christian, who anointed him with oyl, he kept him at Court with him ever after. Nor did his kindness terminate here, for when he knew that several both men and Women of the Senatorian Order were Christians, he was so far from persecuting them upon that account, that he gave them an honourable testimony, and restrained the people, when they were raging against the Christians. This I suppose to have been done at his return from the Parthian Expedition, when he found both Governours and People engaged in so hot and severe a Persecution of the Christians.

\* De Pallio. c. 3. p. 118.

\* Vid. Apol. c. 19, 20. p. 18. c. 23. p. 22, 23. & alibi passim.

<sup>b</sup> Dio. Cass. H. Rom. l. 75. & Xiphil. in Vit. Sever. p. 328.

<sup>c</sup> Spartian in vit. Sever. c. 15. p. 350.

<sup>d</sup> Ad Scapula. c. 4. p. 71.

IV. THE barbarous and cruel usage which the Christians generally met with, engaged *Tertullian* to vindicate and plead their cause both against the malice and cruelty of their enemies. For which purpose he published and sent abroad his *Apology*, dedicating it to the Magistrates of the Roman Empire, and especially the Senate at Rome (for that he went to Rome himself, and personally presented it to the Senate, I confess, I see no convincing evidence) wherein with incomparable learning and eloquence, with all possible evidence and strength of reason he pleads their Cause, complains of the iniquity and injustice of their enemies, and the methods of their proceedings, particularly demonstrates the vanity and falshood of those crimes that were commonly charged upon the Christians, arguing their meekness and innocency, their temperance and sobriety, their piety to God, and obedience to their Prince, the reasonableness of their principles, and the holiness of their lives, beyond all just exception. An *Apology* which undoubtedly contributed towards the cooling and qualifying of the present Calentures, especially at *Severus* his return. And indeed it appears not by the whole series of that Discourse, that the Emperour had given any particular countenance to those severities; nay on the contrary, he expressly styles \* him the *most constant Prince*. Not long after this, *Tertullian* found work nearer home, *Scapula* the President, and *Proconsul* of *Africa*, (the same probably with *Scapula Tertyllus*, a Provincial President, to whom there is a Rescript of *Marcus* and *Commodus* \*) treating the Christians much at the same rate that *Plantianus* had done at Rome. To him therefore he addresses himself in a neat and pathetical Discourse, representing the honesty and simplicity of Christians, and their hearty prayers and endeavours for the prosperity of the Empire, and those particular instances of severity which the Divine Providence had lately inflicted upon it, which could not be reasonably supposed to have been sent upon any other errand, so much as to revenge the innocent blood that had been shed; laying before him the clemency and indulgence of former Princes and Presidents, yea and of the present Emperour himself, so great a friend to Christians. A plain evidence that this Book was written at this time, before *Severus* broke out into open violence against them.

V. THE Christians now enjoyed a little respite: but alas it was but like the intermitting fits of a Fever, which being over, the *paroxysm* returns with a fiercer violence, *Ann. Chr. CCII. Severi X.* the Persecution revived, and was now carried on by the command of the Emperour. For *Severus* in his journey through *Palestina* forbid any under the heaviest penalties to become *Jews*; and the same Orders he issued out concerning Christians. The general pretence it's like was the prohibiting the *Heteria*, or unlawful Societies, (which we have elsewhere described) for such a Rescript *Ulpian* mentions, whereby *Severus* forbid the *illegal Colledges*, commanding the persons frequenting them to be accused before the *Præfect* of the City, in which number they usually beheld the Christians; though I doubt not but there were (as *Spartianus* plainly affirms) particular Edicts issued out against them. The People, who could hardly be held in before, having now the reins thrown upon their necks, and spurred on by the Imperial Orders, ran apace upon the execution, so that the Churches in all places were filled with Martyrdoms and the blood of the Saints, and it grew so hot, that *Jude* a Writer of those Times drawing down his *Chronology* of *Daniels* LXX

Weeks,

Weeks, to this Year, broke off his computation, supposing that the so much celebrated coming of *Antichrist* was now at hand. So exceedingly (says the Historian) were the minds of many shaken and disturbed with the present Persecution. *Tertullian*, that he might speak a word in season, took hold of the present opportunity, and wrote to the Martyrs in prison, to comfort them under their sufferings, and exhort them to constancy and final perseverance; as also for the same reason and about the same time he published his Discourse concerning Patience, wherein he very elegantly describes the advantages and commendations of that Vertue, and especially urges it from the example of God, our blessed Saviour, and speaks therein more favourably than he did afterwards of retiring in a time of Persecution. Nor was he less watchful to defend and preserve the Church from Errour and Heresie, writing his *Prescription against Heretics*, (for that it was written about this time is evident from several passages, especially where he mentions the time of Persecution, the place of the Tribunal, the person of the Judge, the bringing forth of Lions, and the like,) wherein he enumerates and insists upon the several Heresies which had infested the Church till that time; censuring and confuting their absurd opinions, and promising \* a more distinct and particular confutation of them afterwards. Which accordingly he performed in his Discourses against the *Jews*, against *Hermogenes*, the *Valentinians*, *Marcion*, *Praxeas*, and some others of their Profelytes and Disciples, and some of the *Montanists* themselves, writing a particular Tract concerning *Baptism*, and the use of Water in it, and its necessity to salvation, against *Quintilla* a woman of great note and eminency among the followers of *Montanus*, what value soever he afterwards seemed to put upon that Sect.

VI. ABOUT the XV. of *Severus*, *Ann. Chr. CCVII.* he published his Book *De Pallio* upon this occasion. He had lately left off the *Gown*, the Garment ordinarily worn in all parts of the Roman Empire, and had put on the *Cloak*, the usual habit of Philosophers, and of all those Christians that entered upon a severer state of life, as we have shewn in the life of *Justin Martyr*. Hereupon he was derided by them of *Carthage* for his lightness and vanity, in so wantonly skipping à *Toga ad Pallium*, from the Gown to the Cloak, satyrically taxing his inconstancy in turning from one course of life to another. To vindicate himself he writes this Discourse, wherein he puts forth the keenness of a Sarcastic Wit, and spreads all the sails of his *African* eloquence, retorts the case upon his accusers, shews the antiquity, simplicity, easiness, and gravity of this habit, and smartly upbraids that luxury and prodigality that had over-run all orders and ranks of men. And that this was done about this time, and not at his first taking upon him the profession of Christianity, is judiciously observed and urged by *Baronius* \*, and more fully proved by the learned *Salmasius* in his notes upon that Book. Indeed the circumstances mentioned by *Tertullian* do not well suit with any other time, as the *presentis Imperii triplex virtus*, which cannot reasonably be meant of any, but *Severus* and his two Sons, *Antoninus* and *Geta*, whence in several ancient inscriptions they are put together under the title of *AUGUSTI*, and *Emperours*; the present happiness, security, enlargement, and tranquillity of the Roman State, which these three powers of the Empire had made like a well-cultivated Field, *eradicato omni aconito hostilitatis*, every poysonous weed of hostility and sedition

\* *De Prescript.*  
*Heret. c. 45. p.*  
*219.*

\* *Ad Ann. 197.*  
*n. 3. & seq.*

\* *De Pall. cap. 2.*  
*p. 114.*

\* *Apol. c. 4. p. 5.*

\* *L. 1. 1. ff. de*  
*Offic. Præsid.*  
*lib. 1. Tit. 18.*

b *Euseb. Chron.*  
*ad eundem An.*

\* *Al. Spartian.*  
*In vit. Sever. c.*  
*17. p. 352.*

\* *L. 1. ff. de Of.*  
*fic. Præsid. lib.*  
*5. 14. Tit. 12.*  
*lib. 1.*

\* *Euseb. H. Eccl.*  
*l. 6. c. 1. p. 201.*  
\* *Ibid. c. 6. p.*  
*200.*

dition being rooted up, with a great deal more to the same purpose. Which evidently refers both to his Conquest of *Pescennius Niger*, who usurped the Empire, and whom he overthrew and killed at *Cyzicum* in the East, and to his last years Victory (as *Ensebins* places it) over *Clodius Albinus* and his Party, whom he subdued and slew at *Lyons* in France, for attempting to make himself Emperour, as afterwards he came into *Britain*, (*maximum ejus Imperii Decus*, as the \* Historian styles it, the greatest honour and ornament of his Empire) where he conquered the Natives, and secured his Conquests by the famous *Piſſ's Wall* which he built: by which means he rendred the State of the Roman Empire pacate and quiet. At the same time we may suppose it was that *Tertullian* was made *Presbyter* of *Carthage*, and that that was the particular occasion of altering his habit, and assuming the Philosophic *Pallium*, the Clergy of those times being generally those who took upon them an *Ascetic* course of life, and for which reason doubtless the Cloak is called by *Tertullian* in his Dialect *Sacerdos Suggestus*, the Priestly habit. Accordingly *Ensebins* takes notice of him this very year as becoming famous in the account and esteem of all Christian Churches.

\* *Enseb. Chron. ad t. ann.*  
\* *Spart. in vit. Sever. c. 18. p. 354.*  
\* *Ibid. c. 4. p. 118.*  
\* *Chron. ad An. CCVIII.*

VII. BEFORE *Severus* left *Rome* in order to his *Britanic* expedition, were solemnized the *Decennalia* of *Antoninus Caracalla*, when besides many magnificent Sports and Shews, and a Largeſs bestowed upon the People, the Emperour gave a *Donative* to the Souldiers, which every one that received, was to come up to the *Tribune* with a *Laurel Crown* upon his head. Among the rest there was one a Christian, who brought his Crown along with him in his hand, and being asked the reason why like others he wore it not upon his head? answered, he could not for that he was a Christian. A Council of War was presently called, and the man accused before the General, stripped of his Military ornaments, his Cloak, Shoes, and Sword, unmercifully beaten, till he was died in his own blood, and then cast into prison, there expecting Martyrdom, and a better donative and reward from Christ. The rest of the Christians, who were Fellow-Souldiers in the same Army, took offence at his over-nice scrupulosity. What was this but needlessly to betray their liberty, and to sacrifice the general quiet and peace of Christians to one mans private humour? to give the common Enemy too just a provocation to fall upon them? where did the Laws of their Religion forbid such an innocent compliance, nay rather not onely give leave, but command us prudently to decline a danger, by withdrawing from it? what was this but a sturdy and an affected singularity, as if he had been the onely Christian? *Tertullian*, whose mighty zeal engaged him to be a Patron to whatever had but the shadow of strictness and severity, presently set himself to defend the fact, and wrote his Book *De Corona Militis*, wherein he cries up the Act as an heroic piece of Zeal and Christian Magnanimity, not onely warrantable, but honourable, not onely lawful, but just and necessary, fortifying his assertion with several arguments, and endeavouring to disable the most specious objections that were made against it. This Military Act, and *Tertullians* vindication of it, hapned (as we have here placed it) *Ann. Chr. CCVIII. Sever. XVI.* while others refer it to the year *CXCIX. Sever. VII.* when the Emperour by the decree of the Senate created his elder Son *Antoninus* Emperour, and his younger *Geta, Caesar*, in testimony whereof he entertained the People with various Shews and Solemnities, and bestowed

flowed a *Donative* upon the Souldiers. If the Reader like this period of time better, I will not contend with him, it being what I myself upon second thoughts do not think improbable.

VIII. BUT let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall. *Tertullian*, who had hitherto stood firm and right in the Communion of the Catholic Church, began now, about the middle of his Age, says *S. Hieron.* (which I am inclinable rather to understand of his Age as a Christian, then the current of his life) to incline towards the errors of the *Montanists*. Of which before we give an account, it may not be amiss a little to enquire into the Author and Principles of that Sect. *Montanus* was born at *Ardaba*, a little Village in *Myſia* in the confines of *Phrygia*, where about the latter times of *Antoninus Pins*, but especially in the reign of his Successor, he began to shew himself. Pride and an immoderate ambition betrayed the man into the snare and condemnation of the Devil. At which breach *Satan* having entered, took possession of the man; who acted by the influence of an evil Spirit, was wont on a sudden to fall into Enthusiastic fits and Ecstatic raptures, and while he was in them, in a furious and a frantic manner he poured out wild and unheard of things, prophecy of what was to come in a way and strain that had not been used hitherto in the Church. Profelytes he wanted not, that came over to his Party. At first onely some few of his Countrymen, the *Phrygians* (whence his Sect derived the title of *Cataphryges*) were drawn into the snare, whom he instructed in the Arts of Evil speaking, teaching them to reproach the whole Christian Church for refusing to entertain and honor his Pseudo-prophetic Spirit, the same Spirit on the contrary pronouncing them blessed that joyned themselves to this new Prophet, and swelling them with the mighty hopes and promises of what should happen to them, sometimes also gently reproving and condemning them. Among the rest of his Disciples two women were especially remarkable, *Prisca*, and *Maximilla*, whom having first corrupted, he imparted his *Demon* to them, whereby they were presently enabled to utter the most frantic, incoherent and extravagant Discourses. The truth is he seemed to lay his Scene with all imaginable craft and subtlety; in the great and foundation-principles of Religion he agreed with the Catholics, embraced entirely the holy Scriptures, and pretended that he must receive the gifts of Divine Grace extraordinarily conferred upon him, which he gave out were more immediately the Holy Ghost: he made a singular shew of some uncommon rigours and severities in Religion, gave Laws for more strict and solemn Fasts, and more frequently to be observed, then were among the Orthodox, taught Divorces to be lawful, and forbad all second marriages, called *Pepuza* and *Tymium*, two little Towns of *Phrygia*, *Jerusalem*, that so he might the more plausibly invite simple and unwary Profelytes to flock thither. And because he knew no surer way to oblige such persons as would be serviceable to him, then by Proposals of gain and advantage, he used all methods of extorting money from his deluded followers, especially under the notion of Gifts and Offerings, for which purpose he appointed Collectors to receive the Oblations that were brought in, with which he maintained under-Officers, and paid Salaries to those that propagated his Doctrines up and down the World. Such were the Arts, such the Principles of the Sect first started by *Montanus*; what additions were made by his followers in after-Ages, I am not now concerned to enquire.

IX. ALLU-

IX. ALLURED with the smooth and specious pretences of this Sect, *Tertullian* began to look that way, though the particular occasion of his starting aside \* *S. Hieron* tells us, was the envy and reproaches which he met with from the Clergy of the Church of *Rome*. They that conceive him to have sided for the See of *Carthage*, vacant by the death of *Agrippinus*, and that he was opposed and repulsed in it by the Clergy of *Rome*, and so highly resented the affront, as thereupon to quit the Communion of the Catholic Church, talk at random, and little consider the mortified temper of the man, and his known contempt of the World. Probable it is, that being generally noted for the excessive and over-rigorous strictness of his manners, he had been charged by some of the *Roman* Clergy for compliance with *Montanus*, and it may be admonished to recant, or disown those Principles. Which his stubborn and resolute temper not admitting, he was together with *Proclus* and the rest of the *Cataphrygian* Party cut off by the Bishop of *Rome* from all Communion with that Church. For there had been lately a disputation held at *Rome* between *Caius*, an ancient Orthodox Divine, and *Proclus*, one of the Heads of the *Montanist* Party (as \* *Eusebius* who read the account of it published by *Caius*, informs us) wherein *Proclus* being worsted, was together with all the followers of that Sect excommunicated, and *Tertullian* himself among the rest, as he sufficiently intimates. This, a man of a morose and unyielding disposition, and who could brook no moderation that seemed to intrench upon the Discipline and Practice of Religion, could not bear, and therefore making light of the judgment and censures of that Church, flew off, and joined himself to *Montanus* his Party, whose pretended austerities seemed of all others most agreeable to his humour and genius, and most exactly to conspire with the course and method of his life. But as it cannot be doubted that he looked no further then to the appearances and pretensions of that Sect (not seeing the corrupt Springs by which the Engine was managed within) so it is most reasonable and charitable to conceive, that he never understood their principles in the utmost latitude and extent of them. If he seems sometimes to acknowledge *Montanus* to be the *Paraclete* that was to come into the World, probably he meant not something distinct from the Holy Spirit bestowed upon the Apostles, but a mighty power and extraordinary assistance of the Holy Ghost shed upon *Montanus*, whom God had sent into the World, more fully and perfectly to explain the Doctrines of the Gospel, and to urge the rules and institutions of the Christian life, which our Lord had delivered when he was upon earth, but did not with the greatest accuracy the things were capable of, the minds of men not being then duly qualified to receive them. That for this end he thought *Montanus* invested with miraculous powers and a spirit of Prophecy (a thing not unusual even in those times) and might believe his two Prophetesses to be acted with the same spirit. All which might consist with an honest mind, imposed upon by crafty and plausible pretences. And plain it is that for some considerable time *Montanus* maintained the reputation of great piety, zeal, sanctity, and extraordinary gifts, before he was discovered to the World. And *Tertullian* in all likelihood had his accounts concerning him, not from himself, but from *Proclus*, or some others of the Party, who might easily delude him, especially in matters of fact, with false informations. However nothing can be more evident, then that he looked

\* *ubi supra* vid.  
N. cap. l. 4. c.  
12. p. 258.

\* *I. lib. 6. c. 20.*  
p. 222. l. 2. c. 25.  
p. 67. *Hieron. de*  
*Script. in Caio.*  
b *De jejuniis* c. 1.  
p. 544.

looked upon these new Prophets as innovating nothing in the principles of Christianity, that *Montanus* preached no other God, nor asserted any thing to the prejudice of our blessed Saviour, nor subverted any rule of Faith or Hope, but only introduced greater severities then other men: that he was not the Author, but the restorer of Discipline, and only reduced things to that ancient strictness, from which he supposed they had degenerated, especially in the cases of coelibacy, single marriages, and such like, as he more then once particularly tells us. Not to say, that *Montanus* his followers (as is usual with the after-brood of every Sect) asserted many things, which their Master himself never dreamt of, which yet without distinction are laid at his door, and *Tertullian* too because a favourer of the Party, drawn into the guilt, and made liable to many improvements, to the *Hay and Stubble* which the successors of that Sect built upon it.

X. BUT however it was, he stomached his excommunication, and was highly offended at the looseness and remissness of the Discipline among the Catholics, whom with great smartness he persecutes under the name of *Psychici*, or *Animal* persons, as those that took too much liberty in their manners and practices of devotion, stiling his own party *Spirituales*, as whom he thought more immediately guided by the Spirit, more plentifully endowed with the gifts of it, and conversant in a more divine and spiritual life. Against these *Psychici* he presently published a Tract *De Jejunis*, wherein he defends the *Montanists* in the observation of their Fasts, their abstinence from Flesh, and feeding only upon dried meats, their Stationary days, and the keeping them till the very evening, while the Orthodox broke up theirs about three of the Clock in the afternoon; in all which respects he makes many tart and severe reflections upon them. Indeed the devotions of those times were brisk and fervent, their usages strict and punctual, their Ecclesiastic Discipline generally very rigid and extreme, seldom admitting persons that had lapsed after Baptism to Penance and the Communion of the Church. But this was looked upon by moderate and sober men as making the gate too strait, and that which could not but discourage Converts from entering in. Accordingly it began to be relaxed in several places, and particularly the Bishop of *Rome* had lately published a constitution, wherein he admitted persons guilty of Adultery and Fornication (and probably other crimes) to a place among the Penitents. Against this *Tertullian* storms, cries up the severity of the ancient Discipline, writes his Book *De Pudicitia*, wherein he considers and disputes the case, and aggravates the greatness of those offences, and undertakes the Arguments that pleaded for remission and indulgence. And if in the mentioning this Decree the Bishop of *Rome* be stiled *Episcopus Episcoporum*, the Champions of that Church before they make such advantage of it, should do well to prove it to have been a part of the Decree, or, if it was, that it was mentioned by *Tertullian* as his just right and privilege, and not rather (which is infinitely more probable) *Tertullian's* Sarcasm, intended by him as an Ironical reflection, and a tart upbraiding the pride and ambition of the Bishops of that Church, who took too much upon them, and began (as appears from Pope *Victors* carriage towards the *Asian* Churches in the case of *Easter*) to domineer over their Brethren, and usurp an insolent authority over the whole Christian Church. And that this was his meaning, I am abundantly satisfied from

\* *De Jejun. loc. citat.*

b *Vid. l. de Montan. c. 1. p. 525. & c. 3. & 4. & passim de Jejun. c. 12. p. 550, 551.*

c *Tert. de Pudicitia. cit. c. 1. p. 555.*

<sup>a</sup> *Apoc. cyprian.* \* *Cyprians* using the phrase in this very sense in the famous Synod at *Carthage*, where reflecting upon the rash and violent proceedings of the Bishops of *Rome* (whom though he particularly names not, yet all who are acquainted with the Story know whom he means) against those who were engaged in the cause of rebaptizing Heretics, he adds, "that as for themselves (the Bishops then in the Synod) none of them made himself *Bishop of Bishops*, or by a tyrannical threatening forced his Col-  
leagues into a necessity of Compliance: since every Bishop according to the power and liberty granted to him, had his proper jurisdiction, and could no more be judged by another, then he himself could judge others."

XI. WHETHER ever he was reconciled to the Catholic Communion, appears not; 'tis certain that for the main he forsook the *Cataphrygians*, and kept his separate meetings at *Carthage*, and his Church was yet remaining till *S. Augustin's* time, by whose labours the very reliques of his followers, called *Tertullianists*, were dispersed, and quite disappeared. How long he continued after his departure from the Church, is not known; *S. Hierom* <sup>c</sup> says that he lived to a very decrepit age, but whether he died under the reign of *Alexander Severus*, or before, the Ancients tell us not, as neither whether he died a natural or violent death. He seems indeed to have been possessed with a passionate desire of laying down his life for the Faith; though had he been a Martyr, some mention would without peradventure have been made of it in the Writings of the Church.

XII. HE was a man of a smart and acute wit, though a little too much edged with Keenness and Satyrism, *aeris & vehementis ingenii*, as *S. Hierom* characters him, one that knew not how to treat an adversary without salt and sharpness. He was of a stiff and rugged disposition, a rigid Cenfor, inclined to choler, and impatient of opposition, a strict observer of Rites and Discipline, and a zealous asserter of the highest rigors and most nice severities of Religion. His learning was admirable, wherein though many excelled, he had no superiours, and few equals in the Age he lived in: *Tertulliano quid eruditius, quid acutius?* says *S. Hierom*, who adds that his *Apology*, and Book against the *Gentiles* took in all the treasures of Humane Learning. *Vincentius of Lire* gives him this notable *Elogium*. "He is justly (*says he*) to be esteemed the Prince among the Writers of the *Latin Church*. For what more learned? who more conversant both in divine and humane Studies? who by a strange largeness and capacity of mind had drawn all Philosophy, and its several Sects, the Authors and Abettors of Heresies with all their Rites and Principles, and the whole circumference of History and all kind of Study within the compass of his own breast. A man of such quick and weighty parts, that there was scarce any thing which he set himself against, which he did not either pierce through with the acumen of his Wit, or batter down with the strength and solidity of his Arguments. Who can sufficiently commend his Discourses, so thick set with Troops of Reasons, that whom they cannot persuade, they are ready to force to an assent? who hath almost as many sentences as words, and not more periods, then victories over those whom he hath to deal with."

XIII. FOR his Books, though time has devoured many, yet a great number still remain, and some of them written after his withdrawal from

from the Church. His stile is for the most part abrupt and haughty, and its face full of ancient wrinkles, of which *Lactantius* long since <sup>a</sup> *Lib. 5. cap. 7.* gave this censure, that though he himself was skilled in all points of Learning, yet his stile was rugged and uneasy, and very obscure; as indeed it requires a very attentive and diligent, a sharp and sagacious understanding, yet is it lofty and masculine, and carries a kind of majestic eloquence along with it, that gives a pleasant relish to the judicious and inquisitive Reader. It is deeply tinged with the *African dialect*, and owes not a little of its perplexedness and obscurity to his conversing so much in the Writings of the *Greeks*, whose forms and idioms he had so made his own, that they naturally flowed into his pen; and how great a Master he was of that Tongue is plain, in that himself <sup>b</sup> tells <sup>b</sup> *De Baptismo. c. 15. p. 230. de Coron. c. 6. p. 104.* us, he wrote a Book concerning *Baptism*, and some others, in *Greek*; which could not but exceedingly vitiate and infect his native stile, and render it less smooth, elegant, and delightful, as we see in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who being a *Greek* born wrote his *Roman History* in *Latin*, in a stile rough and unpleasant, and next door to barbarous. Besides what was in it self obscure and uneven, became infinitely worse by the ignorance of succeeding Ages, who changed, what they did not understand, and crowded in spurious words in the room of those which were proper and natural, till they had made it look like quite another thing then what it was when it first came from under the hand of its Author.

XIV. HIS errors and unsound opinions are frequently noted by *S. Augustin* and the Ancients, (not to mention later *Censors*) and *Pamelinus* has reduced his *Paradoxes* to thirty one, which together with their Explications and Antidotes he has prefixed before the Editions of his Works. That of *Montanus* his being the *Paraclete*, we noted before, and for other things relating to that Sect, they are rather matters concerning Order and Discipline, then Articles and Points of Faith. It cannot be denied but that he has some unwarrantable notions, common with other Writers of those Times, and some more peculiar to himself. But he lived in an Age, when the Faith was yet green and tender, when the Church had not publicly and solemnly defined things by explicit Articles and nice Propositions, when the Philosophy of the Schools was mainly predominant, and men ran immediately from the *Stoa* and the *Academy* to the Church, when a greater latitude of opining was indulged, and good men were infinitely more solicitous about piety and a good life, then about modes of Speech, and how to express every thing so critically and exactly, that it should not be liable to a severe scrutiny and examination.

## His Writings.

## Genuine.

*Apologeticus.*  
*Ad Nationes, Libri II.*  
*De Testimonio Animæ.*  
*Ad Scapulam.*  
*De Spectaculis.*  
*De Idololatria.*  
*De Corona.*  
*De Pallio.*  
*De Pœnitentia.*  
*De Oratione.*  
*Ad Martyræ.*  
*De Patientia.*  
*De cultu fœminarum Lib. II.*  
*Ad Uxorem, Lib. II.*  
*De Virginibus Velandis.*  
*Adversus Judæos.*  
*De Præscriptione Hæretico-*  
*rum.*  
*De Baptismo.*  
*Adversus Hermogenem.*  
*Adversus Valentinianos.*  
*De Anima.*  
*De Carne Christi.*  
*De Resurrectione Carnis.*  
*Adversus Marcionem, Lib. V.*  
*Scorpiace.*  
*Adversus Praxeam.*

*Libri post Lapsum in Mon-*  
*tanisum scripti.*  
*De Exhortatione Castitatis.*  
*De Monogamia.*  
*De fuga in Persecutione.*  
*De Jeuniis.*  
*De Pudicitia.*

## Supposititious.

*Pœmata.*  
*Adversus Marcionem, Lib. V.*  
*De judicio Domini.*  
*Genesis.*  
*Sodoma.*

## Not extant.

*De Paradiso.*  
*De Spe Fidelium.*  
*De Ecstasi.*  
*Adversus Apollonium.*  
*Adversus Apellecianos.*  
*De Vestibus Aaron.*  
*De Censu Animæ.*

## Græce.

*De Corona.*  
*De Virginibus Velandis.*  
*De Baptismo.*

The End of TERTULLIAN's Life.

THE

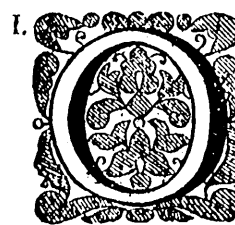
THE LIFE OF  
**ORIGEN**  
 Presbyter, Catechist of  
**ALEXANDRIA.**



Origen, where and when born. Several conjectures about the original of his name. His Father who. His juvenile education, and great towardliness in the knowledge of the Scriptures. His Philosophical Studies under Clements

mens Alexandrinus. His Institution under Ammonius. Ammonius, who. His fame and excellency confessed by the Gentile Philosophers. Another Origen his contemporary: These two heedlessly confounded. His Fathers martyrdom, and the confiscation of his Estate. Origen's resolute encouragement of his Father. His own passionate desire of Martyrdom. His maintenance by an honourable Matron of Alexandria. His zeal against Heretics. His setting up a private School. His succeeding Clemens in the Catechetic School at eighteen years of Age. The frequency of his Auditors. Many of them Martyrs for the Faith. Origen's resolution in attending upon the Martyrs. His danger. His courageous act at the Temple of Serapis. His emasculating himself, and the reasons of it. The eminent chastity of those Primitive times. Origen's journey to Rome, and return to Alexandria. His taking in a Colleague into the Catechetic Office. His learning the Hebrew Tongue. The prudent method of his Teaching. Ambrosius converted. Who he was. His great intimacy with Origen. Origen sent for by the Governour of Arabia. His journey into Palestin, and teaching at Cæsarea. Remanded by the Bishop of Alexandria. Alexander Severus his excellent Vertues, and kindness for the Christian Religion. Origen sent for by the Empreß Mammæa to Antioch. He begins to write his Commentaries. How many Notaries, and Transcribers employed, and by whom maintained. Notaries, their Original and Office: Their use and institution in the Primitive Church. His journey into Greece. His passage through Palestin, and being ordained Presbyter at Cæsarea. Demetrius of Alexandria his envy and rage against him. Origen condemned in two Synods at Alexandria, and one at Rome. The resignation of his Catechetic School to Heraclas. Heraclas who. The story of his offering sacrifice. The credit of this story questioned, and why. His departure from Alexandria, and fixing at Cæsarea. The eminency of his School there. Gregorius Thaumaturgus his Scholar. His friendship with Firmilian: Firmilian who. The Persecution under Maximinus. Origen's Book written to the Martyrs. His retirement whither. His comparing the Versions of the Bible. His Tetrapla, Hexapla, and Octapla, what, and how managed: A Specimen given of them. His second journey to Athens. His going to Nicomedia, and letter to Africanus about the History of Susanna. His confutation of Beryllus in Arabia. His answer to Celsus. Celsus who. Origen's Letters to Philip the Emperour. The vanity of making him a Christian. Origen's journey into Arabia to refute Heresies. The Helcesaitæ who: What their Principles. Alexander's miraculous election to the See of Jerusalem; his Coadjutor-ship, Government, Sufferings, and Martyrdom. Origen's grievous sufferings at Tyre under the Decian Persecution. His deliverance out of Prison; Age, and Death. His Character. His strict life. His mighty zeal, abstinence, contempt of the World, indefatigable diligence, and patience noted. His natural parts: incomparable learning. His Books, and their several Classes. His stile, what. His unsound opinions. The great Out-cry against him in all Ages. The Apologies written in his behalf. Several things noted out of the Ancients to extenuate the charge. His assertions not Dogmatical. Not intended for public view. Generally such as were not determined by the Church. His Books corrupted, and by whom. His own complaints to that purpose. The testimonies of Athanasius, and Theodotus, and Haymo in his vindication. Great errors and mistakes acknowledged.

knowledge. What things contributed to them. His great kindness for the Platonic Principles. S. Hierom's moderate censure of him. His repenting of his rash Propositions. His Writings enumerated, and what now extant.



I. **O**RIGEN, called also *Adamantius* (either from the unwearied temper of his mind, and that strength of reason wherewith he compacted his Discourses, or his firmness and constancy in Religion, notwithstanding all the assaults made against it) was born at *Alexandria*, the known *Metropolis* of *Egypt*; unless we will suppose, that upon some particular Tumult or Persecution raised against the Christians in that City, his Parents fled for refuge to the Mountainous parts thereabouts, where his Mother was delivered of him, and that thence he was called *Origenes*, quasi ἐν ὄρει γεννηθείς (which most conceive to be the Etymology of his name) one born in the Mountains. But whether that be the proper derivation of the Word, or the other the particular occasion of its imposition, let the Reader determine as he please. However I believe the Reader will think it a much more probable and reasonable conjecture, then what one supposes, that he was so called because born of holy Parents; the Saints in Scripture being (as he tells us) sometimes metaphorically stiled *Mountains*. The first and the last I dare say that ever made that conjecture. A learned man supposes him rather (and thinks no doubt can be made of it) so called from *Orus*, an Egyptian word, and with them the title of *Apollo* or the Sun (from which no question, which signifies light or fire) one of their principal Deities. Hence *Orus*, the name of one of the Egyptian Kings, as it has been also of many others. And thus as ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς comes *Diogenes*, one born of *Jupiter*, so ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀυρου is derived *Origenes*, one descended of *Or* or *Orus*, a Deity solemnly worshipped at *Alexandria*. A conjecture that might have commanded its own entertainment, did not one prejudice lie against it, that we can hardly conceive so good a man, and so severe a Christian as *Origen's* Father would impose a name upon his Child, for which he must be beholden to an Heathen Deity, and whom he might see every day worshipped with the most sottish Idolatry, that he should let him perpetually carry about that remembrance of Pagan Idolatry in his name, which they so particularly, and so solemnly renounced in their Baptism. But to return.

II. HE was born about the year of our Lord, CLXXXVI. being seventeen years of age at his Fathers death, who suffered Ann. Chr. CCII. Severi X. His Father was *Leonides*, whom *Suidas* and some others (without any authority, that I know of, from the Ancients) make a Bishop: to be sure he was a good man, and a Martyr for the Faith. In his younger years he was brought up under the tutorage of his own Father, who instructed him in all the grounds of humane literature, and together with them took especial care to instill the principles of Religion, seasoning his early age with the notices of divine things, so that like another *Timothy*, from a child he knew the holy Scriptures, and was thoroughly exercised and instructed in them. Nor was his Father more diligent to insinuate his instructions, then the subject he managed was capable to receive them. Part of his daily task was to learn and repeat some

Ὀρεγεν, ὁ ἐν τῇ ὄρει γεννηθείς. Suid. in voc. Ὀρεγ. p. 330. T. 2.

Hall. x. not. ad Orig. de sens. l. p. 1.

Voss. de Idol. l. 2. c. 10. p. 182.

Εὐφ. II. T. 1. l. 5. c. 2. p. 202. d. In voc. Ὀρεγ. p. 389. tom. 2.

Εὐφ. ibid. p. 202.

some parts of the holy Scriptures, which he readily discharged. But not satisfied with the bare reading or recital of them, he began to enquire more narrowly into the more profound sense of them, often importuning his Father with questions, what such or such a passage of Scripture meant. The good man though seemingly reproving his busie forwardness, and admonishing him to be content with the plain obvious sense, and not to ask questions above his age, did yet inwardly rejoice in his own mind, and heartily bless God that he had made him the Father of such a child. Much ado had the prudent man to keep the exuberance of his love and joy from running over before others, but in private he gave it vent, frequently going into the Chamber where the Youth lay asleep, and reverently kissing his naked breast, the treasury of an early piety and a divine spirit, reflected upon himself how happy he was in so excellent a Son. So great a comfort, so invaluable a blessing is it to pious parents to see their children setting out betimes in the way of righteousness, and sucking in Religion almost with their Mothers milk.

III. HAVING passed over his paternal education, he was put to perfect his Studies under the Institution of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, then Regent of the *Catechist* School at *Alexandria*, where according to the acuteness of his parts, and the greatness of his industry he made vast improvements in all sorts of learning. From him he betook himself to *Ammonius*, who had then newly set up a *Platonic* School at *Alexandria*, and had reconciled those inveterate feuds and differences that had been between the Schools of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, and which had reigned among their Disciples till his time, which he did (says my Author) ἐν-  
 θυσίας πρὸς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀληθινὴν, out of a divine transport for the truth of Philosophy, despising the little opinions, and wrangling contentions of peevish men, and propounding a more free and generous kind of Philosophy to his Auditors. Among whom was our *Origen*, as *Porphyry* besides others witnesses, who saw *Origen* when himself but a Youth. This *Ammonius* was called *Saccas*, (from his carrying sacks of Corn upon his back, being a Porter by employment, before he betook himself to the Study of Philosophy) one of the most learned and eloquent men of those times, a great Philosopher, and the chief of the *Platonic* Sect, and which was above all, a Christian, born and brought up among them, as *Porphyry* himself is forced to confess; though when he tells us, that afterwards upon maturer consideration, and his entering upon Philosophy, he renounced Christianity, and embraced Paganism and the Religion of the Empire, he is as little to be credited, and guilty of as notorious a falsehood (as *Eusebius* observes) as when he affirms that *Origen* was born and bred up a *Gentile*, and then turned off to Christianity, when as nothing was more evident, then that *Origen* was born of Christian Parents, and that *Ammonius* retained his Christian and divine Philosophy to the very last minute of his life, whereof the Books which he left behind him were a standing evidence. Indeed *Entychius* Patriarch of *Alexandria* (if he means the same) seems to give some countenance to *Porphyry's* report, and further adds, that *Ammonius* was one of the twenty Bishops, which *Heraclas* then Bishop of *Alexandria*, constituted over the *Egyptian* Churches, but that he deserted his Religion. Which *Heraclas* no sooner heard of, but he convened a Synod of Bishops and went to the City, where *Ammonius* was Bishop, where having thoroughly scanned and discussed the matter, he reduced him back again

\* *Novus*, l. 1.  
de provid. &  
F. d. ap. Phot.  
cod. CCXIV.  
col. 549. &  
col. CCLII. col.  
1381.

b Apud Euseb.  
i. l. c. 19. p.  
220. vid. Theod.  
Som. VI. de  
Provid. p. 56.  
c *Id.* Theod.  
loco citat.

d *Loc. citat.*

e *Annal.* p. 332.  
Edit. Pocock.  
vid. etiam Sel-  
den. not. in En-  
tych. Scil. 23. p.  
147.

to the truth. Whether he found this among the Records of that Church, or took it from the mouth of Tradition and Report, is uncertain, the thing not being mentioned by any other Writer. But however it was, 'tis plain that *Ammonius* was a man of incomparable parts and learning, *Hierocles* himself styles him Θεοδιδάκτωρ, one taught of God, *Lib. de Pro-*  
 and when *Plotinus* the great *Platonist* had found him out, he told his *vid. & sup.*  
 friend in a kind of triumph, that this was the man whom he had fought *ubi sup.*  
 after. Under him *Origen* made himself perfect Master of the *Platonic* *b Porphyry in*  
 Notions, being daily conversant in the Writings of *Plato*, *Numenius*, *Plot. n. Oper.*  
*Cronius*, *Apollophanes*, *Longinus*, *Moderatus*, *Nicomachus*, and the most *Præf.*  
 principal among the *Pythagoreans*, as also of *Charemon* and *Cornutus*, *Porphyry ap. Eu-*  
*Stoics*; from whom (as *Porphyry* truly enough observes) he learned that *sch. ubi sup.*  
 allegorical and mystical way of interpretation, which he introduced in-  
 to the Christian Doctrine.

IV. BESIDES our *Adamantius*, there was another *Origen* his Con-  
 temporary, a *Gentile* Philosopher, honourably mentioned by *Longinus*, *c Lib. de Pi-*  
*Porphyry*, *Hierocles*, *Eunapius*, *Proclus*, and others; a person of *des apud Por-*  
 that learning and accurate judgment, that coming one day into *phyry in vit.*  
*Plotinus* his School, the grave Philosopher was ashamed, and would have *Plotin.*  
 given place: and when intreated by *Origen* to go on with his Lecture, *d Ibid.*  
 he answered with a complement, that a man could have but little mind *c Lib. de Fat.*  
 to speak there, where he was to discourse to them, who understood *ubi sup.*  
 things as well as himself, and so after a very short discourse, broke up *f in vit. Por-*  
 the meeting. I am not ignorant that most learned men have carelessly *phy. p. 19.*  
 confounded this person with our *Origen*: Whence *Holstenius* wonders *g in Plat. Theol.*  
 why *Eunapius* should make him School-fellow with *Porphyry*, who was *l. 2. c. 4. p. 90.*  
 much his junior, whom *Porphyry* says indeed he knew, being himself *h Ap. Porphyry.*  
 then very young, and this probably not at *Alexandria* but at *Tyre*, where *loc. cit.*  
 he was born, and where *Origen* a long time resided. So that his won- *i De Pir. &*  
 der would have ceased, had he considered what is plain enough, that *Script. Porphyry.*  
*Eunapius* meant it of this other *Origen*, *Porphyry's* fellow-Pupil, not under *c. 2. p. 11.*  
*Ammonius* at *Alexandria*, but under *Plotinus* at *Rome*. Indeed were  
 there nothing else, this were enough to distinguish them, that the ac-  
 count given of *Origen* and what he wrote by *Longinus*, by *Porphyry* in the  
 life of *Plotinus*, and others, does no ways agree to our Christian Writer.

V. THE Persecution under *Severus* in the tenth year of his reign  
 was now grown hot at *Alexandria*, *Letus* the Governour daily adding  
 fuel to the flames, where among the great numbers of Martyrs *Leonides*, *Origens* Father, was first imprisoned, then beheaded, and his estate  
 confiscated and reduced into the public Exchequer. During his impris-  
 onment *Origen* began to discover a most impatient desire of Martyr-  
 dom, from which scarce any intreaties or considerations could restrain  
 him. He knew the deplorable estate wherein he was like to leave his  
 wife and children, could not but have a sad influence upon his Fathers  
 mind, whom therefore by Letters he passionately exhorted to persevere  
 unto Martyrdom, adding this clause among the rest, *Take heed, Sir, that*  
*for our sakes you do not change your mind.* And himself had gone not onely  
 to prison, but to the very block with his Father, if the divine Provi-  
 dence had not interposed. His Mother perceiving his resolutions, treated  
 him with all the charms and endearments of so affectionate a relation,  
 attempted him with prayers and tears, intreating him if not for his own,  
 that at least for her sake, and his nearest relatives, he would spare himself.

All which not prevailing, especially after his Fathers apprehension, she was forced to betake her self to little Arts, hiding all his cloths, that meer shame might confine him to the house. A mighty instance, as the Historian notes, of a juvenile forwardness and maturity, and a most hearty affection for the true Religion.

<sup>a</sup> *Epist. ibid. p. 2-3.* VI. HIS Father being dead, and the Estate seized for the Emperours use, he and the Family were reduced to great streights. When behold the providence of God (who peculiarly takes care of Widows and Orphans, and especially the relicts of those that suffer for him) made way for their relief. A rich and honourable Matron of *Alexandria* pitying his miserable case, liberally contributed to his necessities, as she did to others, and among them maintained one *Paul* of *Antioch*, a ring-leader of all the Heretics at *Alexandria*, who by subtle artifices had so far insinuated himself into her, that she had adopted him to be her Son. *Origen* though he held his livelihood purely at her bounty, would not yet comply with this Favourite, not so much as to join in prayer with him, no not when an innumerable multitude not onely of Heretics, but of Orthodox daily flocked to him, taken with the eloquence of his discourses. For from his childhood he had religiously observed the Rule and Canon of the Church, and abominated (as himself expresses it) all heretical Doctrines. Whether this noble Lady upon this occasion withdrew her charity, or whether he thought it more agreeable to the Christian Rule to live by his own labour, then to depend wholly upon anothers bounty, I know not: but having perfected those Studies of Foreign Learning, the foundations whereof he had laid under the Discipline of his Father, he now began to set up for himself, opening a School for the profession of the learned Arts, where besides the good he did to others, he raised a considerable maintenance to himself. And though then but a very Youth, yet did not the Grave and the Learned, the Philosophers, and greatest Masters of Heresie disdain to be present at his Lectures, whose opinions he impartially weighed and examined, as himself <sup>b</sup> informs us: many of whom of Auditors <sup>c</sup> became his Converts, yea and Martyrs for the Faith, as we shall see by and by.

<sup>b</sup> *Epist. ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 19. p. 221.* <sup>c</sup> *Ibid. c. 30. p. 204.* VII. BY this time his fame had recommended him to public notice, and he was thought fit, though but eighteen years of age, to be made Master of the *Catechetical* School at *Alexandria*, whether as Colleague with his Master *Clemens*, or upon resignation, his Successor, is uncertain: the latter seems most probable, because <sup>d</sup> *Eusebius* reports that *Demetrius* Bishop of *Alexandria* committed the instruction of the *Catechumens* to him onely, unless we will understand it of some private and particular School, distinct from the ordinary *Catechetical* School, till *Clemens* his death, whose Successor the Ancients generally make him. Scholars in very great numbers daily crowded in upon him, so that finding he had enough to do, and that his different employments did not well consist together, he left off teaching the Arts and Sciences, and gave up himself intirely to the instructing his Disciples in the rudiments of Christianity. Being settled in this Office, he followed it with infinite diligence, and no less success. For he not onely built up those who were already Christians, but gained over a great number of *Gentile* Philosophers to the Faith, who embraced Christianity with so hearty and sincere a mind, as readily to seal it with their blood. Among which of most note were *Plutarch*, whom *Origen* attending to his Martyrdom,

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was like to have been killed by the people for being the Author of his Conversion; *Serenus*, who was burnt for his Religion, *Heracles* and *Heron*, both beheaded, the one while but a *Catechumen*, the other a Novice; next came a second *Serenus*, who after he had endured infinite torments, lost his Head, and gained a Crown. Nay the weaker Sex also put in for a share, one *Herai* a *Catechumen*, and *Origen* Scholar, being as himself expresses it, τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ ἀπὸ πυρὸς λαβῶν, baptized by fire, left this World, and in those flames mounted up to Heaven. Nor was *Origen* so wholly swallowed up with the care of his School, as not to perform duties of Piety and humanity towards others, especially Mar- <sup>a</sup> *Ibid. l. p. 204.* tyrs, and those that were condemned to die. For *Aquila*, *Letus* his Successor in the Government of *Alexandria*, that he might do something singular in the entrance upon his place, renewed the Persecution, which was so severe, that every one consulted his own safety, and kept close; so that when the Martyrs were in Prison, or led to Trial, or Execution, there was none to comfort them, or minister unto them. This Office *Origen* boldly took upon him, attending the Martyrs to the very place of Execution, embracing and saluting them as they were led along, till the enraged multitude pelted him with showers of stones, and an hundred times was he in danger of his life, had not the divine Providence immediately interposed to rescue him. At last they resolved to find him out, great multitudes besetting his house, and because he had vast numbers of Scholars, they brought a Guard of Souldiers along with them, who hunted him from house to house, so that no place could afford him a quiet refuge. And to this period of time I find some learned men (and I think very probably) ascribing that passage which <sup>b</sup> *Epiphanius* <sup>c</sup> *Heret. LXIV. p. 227.* reports concerning him, that he was haled up and down the City, reviled and reproached, and treated with insolent scorn and fury. Once having shaved his head after the manner of the *Egyptian* Priests, they set him upon the steps of *Serapis's* Temple, commanding him to give branches of Palm-trees, as the Priests used to do, to them that went up to perform their holy Rites. He taking the branches with a ready and unterrified mind, cried out aloud, *Come hither, and take the branch, not of an Idol-Temple, but of Christ.* A piece of courage which I suppose did not contribute to mitigate their rage against him.

VIII. ABOUT this time he made that famous attempt upon himself, so much commended by some, but condemned by others, his making himself an *Eunuch*, which (as appears from *Epiphanius*) some of the An- <sup>d</sup> *ubi sup. p. 228.* cients conceived to have been done by Medicinal applications, which enervated the powers and tendencies of Nature that way, though others, and <sup>e</sup> *S. Hierom* expressly, say it was done with the Knife. But however <sup>f</sup> *Ad P. mach. de Error. Orig. Tom. 2. p. 192.* it was, he did it partly out of a perverse interpretation of our Saviours meaning, when he says, *there be some which make themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heavens sake*, which he would needs literally understand; partly out of a desire to take away all suspicion of wantonness and incontinency, which the *Gentiles* might be apt enough to cast upon him, when they saw him admit not men onely, but women into his Discipline; besides that hereby he himself was secured from any temptations to immodest and irregular embraces. How strict and severe was the chastity of those Primitive times, we have shewed at large in another place; so great, that <sup>g</sup> *Justin* the Martyr tells us of a young man <sup>h</sup> *Apolog. II. p. 71.* of *Alexandria*, who to convince the *Gentiles* of the fallshood of that ma-

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licious charge of incontinency and promiscuous mixtures, which they usually laid upon the Christians, presented a Petition to *Felix* the President of *Alexandria*, desiring his leave that the Physicians might make him an *Eunuch*, which the President refused, as prohibited by the Laws of the *Roman Empire*; as it was afterwards by several Provisos and Canons of the Church. This fact though *Origen* endeavoured to conceal from some of his friends, yet did it quickly break out, and *Demetrius* the Bishop who now admired it as an heroic act of temperance, and an instance of a great and a daring mind, did afterwards load it with all its aggravations, and bring it in as an inexcusable charge against him. I add no more concerning this than that whatever *Origen* might do now in the vigour of his youth, and through the sprightliness of his devout Zeal, yet in his more considerate and reduced age he was of another mind, condemning such kind of attempts, soberly enough expounding that passage of our Saviour, which before he had so fatally misunderstood.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Comment. in Matt. p. 368. & p. 370, 371. Edit. Huet.

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. ib. c. 14. p. 216.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. c. 15. p. 217.

<sup>d</sup> Apolog. adv. Rufin. Tom. 2. p. 201.

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. ib. c. 18. p. 218.

IX. *SEVERUS* the Emperour, that violent enemy of Christians, being dead *Ann. Chr. CCXI*. *Origen* had a great desire to see the Church of *Rome*, so venerable for its antiquity and renown, and accordingly came thither, while Pope *Zephyrin* late Bishop of that See, where he staid not long, but returned back to *Alexandria*, and to his accustomed *Catechetical* office, *Demetrius* earnestly importuning him to resume it. But finding the employment grow upon him, and so wholly to engross his time, as not to allow him the least leisure for retirement and contemplation, and the study of the Scriptures, so fast did auditors press in upon him from morning to night, he took in *Heraclius*, who had been his Scholar, a man versed both in divine and humane Studies, to be his Partner, dividing the work between them, the younger and more untutored *Catechumens* he committed to him; the maturer, and those who had been of a longer standing he reserved to be instructed by himself. And now he gave up himself to a closer and more accurate Study of the holy Scriptures, which that he might manage with the better success, he set himself to learn the *Hebrew Tongue*, the true Key to unlock the Door, (wherein as <sup>a</sup> *S. Hieron* probably intimates, he was assisted by the help of *Huillus* the Jewish Patriarch at that time, at least in the Rabbinic Exposition of the Scripture,) a thing little understood in those times, and the place he lived in, and to him who was now in the prime of his age, and the Flower of more pleasing and delightful Studies, no doubt very difficult and uneasy. But nothing is hard to an industrious diligence, and a willing mind.

X. NOR did his pains in this interrupt his activity in his other employments; where he perceived any of his Scholars of more smart and acute understandings, he first instructed them in *Geometry*, *Arithmetic*, and other preparatory Institutions, and then brought them through a course of Philosophy, discovering the Principles of each Sect, and explaining the Books of the Ancients, and sometimes himself writing Comments upon them, so that the very *Gentiles* cried him up for an eminent Philosopher. The ruder and more unpolished part of his auditory he would often exhort to the Study of humane Arts, assuring them that they would not a little conduce to the right understanding of the holy Scriptures. Many flocked to him to make trial of his famed Skill and Learning; others to be instructed in the Precepts both of Philosophy

and Christianity. Great numbers of Heretics were his Auditors, some of whom he converted from the error of their way: and among the rest <sup>a</sup> *Ambrosius*, a man of Nobility and Estate at *Alexandria*, <sup>b</sup> *Euseb. ib. Hieron. de Script. in Ambros. Suid. in Voc. Origen. Epiph. ubi sup. p. 228.* having been seduced into the Errors of *Marcion* and *Valentinus*, being convinced by *Origen's* Discourses, renounced his former Heresies, and returned to the Catholic Doctrine of the Church, and ever after became his intimate Friend, his great Patron and Benefactor. He was a man of neat elegant parts, and was continually prompting *Origen* to explain and interpret some part of the Scripture; as oft as they were together, (as *Origen* himself informs us) he suffered not a Supper time to pass without discourses to this purpose, nor their very walks and recreations to be without them; a great part of the night, besides their morning studies, were spent upon these pious exercises; their meals and their rest were ushered in with continual Lectures, and both night and day where Prayer ended, Reading began, as after reading they again betook themselves to Prayer. Indeed this *Ambrose* was a pious and good man, and though so great a person, did not disdain to take upon him the Office of a *Deacon* in the Church, nay to undergo great hardships and sufferings, becoming an eminent *Confessor* for the Faith. And there is only this blot <sup>c</sup> that I know of, that sticks upon his memory, that when he died rich, he remembered not his dear and ancient Friend, whose low and mean condition might well have admitted, as his pains and intimacy might deservedly have challenged, a bountiful legacy to have been bequeathed to him.

<sup>b</sup> Hieron. de Script. in Ambros. p. 228.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. ibid. c. 19 p. 221.

XI. ABOUT this time came a Messenger from the Governour of *Arabia* with Letters to *Demetrius* the Bishop, and to the *Præfect* of *Egypt*, desiring that with all speed *Origen* might be sent to impart the Christian Doctrine to him: so considerable had the fame of this great man rendered him abroad in foreign Nations. Accordingly he went into *Arabia*, where having dispatched his errand, he came back to *Alexandria*. Not long after whose return, the Emperour *Caracalla* drew his Army into those parts, intending to fall severely upon that City. To avoid whose rage and cruelty *Origen* thought good to withdraw himself, and not knowing any place in *Egypt* that could afford him shelter, he retired into *Palestine*, and fixed his residence at *Cæsarea*. Where his excellent abilities being soon taken notice of, he was requested by the Bishops of those parts, though but then in the capacity of a *Laic*, publicly in the Church, and before themselves to expound the Scriptures to the People. The news hereof was presently carried to *Alexandria*, and highly resented by *Demetrius*, who by Letters expostulated the case with *Theodotus*, Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and *Alexander* of *Jerusalem*, as a thing never heard of before in the Christian Church; who in their answer put him in mind, that this had been no such unusual thing, whereof they give him particular instances. All which satisfied not *Demetrius*, who by Letters commanded *Origen* to return, and sent *Deacons* on purpose to urge him to it, whereupon he came back and applied himself to his wonted charge.

XII. *ALEXANDER SEVERUS* the present Emperour in order to his expedition against the *Persians*, was come to *Antioch*, attended with his mother *Mammaea*, a wife and prudent, and (says <sup>a</sup> *Eusebius*) a most pious and religious Princess; a great influence she had upon her Son, whom she engaged in a most strict and constant administration of Justice,

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. c. 21. p. 223. vid. excerpt. ex Jo. Antioch. p. 835.

Justice, and the affairs of the Empire, that he might have no leisure to be debauched by Vice and Luxury. Indeed he was a Prince of incomparable Vertues, Historians representing him as mild and gentle, compassionate and charitable; sober and temperate, just and impartial, devout and pious, one advanced to the Empire for the recovery and happiness of mankind. He was no enemy to Christians, whom he did not onely not persecute; but favour at every turn; and in his private *Oratory* he had among other *Heroes* the Images of *Abraham* and of *Christ*, and was once minded to have built a Temple to him, and publicly admitted him into the number of their gods. He highly admired some precepts of the Christian Religion, and from their Discipline learned some Rites which he made use of in the Government of the Empire. But to return to *Mammæa*: Being a *Syrian* born, she could not be unacquainted with the affairs both of *Jews* and *Christians*; and having heard of the great fame of *Origen* was very desirous to see him, and hear him discourse concerning Religion, that she might know what it was, for which the whole World had him in such veneration. And for this purpose she sent for him, ordering a military guard to conduct him to *Antioch*, where he staid some considerable time, and having fully opened the Doctrines of our Religion, and given her many demonstrations of the Faith of Christians, to the great honour of God and of Religion, he was dismissed, and permitted to return to his old charge at *Alexandria*.

<sup>a</sup> *Euseb. loc. cit.*

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid. c. 23. p. 224.*

XIII. HENCEFORWARD he set upon writing *Commentaries* on the Holy Scripture, at the instigation of his dear friend *Ambrosius*, who did not onely earnestly importune him to it, but furnish him with all conveniences necessary for it; allowing him besides his maintenance, seven (and as occasion was more) *Notaries* to attend upon him, who by turns might take from his mouth what he dictated to them; and as many *Transcribers*, besides *Virgins* employed for that purpose, who copied out fair, what the others had hastily taken from his mouth. These *Notaries* were very common both among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, making use of certain peculiar notes and signs, either by way of occult or short-writing, being able by the dexterity of their Art to take not words onely but entire sentences. The original of it is by some ascribed to *Tyro* *Cicero's* servant, by others to *Aquila* servant to *Mecenas*, by others to *Ennius*, and that it was polished and enlarged afterwards, first by *Tyro*, then by *Aquila* and some others. It may be in its first rudeness it was much more ancient, and improved and perfected by degrees, every new addition entitling it self to the first invention, till it arrived to that accuracy and perfection, that (as appears from what *Martial* says in the case, and *Ausonius* reports of his *Amannensis*) they were able not onely to keep pace with, but many times to out-run the speaker. That they were of frequent use in the Primitive Church, is without all doubt, being chiefly employed to write the *Acts* of the Martyrs; for which end they were wont to frequent the Prisons, to be present at all Trials and Examinations; and if the thing was done *intra Velum*, within the *Secretarium*, they used by bribes to procure Copies of the Examinations and Answers from the *Proconsul's* Register; thence they followed the Martyrs to the place of Execution, there to remark their sayings and their sufferings.

<sup>c</sup> *De Coron. c. 13. p. 165.*  
<sup>d</sup> *Epist. XXXVII. p. 51.*

This was done in the most early Ages, as is evident from *Tertullians* mentioning the *Fasti Ecclesie*, and from what *S. Cyprian* says in his *Epistle*

istle to the Clergy of his Church, and *Pontius* the *Deacon* in his life; <sup>e</sup> *In vit. Cypri. non long. ab ist.* where he tells us, that their Fore-fathers were wont to register whatever concerned the Martyrdom of the meanest Christian, the *Acts* whereof descended down to his time. Thus *Eusebius* speaking of the Martyrdom of *Apollonius* in the reign of *Commodus*, tells us, that all his Answers and Discourses before the President's Tribunal, and his brave *Apology* before the *Senate*, were contained in the *Acts* of his Martyrdom, which together with others, he had collected into one Volume. So that the Original of the Institution is not without probability referred to the times of *S. Clemens* Bishop of *Rome*. All which I the rather note because it gives us a reasonable account how the Answers and Speeches of the Martyrs, the Arguments and Discourses of Synods and Councils, and the *Extempore Homilies* of the Fathers came to be transmitted so intire and perfect to us. But I return to *Origen*, whom we left dictating to his *Notaries*, and they delivering it to those many *Transcribers* that were allowed him; all which were maintained at *Ambrosius's* sole expence. *Photius* indeed makes this charge to have been allowed by *Hippolytus*, <sup>a</sup> *Cod. CXXI. col. 301.* deriving his mistake it's plain, from the *Greek* Interpreter of *S. Hieroms* <sup>b</sup> *Vid. Hieron. de Script. in Hippol.* Catalogue, who did not rightly apprehend *S. Hieroms* meaning, and who himself speaking of *Hippolytus*, inserts this passage concerning *Ambrose* I know not how, and for no other reason that I can imagin, but because in *Eusebius* his History he found it immediately following the account that was given of *Hippolytus* his Works. <sup>c</sup> *Epiphanius* will have these *Commentaries* written, and the expences allowed to that purpose by *Ambrosius* at *Tyre*, and that for that end he resided there XXVIII. years together. An intolerable mistake, not onely disagreeing with *Eusebius* his account, but plainly inconsistent with the course of *Origen's* life. And indeed *Epiphanius* alledges no better an Author then *ὁ δὲ λόγος ἔχων*, having picked up the Story from some vulgar tradition and report. His industry and diligence in these Studies was incredible, few parts of the Bible escaping his narrow and critical researches: wherein he attained to so admirable an accuracy and perfection, that *S. Hierom* himself (not always over-civil to him) professes he could be content to bear that load of envy that was cast upon his name, so that he had but withall his skill and knowledge in the Scriptures. A passage which *Ruffinus* afterwards smartly enough returns upon him.

<sup>e</sup> *Hoc unum dico, quod vellem cum invidia nominis ejus habere etiam scientiam Scripturarum, floccipendens imagines umbrasque litterarum: quarum natura esse dicitur, tarent paravolos, & in angulis garrive tenebrosos. Hieron. Pref. in Quest. in Genes. Tom. 3. p. 201. I Præf. II. in Hieron. Inter op. Hier. Tom. 4. p. 225.*

XIV. BUT a stop for the present was put to this work by some affairs of the Church, which called him into *Achaia*, then disturbed with divers Heresies that over-ran those Churches. And at this time doubtless it was that he staid a while at *Athens*, where (as *Epiphanius* tells us) <sup>e</sup> *ubi sup. p. 227.* he frequented the Schools of the Philosophers, and conversed with the Sages of that place. In his journey to *Achaia* he went through *Palestin*, <sup>b</sup> *Euseb. loc. cit. Hier. de Script. in Alex.* and took *Cæsarea* in his way, where producing his Letters of recommendation from *Demetrius*, he was ordained *Presbyter* by *Alexander* of *Jerusalem*, and *Theodotus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*. Not that this was done by any sinister Arts, or the ambitious procurement of *Origen* himself, but was intirely the act of those two excellent persons, who designed by this means to furnish him with a greater authority for the management of his Embassie, and to render him more servicable to the affairs of the Church. However the thing was infinitely resented by *Demetrius*, as

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an affront against his jurisdiction, and a contempt of his authority, and now the wind is turned into a blustering quarter, and nothing but *anathema's* are thundred out against him from *Alexandria*. *Demetrius* had for some time born him a secret grudge, and he takes this occasion to fall upon him. The truth is, he \* envied the honour and reputation which *Origen's* Learning and Vertue had raised him in the thoughts and mouths of all men, and wanting hitherto an opportunity to vent his emulation, he had now one put into his hand, and accordingly charges him with all that spight and spleen can invent, publicly accusing him (what before he admired in him) for making himself an *Eunuch*, and severely reflecting upon the Bishops that ordained him. Nay so high did he raise the storm, that he procured *Origen*, to be condemned <sup>a</sup> in two several Synods, one of Bishops and Presbyters, who decreed that he should be banished *Alexandria*, and not permitted either to live, or teach there: the other under *Demetrius*, who with some Bishops of *Egypt* pronounced him to be degraded from his Priesthood, his greatest favourers subscribing the Decree. <sup>b</sup> *S. Hierom* adds, that the greatest part of the Christian World consented to this condemnation, and that *Rome* it self convened a Synod against him, not for Heresie or Innovations in Doctrin; but meerly out of envy, as not able to bear the glory and renown of his Learning and Eloquence; seeing while he taught they were looked upon as mute and dumb, as the Stars disappear at the presence of the Sun. And yet all this combustion vanished into smoke, *Origen* still retaining his Priesthood, publicly preaching in the Church, and being honourably entertained where-ever he came by the wiser and more moderate party of the Church.

XV. WEARIED out with the vexatious assaults of his enemies, he resolved to quit *Alexandria*, where the sentence of the Synods would not suffer him long to abide, having first resigned the Government of his *Catechetical* School intirely to his Colleague *Heraclas*. This *Heraclas* was a *Gentile* born, brother to *Plutarch*, who (as before we noted) suffered Martyrdom for the Faith, together with whom he became *Origen's* Scholar, by whom he was converted, and built up in the Faith, then taken in as his *Usher* or Partner in the *Catechetical* Office, afterwards his successor, and last of all Bishop of *Alexandria*. A man of unwearied diligence and a strict life; learned and eloquent, a great Master in Philosophy and all humane, but especially versed in divine Studies. He retained his *Philosophic habit* even after he was made Presbyter of *Alexandria*, and ceased not with a mighty industry still to read over and converse with the Writings of the *Gentiles*; indeed arrived to that singular fame and reputation, that *Julius Africanus*, one of the most learned men of those times came <sup>c</sup> on purpose to *Alexandria* to see and hear him. No wonder therefore, if *Origen* committed this great care and trust to him, whose personal merit, and particular obligation as his Scholar, might seem to challenge it. Before his departure (for they that refer it to the time of *Decius*, speak at random, *Origen* not being then at *Alexandria*) an accident fell out, which (if true) hastned his flight with more shame and sorrow then all the malice of his bitterest enemies could create him. Thus then we are told; <sup>d</sup> some *Gentiles* that were his mortal enemies, seized upon him, and reduced him to this strait, that either he should abuse his body with a *Blackmoor*, or do sacrifice to an Idol. Of the two he chose to sacrifice, though it was rather their act then his, for putting Frankincense

into his hand, they led him up to the Altar, and forced him to throw it into the fire. Which yet drew so great a blot upon his name, and derived so much guilt upon his conscience, that not able to bear the public reproach, he immediately left the City. The credit of this Story is not a little shaken by the universal silence of the more ancient Writers in this matter, not so much as intimated by *Eusebius*, *Pamphilus*, or *Origen's* own contemporary, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*; not objected by his greatest adversaries, as is plain from the Apologies written in his behalf; not mentioned by *Porphyry* who lived in those times, and whom we cannot suppose either to have been ignorant of it, or willing to conceal it, when we find him falsely reporting of *Ammonius*, that he apostatized from Christianity, and of *Origen* himself, that he was born and bred an Heathen. In short not mentioned by any before *Epiphanius*, and besides him, not by any else of that time, not *S. Hierom*, *Rufinus*, *Vincentius Lerinensis*, or *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, some of whom were enemies enough to *Origen*. So that it was not without some plausibility of reason that <sup>e</sup> *Baronius* suspected this passage to have been foisted into *Epiphanius*, and not to have been the genuine issue of his Pen. Though in my mind <sup>f</sup> *Epiphanius* himself says enough to make any wise man ready to suspend his belief; for he tells <sup>g</sup> us, that many strange things were reported concerning *Origen*, which he himself gave no credit to, though he thought good to set down the reports; and how often he catches up any common rumours and builds upon them, none need to be told, that are acquainted with his Writings. Nor is it likely he would balk any Story that tended to *Origen's* disgrace, who had himself so bitter a zeal and spleen against him. I might further argue the improbability of this Story from hence, that this being a long time after his famous emasculating of himself, which by this time was known all abroad, it is not reasonable to suppose, that the Heathens should make the prostituting himself in committing adultery one part of his choice, which his self-contracted impotency and *Eunuchism* had long since made impossible to him. However supposing the matter of fact to be true, it sounds not more (especially considering how much there was of force and compulsion in it) to his disparagement, then his solemn repentance afterwards made for his honour, and when the desire to preserve his chastity inviolable is laid in the Scale with his offering Sacrifice.

XVI. A N N. CCXXXIII. <sup>h</sup> *Origen* left *Alexandria*, and directing his course for *Palestin*, went to his good Friend and Patron *Theodotus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and from thence to *Jerusalem* to salute *Alexander* Bishop of it, and to visit the venerable Antiquities of that place. And here *Epiphanius* in pursuance of the foregoing Story tells us, that being mightily importuned to preach, he stood up in the Congregation, and having pronounced those words of penitent *David*, *But unto the wicked God saith, what hast thou to do to declare my statutes, and that thou shouldst take my covenant in thy mouth?* he could go on no further, but that the Book, and laid it down, and sitting down burst out into sighs and tears, the whole Congregation bearing part with him in that mournful Scene. And to carry on the humour, and make the Story more compleat, after Ages present us with a <sup>i</sup> Discourse under his name, called *Origen's Complaint*, wherein he passionately repents and laments his fall, as a desperate wound to himself, a grief to good men, and an unconceivable dishonour to God, and to Religion. And pitty it is, if the Story be true, that

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. lib. c. 8. p. 69.

<sup>b</sup> Pamphil. Apolog. ap. Phot. cod. CXVIII. fol. 297.

<sup>c</sup> Apud Ruffin. in: lib. II. in Hieron. inter op. lib. IV. p. 225.

<sup>d</sup> Euseb. lib. c. 26. p. 228.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. c. 31. p. 230.

<sup>f</sup> Epiphanius. p. 228. in: ant. de sect. lib. X. p.

<sup>g</sup> Ad Ann. 253. c. XXXIII.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. p. 229.

<sup>i</sup> Euseb. lib. c. 25. p. 228.

<sup>k</sup> Extat inter Op. Orig. Tom. I. p. 752. Edit. Erasmi.

this *Lamentation* were not genuine; but as it is, the best ground it has to support itself, is, that it is calculated to gratifie a pious fanie and a melting passion, there being nothing in it otherwise worthy of this great man, and I fear was first designed by him that made it, as a reflection upon him, and to give countenance to the report that was raised concerning him. From *Jerusalem* he not long after returned back to *Cæsarea*, where (as before he had done at *Alexandria*) he set up a School both for divine and humane learning, and his great name quickly procured him Scholars from all parts, not onely of the Country thereabouts, but from the remotest Provinces. Among which of most remarque were *Gregory* called afterwards *Thaumaturgus*, and his Brother *Athenodorus*, who leaving the study of the Law, as being more delighted with Philosophy and humane Arts, committed themselves to his conduct and tutorage, who first instructed them in Philosophy, and then trained them up to a more accurate knowledge of the Christian Faith. Five years they remained under his Discipline, when being sufficiently enriched with the knowledge of Religion, they returned into *Pontus*, their own Countrey, where they both became *Bishops*, and proved eminent Lights and Governours of the Church. During his residence at *Cæsarea*, there was a firm intimacy and league of friendship contracted between *Origen* and *Firmilian* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, who had so great a kindness for him that sometimes he would prevail with him to come over into that Province for the edification of the Churches in those parts, sometimes he himself would go into *Judea* to visit him, and stay a considerable while with him to perfect himself by his society and converse. This *Firmilian* was a Gentleman of *Cappadocia*, afterwards made Bishop of *Cæsarea* in that Countrey. A person of great name and note, and who held correspondence with most of the eminent men of those times. Few considerable affairs of the Church, wherein he was not concerned either by his presence or advice. Great contests were between him and *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome* concerning the Baptism of heretical persons, wherein he took part with *Cyprian*. He was twice at *Antioch* to examine the case of *Paul* of *Samosata* Bishop of that Church, and coming a third time to a Synod convened there for that purpose, died at *Tarsus* by the way. Nor was *Origen* admired and courted onely by foreigners and young men who had been his Scholars, but by the grave and the wise at home: both *Alexander* and *Theodotus*, though ancient Bishops, did not disdain in a manner to become his Disciples, committing to his single care the power of interpreting the holy Scriptures, and whatever concerned the Ecclesiastical Doctrine.

XVII. IT was now about the year CCXXXV. when *Maximinus* the *Thracian* succeeded in the Empire: a man fierce and ill-natured, and according to his education brutish and cruel. He hated whatever had relation to his Predecessor, and because the Christians had found some favourable entertainment in his Family, he began first with them, and especially the Bishops, as the chief Pillars and promoters of their Religion, whom he every where commanded to be put to death. To contribute toward the consolation of Christians in this evil time, *Origen* wrote his Book concerning *Martyrdom*, which he jointly dedicated to

Νῦν δὲ περὶ τῆς  
μαρτυρίας αἰ-  
σῶν ἢ σωτηρίας  
τῆς ἡμετέρας  
ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἀποκαθάρσεως αὐτῆς  
καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτῆς ἠρωτοῦμεν καὶ  
ἀντιμετωπιοῦμεν τὸν Θεόν. Orig. Exhort. ad Martyr. pag. 21. c.

his

his dear *Ambrosius*, and to *Protoctetus* Presbyter of *Cæsarea*, as who had undergone a joint share of imprisonment and sufferings under the present Persecution, and had made a glorious and illustrious confession of the Christian Faith. As for *Origen* himself, he is said to have taken sanctuary in the house of *Juliana*, a wealthy and charitable Lady, who courteously entertained him, and furnished him with Books useful for him, particularly with *Symmachus* his Version of the Old Testament, and his Commentaries in defence of the *Ebionites*, particularly levelled against *S. Matthews* Gospel: Books which *Juliana* enjoyed as by right of inheritance devolved upon her.

XVIII. WHILE he enjoyed the happy opportunity of this retirement, he more directly applied himself to what he had long since designed, the collecting and collating the several Editions and Versions of the Old Testament with the Original Text, which he finished by three several parts<sup>b</sup>, the *Tetrapla*, the *Hexapla*, and the *Octapla*. In the first (which considered as a distinct part, was made last) were four Translations, set one over against another, that of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, the *Septuagint*, and *Theodotus*; these made up the *Tetrapla*. In the second were these four Versions disposed in the same order, and two other columns set before them, thus; first the *Hebrew* Text in its own Letters, then in a column next adjoining the same *Hebrew* Text in *Greek* characters, that they who were strangers to the one, might be able to read the other: next followed the several Versions of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, the *Septuagint*, and *Theodotus*. And these constituted the *Hexapla*. Where the *Septuagint* being placed after that of *Aquila* and *Symmachus*, gave some ignorant undiscerning persons occasion to think, that it had been made after the two former: whereas it was placed in the middle (as *Epiphanius* informs us) onely as a Standard, by which the goodness and sincerity of the rest were to be tried and judged. In the third, which made the *Octapla*, were all that were in the former, and in the same manner, and two more Versions added at the end of them, one called the *Fifth Edition*, found by a Student at *Jerusalem* in a Hogsheed at *Jericho* in the time of the Emperor *Caracalla*; and another stiled the *Sixth Edition*, found by one of *Origen's* Scholars at *Nicopolis* near *Aethium*, in the reign of *Alexander Severus*. All which in the *Octapla* were disposed in several columns in this order: in the first column was the Original *Hebrew*, in its native characters, in the next the *Hebrew* in *Greek* Letters, in the third the translation of *Aquila*, then that of *Symmachus*, next the *Septuagint*, in the sixth that of *Theodotus*, and in the two last that of *Jericho*, and the other of *Nicopolis*. Indeed plain it is from what *S. Hierom* tells us, that these two last were not compleat and intire Translations, but contained only some parts of the Old Testament, especially the Prophetical Books. But whether from hence we may conclude the *Hexapla* and the *Octapla* to have been but one and the same Work, onely receiving its different title according to those Parts that had these two last Versions annexed to them, I will not say. Besides these there was a *Seventh Edition*; but this belonging onely to the Book of *Psalms*, made no alteration in the title of the whole. The frame and order of this excellent contrivance, the Reader will better apprehend by this following Scheme, formed according to a Specimen of the *Hexapla* extant in *Cardinal Barberines* very ancient Manuscript of the *Minor Prophets*, upon these words, *When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my Son out of Egypt*.

G g 2

Tetrapla.

Oðapla.	Hexapla.	Tetrapla.
Text. Hebr. lit. Hebr. ut supra.	Hebr. lit. Hebr. lit. Hebr. ut supra.	Aquila. Ole πᾶς ἰσ- ταῖς, & ἰσ- ταῖς αὐτοῖς, & αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτί- οὶ ἐκάλουν τοὺς μὲν.
Hebr. lit. Græc. Ole πᾶς &c.	Hebr. lit. Gr. Ole πᾶς ἰσ- ταῖς, & ἰσ- ταῖς αὐτοῖς, & αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτί- οὶ ἐκάλουν τοὺς μὲν.	Symmachus. Ole πᾶς ἰσ- ταῖς, & ἰσ- ταῖς αὐτοῖς, & αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτί- οὶ ἐκάλουν τοὺς μὲν.
Aquila. Ole πᾶς &c.	Aquila. Ole πᾶς ἰσ- ταῖς, & ἰσ- ταῖς αὐτοῖς, & αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτί- οὶ ἐκάλουν τοὺς μὲν.	LXX. Ole πᾶς ἰσ- ταῖς, & ἰσ- ταῖς αὐτοῖς, & αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτί- οὶ ἐκάλουν τοὺς μὲν.
Symmachus. Ole πᾶς &c.	Symmachus. Ole πᾶς ἰσ- ταῖς, & ἰσ- ταῖς αὐτοῖς, & αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτί- οὶ ἐκάλουν τοὺς μὲν.	Theodotion. Ole πᾶς ἰσ- ταῖς, & ἰσ- ταῖς αὐτοῖς, & αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτί- οὶ ἐκάλουν τοὺς μὲν.
LXX. Ole πᾶς ἰσ- ταῖς, & ἰσ- ταῖς αὐτοῖς, & αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτί- οὶ ἐκάλουν τοὺς μὲν.	LXX. Ole πᾶς ἰσ- ταῖς, & ἰσ- ταῖς αὐτοῖς, & αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτί- οὶ ἐκάλουν τοὺς μὲν.	Theodotion. Ole πᾶς ἰσ- ταῖς, & ἰσ- ταῖς αὐτοῖς, & αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτί- οὶ ἐκάλουν τοὺς μὲν.
Theodotion. Ole πᾶς ἰσ- ταῖς, & ἰσ- ταῖς αὐτοῖς, & αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτί- οὶ ἐκάλουν τοὺς μὲν.	Theodotion. Ole πᾶς ἰσ- ταῖς, & ἰσ- ταῖς αὐτοῖς, & αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτί- οὶ ἐκάλουν τοὺς μὲν.	Theodotion. Ole πᾶς ἰσ- ταῖς, & ἰσ- ταῖς αὐτοῖς, & αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτί- οὶ ἐκάλουν τοὺς μὲν.
Edi. V. Hierich. Defiderat.	Edi. V. Hierich. Defiderat.	Edi. V. Hierich. Defiderat.
Edi. VI. Nicol. Defiderat.	Edi. VI. Nicol. Defiderat.	Edi. VI. Nicol. Defiderat.

\* Vid. præter script. citat. Orig. Comment in  
in Math. Edit. Huet. gr. l. p. 381. & Resp. ad  
Epist. Afric. p. 226, 227. Edit. Basl. vid. Ruffin.  
Inuol. II. in Hieron. inter oper. Hier. T. 4. p. 230.

And to make the Work more compleat and useful, he distinguished the additions and deficiencies by several marks \*, where any thing had been added by the LXX. besides the faith of the Original Text, he prefixed an Obelus before it; where any thing was wanting, which yet was in the Hebrew, he inserted the words with an Asteric, to distinguish them from the rest of the Septuagint Translation.

Where

Where various Lectons were confirmed by the greater number of Translations, he added a note called *Lemmiscus*, where two of them onely concurred, an *Hypolemmiscus*. By which means he did right to truth, without doing wrong to any. A work of infinite labour and admirable use, and which was therefore peculiarly stiled by the Ancients *Opus Ecclesie*, the Work of the Church, upon the account whereof S. Hierom \* calls him *Immortale illud ingenium*, as indeed had there been no-  
thing else, this alone had been sufficient to have eternized his name, and to have rendred him memorable to posterity: and how happy had it been, had it been preserved, the loss whereof I can attribute to nothing more than the pains and charge, the trouble and difficulty of transcribing it. Though some part of it, viz. the *Septuagint* was taken out, and published more exact and correct from the faults which had crept into it by transcribing by *Eusebius* and *Pamphilus* afterwards. It was a Work of time, and not finished by *Origen* all at once, begun by him at *Cæsarea*, and perfected at *Tyre*, as *Epiphanius* plainly intimates.

XIX. FROM *Cæsarea* *Origen*, upon what occasion I know not, seems to have taken a second journey to *Athens*. For during his stay there, we find him finishing his Commentaries <sup>b</sup> upon *Ezekiel*, and beginning his Exposition upon the *Canticles*, five Books whereof he there perfected, making an end of the rest at his return to *Cæsarea*. The opportunity of this journey, it's conceived by some, he took to go to *Nicomedia*, to visit his friend *Ambrosius*, who with his wife and children at that time resided there. While he continued here (which was not long) he returned an answer to the Letter which he had lately received from *Julius Africanus* concerning the History of *Susanna*, which *Africanus* by short but very forcible arguments maintained to be a fictitious and spurious relation. *Origen* undertakes the cause, and justifies the Story to be sincere and genuine, but by arguments, which rather manifest the acuteness of his parts, than the goodness of his cause, and clearly shew how much men of the greatest learning and abilities are put to it, when engaged to uphold a weak side, and which has no truth of its own to support it self. It happened about this time that *Beryllus* <sup>c</sup> Bishop of *Bosra* in *Arabia*, fell into absurd and dangerous errors, asserting, that our Lord before his incarnation had no proper subsistence, no personal Deity, but onely a derivative divinity from his Father. The Bishops of those parts met about it, but could not reclaim the man, whereupon *Origen's* assistance was requested, who went thither, and treated with him both in private conferences and in public Synods. His greatest difficulty was to know what the man meant, which when he had once found out, he plied him so hard with cogent reasonings and demonstrations, that he was forced to let go his hold, recant his errors, and return back into the way of truth. Which done, *Origen* took his leave, and came back for *Palestina*. And *Beryllus* <sup>d</sup>, as became a true Convert, in several Letters gave thanks to *Origen* for his kind pains in his conviction, kissing the hand that brought him back.

XX. *ORIGEN* was now advanced <sup>e</sup> above the age of threescore, and yet remitted nothing of his incredible industry either in preaching or writing. At *Ambrosius* his intreaty he took to task *Celsus* his Book against the Christians. This *Celsus* was an *Epicurean* Philosopher, contemporary with *Lucian*, the witty Atheist, who dedicated his *Pseudomantis* to him, as indeed there seems to have been a more than ordinary sympathy

\* In Tit. loc. sup. cit.

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. ib. c. 32. p. 231.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. c. 33.

<sup>d</sup> Hieron. de Script. in Beryll.

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. ibid. c. 36. p. 232.

sympathy of humour and *genius* between these two persons. *Celsus* was a man of Wit and Parts, and had all the advantages which Learning, Philosophy, and Eloquence could add to him; but a severe and incurable enemy to the Christian Religion, against which he wrote a Book entitled *Ἀληθὴς λόγος*, or the true Discourse, wherein he attempted Christianity with all the Arts of insinuation, all the witty reflections, virulent aspersions, plausible reasonings, wherewith a man of parts and malice was capable to assault it. To this *Origen* returns a full and solid answer in eight Books, wherein as he had the better cause, so he managed it with that strength of Reason, clearness of Argument, and convictive evidence of truth, that were there nothing else to testify the abilities of this great man, this Book alone were enough to do it. It was written probably about the beginning of the reign of *Philip* the Emperour, with whom *Origen* seems to have had some acquaintance, who

<sup>a</sup> *1. libid. p. 233* wrote one Letter to him, and another to the Emperess. From whence, and some other little probabilities, *Eusebius* first, and after him the generality of Ecclesiastic Writers, have made that Emperour to have been a Christian, and the first of the Imperial line that was so. The vanity of which mistake, and the original from whence it sprung, we have shewed elsewhere. Nor is the matter mended by those, who say that *Philip* was privately baptized by *Fabian* Bishop of *Rome*, and so his Christian Profession was known onely to the Christians, but concealed from the Gentiles; which being but a conjecture, and a *gratis dictum*, without any authority to confirm it, may with the same ease and as much justice be rejected, as it is obtruded and imposed upon us. Nor has the late learned publisher <sup>b</sup> of some Tracts of *Origen* (who in order to the securing the *Dialogue against the Marcionites* to belong to *Origen*, has newly enforced this argument) said any thing that may persuade a wise man to believe a Story, so improbable in all its circumstances, and which must have made a louder noise in the World, and have had more and better witnesses to attest it, than an obscure and uncertain report, the onely authority which *Eusebius*, who gave the first hint of it, pretends in this matter.

<sup>b</sup> *Rod. Wut-  
steinus Prefat.  
in Orig. Dial.  
contr. Marc. &c.  
a se Edit. Basil.  
1574. 4*

XXI. THE good success which *Origen* lately had in *Arabia* in the cause of *Beryllus* made him famous in all those parts, and his help was now again desired upon a like occasion. For a sort of Heretics were start up, who affirmed, that at death both body and soul did expire together, and were resolved into the same state of corruption, and that at the resurrection they should revive and rise together to eternal life. For this purpose a general Synod of those parts was called, and *Origen* desired to be present at it, who managed the cause with such weighty Arguments, such unanswerable and clear convictions, that the adverse party threw down their weapons, and relinquished the sentiments which they maintained before. Another heretical crew appeared at this time in the East, the impious and abominable Sect of the *Helcesaitæ*, against whom also *Origen* seems to have been engaged, concerning whom himself <sup>a</sup> gives us this account. They rejected a great part both of the Old and New Canon, making use onely of some few parts of Scripture, and such without question as they could make look most favourably upon their cause. *S. Paul* they wholly rejected, and held that it was lawful and indifferent to deny the faith; and that he was the wise man, that in his words would renounce Christianity in a time of danger and Persecution, but

<sup>a</sup> *Homil. in  
Psalm. 82. ap.  
Euseb. libid. c.  
38. p. 233.*

maintain

maintain the truth in his heart. They carried a Book about with them which they affirmed to have been immediately dropt down from Heaven, which whoever received and gave credit to, should receive remission of sins, though different from that pardon which our Lord *Jesus* bestowed upon his followers. But how far *Origen* was concerned against this absurd and senseless generation, is to me unknown. The sect on't is, this Sect like a blazing Comet, though its influence was malignant and pestilential, suddenly arose, and as suddenly disappeared.

XXII. *PHILIP* the Emperour being slain by the Souldiers, *Decius* made a shift by the help of the Army to step into the Throne; a mortal enemy to the Church, in whose short reign more Martyrs, especially <sup>a</sup> *ibid. c. 39. p. 233.* men of note and eminency came to the Stake, then in those who governed that Empire ten times his reign. In *Palæstin* *Alexander* the aged and venerable Bishop of *Jerusalem* was thrown into prison, where after long and hard usage, and an illustrious confession of the Christian Faith before the public Tribunal, he died. This *Alexander* (whom we have often mentioned) had been first Bishop in *Cappadocia* <sup>b</sup>, where out of a <sup>c</sup> *ibid. c. 11. p. 212.* religious curiosity he had resolved upon a pilgrimage to *Jerusalem* to visit the holy and venerable Antiquities of that place, whereto he was particularly excited by a divine revelation intimating to him that it was the will of God that he should be assistant to the Bishop of that place. It happened at this time that *Narcissus* Bishop of *Jerusalem* being some years since returned to his See (which he had deserted many years before) was become incapable through his great age and infirmity (being CXVI. years old) duly to manage his charge. *Alexander* approaching near *Jerusalem*, they were warned by a Vision and a Voice from Heaven, to go out of the City, and there receive him whom Heaven had designed to be their Bishop. They did so, and finding *Alexander*, entertained and introduced him with all possible kindness and respect, where by the importunity of the People, and the consent of all the neighbour-Bishops, he was constrained to become Colleague with *Narcissus* in the government of that Church. This I suppose is the first express instance that we meet with in Church-antiquity of two Bishops sitting at once (and that by consent) in one See. But the case was warranted by an extraordinary authority; besides that, *Narcissus* seems rather to have resigned and quitted the place, retaining nothing but the title, nor intermeddling any further, then by joining in prayers and devotions for the good of the Church, surviving not above three or four years at most. *Alexander* succeeding in the sole Presidency, governed his Church with singular prudence and fidelity, and among other memorable acts, erected a Library at *Jerusalem* <sup>d</sup>, which he especially stored <sup>e</sup> *ibid. c. 11. p. 212.* with Ecclesiastical Epistles and Records, from whence *Eusebius* confesses <sup>f</sup> he furnished himself with many considerable *Memoirs* and materials for the composing of his History. He sat Bishop XXXIX. years, and after several arraignments and various imprisonments and sufferings, died now in prison at *Cæsarea*, to the unconceivable loss and resentment of the whole Church, and especially of *Origen*, who had been ordained by him, and whom he had ever found a fast Friend and Patron. Nor did *Origen* himself, who was at this time at *Tyre*, escape without his share. *Eusebius* does but briefly intimate his sufferings, having given a larger account of them in another Book, long since lost, he tells <sup>g</sup> us <sup>h</sup> *ibid. c. 11. p. 212.* that the Devil mustered up all his Forces against him, and assaulted him <sup>i</sup> with

with all his Arts and Engins, singling him out above all others of that time to make him the object of his utmost rage and fury. He was cast into the bottom of a loathsome and uncomfortable dungeon, loaded with irons, a chain about his neck, his feet set in the Stocks, with his legs stretched four holes distant from each other many days together; he was threatened with fire, and tried with all the torments that a merciless enemy could inflict. Which meeting with a person of his age, and a body broken with such and so many cares and labours, must needs render it a very heavy burden. And yet he bore all with a generous patience, and was ready to submit to the last fatal stroke, but that the Judge to give all possible accents to his misery, ordered them so to torment him, that they should not kill him.

XXIII. HUMANE Councils and resolutions, when most active and violent, yet *he that is higher than the highest* can over-rule them, and there be that are higher than they. His enemies had hitherto exercised him only with preparatory cruelties, reserving him for a more solemn execution. But God, to whom belongs the issues from death, prevented their malice, and made way for him to escape, which in all probability was effected by the death of *Decius*, who was cut off, when he had reigned two years and an half. Being delivered out of prison, <sup>a</sup> he improved his time to pious purposes, comforting the weak and the disconsolate, and writing Letters to that end up and down the World. Some few years he out-lived the *Decian* Persecution, and died at *Tyre* about the first year of *Valerian*. Indeed *Eusebius* intimates that he departed this life about the beginning of *Gallus* his reign. But I cannot see how that can stand: for seeing elsewhere he positively affirms that he was seventeen years old at the time of his Fathers Martyrdom, *Ann. CCII.* his death must happen the first of *Valerian*, *Ann. Chr. CCLIV.* which falls in with the sixty ninth year of his age, in which *Eusebius* tells us he left this World. Otherwise he could not be more than *LXVII.* years old, whereas none make him less than *LXIX.* <sup>b</sup> *Pamphilus* the Martyr, and some others, from the relation of those that had seen him, report that an honourable Martyrdom put a period to his life, when *Decius* raised the Persecution at *Cæsarea*. But besides that <sup>c</sup> *Epiphanius* expressly denies that he died a Martyr, others (as *Photinus* adds, and among them *Eusebius* <sup>d</sup> and *S. Hierom*) tell us, that he continued till the time of *Gallus* and *Volusian*, and being sixty nine years old died, and was buried at *Tyre*. Which, as he observes, must needs be so, seeing he wrote many Epistles after the *Decian* Persecution. And probable it is, that *Pamphilus* meant it, or at least his mistake thence arose, of that great and glorious confession, a preparatory Martyrdom, which he made under the reign of *Decius*, which he survived two or three years, peaceably ending his days at *Tyre*, where his body found a place of rest, and where in a great Church dedicated to the memory of our Saviours Sepulchre, behind the high Altar his Remains were laid up, as the tradition <sup>e</sup> of the last Age informs us. Nay long before that *Brocard* the Monk tells us that when he was there, he saw his Tomb, and read his Epitaph; and before both <sup>f</sup> *William*, who was himself Archbishop of *Tyre*, reckons *Origen's* Tomb among the Monuments and venerable Antiquities of that City, his marble Monument being adorned with Gold and precious Stones.

XXIV. HAVING thus brought this great man to his Grave, let us a little

little look back upon him, and we shall find him a more than ordinary person. His life was truly strict and philosophical <sup>a</sup>, and an admirable instance of discipline and virtue; such as his discourses were, such were his manners, and his life the image of his mind: that wife and good man, whom he was wont to describe in his Lectures to his Scholars (as one <sup>b</sup> of the most eminent of them assure us) he himself had first formed, and drawn in the example of his own life. He had a mighty regard to the glory of God, and the good of souls, whose happiness he studied by all ways to promote, and thought nothing hard, nothing mean or servile that might advance it. He was modest and humble, chaste and temperate; so exemplary his abstinence and sobriety, that he lived upon what was next door to nothing, for many years <sup>c</sup> abstaining from Wine, and every thing but what was absolutely necessary for the support of life, till by too much abstinence he had almost ruined his health, and endangered the weakning of Nature past recovery. Singular his contempt of the World, literally making good that precept of our Lord to his Disciples, not to have *two Cloaks*, to provide *no Shoes*, nor to be anxiously careful for to morrow. When many out of consideration of his unwearied diligence would have communicated part of what they had towards his necessities, he would not, but rather then be needlessly burdensome to any, sold his Library, agreeing with the buyer to allow him four *oboli*, or five pence, for his daily maintenance. His diligence in study, in preaching, writing, travelling, confuting Heathens and Heretics, composing schisms and differences in the Church was indefatigable, upon which account the titles of *Adamantius* and *Chalcenterus* are supposed by the Ancients to have been given to him, nothing but an industry of Brass and Iron being able to hold out under such infinite labours. The day he spent part in fasting, part in other religious exercises and employments; the night he bestowed upon the study of the Scripture, reserving some little portion for sleep and rest, which he usually took not in bed, but upon the bare ground. This admirably exercised and advanced his patience, which he improved by further austerities, fasting, and enduring cold and nakedness, studying standing, and for many years together going barefoot, remitting nothing of his rigours and hardships, notwithstanding all the counsels and persuasions of his friends, who were troubled at the excessive severities of his life, Whereby notwithstanding he gained upon men, and converted many of the *Gentile* Philosophers, famous for learning and Philosophy, not only to the admiration but imitation of himself.

XXV. VIEW him in his natural parts and acquired abilities, and he had a quick piercing apprehension, a strong and faithful memory, an acute judgment, a ready utterance. All which were adorned and accomplished with a prodigious furniture of learning, and all the improvements which *Rome* or *Greece* could afford; being incomparably skilled (as <sup>d</sup> *S. Hierom* and <sup>e</sup> *Snidas* observes) both in *Gentile* and *Christian* learning, *Logic*, *Geometry*, *Arithmetic*, *Musick*, *Philosophy*, *Rhetoric*, and the several sentiments and opinions of all the Sects of Philosophy, and who always entertained his Auditors with something above common observation. So great the force and acuteness of his parts (says *Vincentius Lerinensis* <sup>f</sup>) so profound, quick and elegant, that none could come near him: so vast his stock of all sorts of Learning, that there were few corners of divine, and perhaps none of humane Philosophy,

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<sup>a</sup> Ap. Euseb. l. 6. c. 19. p. 220.  
<sup>b</sup> I. Holsten. de vit. & script. Porphyry. c. 6. p. 27.

<sup>c</sup> ubi sup. p. 256. vid. Ruffin. Apol. pro Orig. inter Oper. Hier. T. 4. p. 197.

<sup>d</sup> Loc. citat.

<sup>e</sup> Consur. de Oper. Orig.

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. Ep. ad Joan. Hierosol. ap. Hieron. T. 2. p. 158.  
<sup>g</sup> Euseb. Antioch. dissert. de Augustinum. adv. Oryg. inter. Crit. S. Tom. 8. col. 441. 453.

which he had not accurately, searched into; and when the *Greeks* could lead him no further, with an unparallel'd industry he conquered the language and learning of the *Jews*. But no other character need be given him then what *Porphyry* <sup>a</sup>, who knew him, (though a learned man <sup>b</sup>, who from that passage in *Eusebius* makes him to have been his Scholar, proceeds doubtless upon a great mistake) and was an enemy, bestows upon him, that he was held in very great esteem in those times, and had purchased a more than ordinary glory and renown from the greatest Masters which Christianity then had in the World, and that under the discipline of *Ammonius* he attained to an admirable skill in Learning and Philosophy. The monuments and evidences whereof (as he there observes) were the Books and Writings which he left behind him, considerable not for their Subjects onely, but their multitude, arising to that vast number, that *Epiphanius* <sup>c</sup> tells us, it was commonly reported that he wrote six thousand Volumes: The greatest part of which being understood of Epistles, and single Homilies, the account will not be above belief, nor give any just foundation for *Rufinus* and *S. Hierom* to wrangle so much about it, the latter of whom point-blank denies, that ever himself read, or that *Origen* himself wrote so many. <sup>d</sup> *Vincentius* affirms, that no man ever wrote so much as he, and that all his Books could not onely not be read, but not so much as be found out by any. So that it was not without reason that antiquity fastned the title of *Syntacticus*, or the *Composer* upon him, his innumerable Discourses upon all sorts of Subjects justly appropriating that title to him. His Books were of old enumerated by many, and digested into their proper Classes, whether *Scholia*, short strictures upon obscure difficult places, *Homilies* and *Tomes*, as the Ancients divided them; or *Exegetica* and *Syntagma*, under which rank some Modern Writers comprehend them, the greatest part whereof though they have long since perished through the carelessness and ill will of succeeding Times, yet does a very large portion of them still remain. His phrase and way of writing is clear and unaffected, fluent and copious. <sup>e</sup> *Erasmus* gives a high *encomium* of it, preferring it before most other Writers of the Church, that it is neither turgid and lofty, like that of *S. Hilary*, flying above the reach of ordinary Readers; nor set off with gaudy and far-fetched ornaments, like that of *S. Hierom*; nor abounding with flowers of Rhetoric, and smart witty sentences, like that of *S. Ambrose*; nor over-seasoned with tart and satirical reflections, and obscured with obsolete and antiquated terms, as that of *Tertullian*; nor superstitious in the curious and accurate structure of its several parts, like that of *S. Gregory*; nor running out into large digressions, nor affecting a chiming cadency of words, like that of *St. Augustin*: but always brisk and lively, easie and natural. But when he commends it for its conciseness and brevity, he certainly forgot himself, or mistook (and what wonder he should, when tis like he took his measures not so much from the Original as Translations.) For his stile though it be generally plain and perspicuous, yet is it diffusive and luxuriant, flowing with plenty of words, which might be often spared, and therefore charged by some of his critical adversaries that he did *infinita verba multiplicare* <sup>f</sup>, multiply an infinite crowd of words: and that <sup>g</sup> *Ευσταθ. Antioch. dissert. de Augustinum. adv. Oryg. inter. Crit. S. Tom. 8. col. 441. 453.* *καφολογία περιχρήσας ἀπειροπληθείᾳ τῷ λόγῳ*, he filled the World with a company of needles and idle words, which he unmeasurably poured out, and that he did *φλυαρεῖα πολλῇ παντολογεῖν*, exceedingly trifle with

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vain tautologies and repetitions. A censure wherein envy and emulation must be supposed to have had the predominant and over-ruling stroke. For though abounding with words, he was always allowed to be eloquent, for which *Vincentius* highly commends him, affirming his phrase to be so sweet, pleasant, and delightful, that there seemed to him to have dropt not words so much as honey from his mouth. <sup>ubi sup.</sup>

XXVI. BUT that alas, which has cast clouds and darkness upon all his glory, and buried so much of his fame in ignominy and reproach, is the dangerous and unsound doctrines and principles which are scattered up and down his writings, for which almost all Ages without any reverence to his parts, learning, piety, and the judgment of the wisest and best of the times he lived in, have without any mercy pronounced him Heretic, and his sentiments and speculations rash, absurd, pernicious, blasphemous, and indeed what not. The alarm began of old, and was pursued with a mighty clamour and fierceness, especially by *Methodius* Bishop of *Olympus*, *Eustathius* of *Antioch*, *Apollinaris*, *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, and *Epiphanius*; and the cry carried on with a loud noise in after-ages, infomuch that the very mention of his name is in the *Greek* Church abominable at this day. I had once resolved to have considered the chief of those notions and principles for which *Origen* is so heavily charged by the Ancients, but superseded that labor, when I found that the industry of the learned *Monsieur Huet* in his *Origeniana* had left no room for any to come after him, so fully, so clearly, so impartially, with such infinite variety of reading has he discussed and canvassed this matter, and thither I remit the learned and capable Reader. And for those that cannot or will not be at the pains to read his large and excellent Discourses, they may consult nearer hand the ingenious Author of the *Letter of Resolution concerning Origen, and the chief of his opinions*; <sup>Edit. Lond. 1661. 4.</sup> where they will find the most obnoxious of his *dogmata* reckoned up, and the Apologies and Defences which a sincere lover of *Origen* might be supposed to make in his behalf, and these pleas represented with all the advantages with which Wit, Reason, and Eloquence could set them off.

XXVII. NOR wanted there of old those who stood up to plead and defend his cause, especially *Pamphilus* the Martyr, and *Eusebius* who published an *Apology* in six Books in his behalf; the first five whereof were written by *Pamphilus* with *Eusebius* his assistance, while they were in prison, the last finished and added by *Eusebius* after the others Martyrdom. Besides which, <sup>a</sup> *Photinus* tells us there were many other famous men in those times, who wrote Apologies for him, he gives us a particular account <sup>b</sup> of one, though without a name, where in five Books the Author endeavours to justify *Origen* as sound and Orthodox, and cites <sup>c</sup> *Dionysius*, *Demetrius*, and *Clemens*, all of *Alexandria*, and several others to give in evidence for him. The main of these Apologies are perished long ago, otherwise probably *Origen's* cause might appear with a better face, seeing we have now nothing but his notions dressed up and glossed by his professed enemies, and many things ascribed to him which he never owned, but were coined by his pretended followers. For my own part, I shall onely note from the Ancients some general remarques, which may be pleaded in abatement of the rigour and severity of the sentence usually passed upon him. And first, many things were said and written by him, not positively and dogmatically, but *χρημαστικῶς*, <sup>d</sup> says the Author of his *Apology* in *Photinus*, by way of exercitation; <sup>ibid. col. 296.</sup>

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tion; and this he himself was wont to plead at every turn, and to beg the Readers pardon, and profess that he propounded these things not as Doctrins, but as disputable Problems, and with a design to search and find out the truth, as *Pamphilus* assures us, and *S. Hierom* himself cannot but confess: and if we had the testimony of neither, there is enough to this purpose in his Books still extant, to put it beyond all just exception. Thus discoursing concerning the union of the two natures in the person of our blessed Saviour, he affirms it to be a mystery which no created understanding can sufficiently explain; concerning which (says he) not from any rashness of ours, but onely as the order of Discourse requires, we shall briefly speak rather what our Faith contains, then what humane Reason is wont to assert, producing rather our own conjectures, then any plain and peremptory affirmations. And to the same purpose he expresses himself at every turn. Not to say that he wrote many things in the heat of disputation, which it may be his cooler and more considering thoughts would have set right. So the Apologist in *Photius*<sup>d</sup> pleads, that whatever he said amiss in the doctrine of the Trinity, proceeded meerly from a vehement opposition of *Sabellius*, who confounded the number and difference of persons, and whose Sect was one of the most prevailing Heresies of that time. The confutation whereof made him attempt a greater difference and distinction in the persons, then the rules of Faith did strictly allow. Secondly, those Books of his, wherein he betrays the most unsound and unwarrantable notions, were written privately, and with no intention of being made public, but as secrets communicable among friends, and not as doctrines to disturb the Church. And this he freely acknowledged in his Letter to *Fabian* Bishop of *Rome*, and cast the blame upon his friend *Ambrosius*, quod secreto edita in publicum protulerit, that he had published those things which he meant should go no further then the breasts or hands of his dearest friends. And there is always allowed a greater freedom and latitude in debating things among friends, the secrets whereof ought not to be divulged, nor the Public made Judges of that innocent liberty which is taken within mens private walls. Thirdly, the disallowed opinions that he maintains are many of them such as were not the Catholic and determined Doctrins of the Church, not defined by Synods, nor disputed by Divines, but either Philosophical, or Speculations which had not been thought on before, and which he himself at every turn cautiously distinguishes from those propositions which were entertained by the common and current consent and approbation of the Christian Church. Sure I am he lays it down as a fundamental maxim, in the very entrance upon that Book, wherein his most dangerous assertions are contained, that those Ecclesiastic Doctrins are to be preserved, which had been successively delivered from the Apostles, and were then received, and that nothing was to be embraced for truth that any ways differed from the tradition of the Church.

XXVIII. FOURTHLY, Divers of *Origen's* works have been corrupted and interpolated by evil hands, and Heretics to add a lustre and authority to their opinions by the veneration of so great a name, have inserted their own assertions, or altered his, and made him speak their language. An argument which however laughed at by *S. Hierom*, is yet stiffly maintained by *Rufinus*, who shews this to have been an old and common art of Heretics, and that they dealt thus with the writings of

<sup>a</sup> Apolog. ap. Hieron. Tom. 4. p. 172.

<sup>b</sup> Ad Advit. p. 151. Tom. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Theod. 2. c. 6. p. 1058.

<sup>d</sup> Cod. CXVII. col. 296.

<sup>e</sup> Pamph. Apol. ubi sup. p. 174. 177.

<sup>f</sup> Ap. Hieron. in Epist. ad Pam. mach. de err. Orig. p. 153. T. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Pref. ad lib. Theod. 2. c. 6. p. 665.

<sup>h</sup> Ad Pam. mach. ubi sup. <sup>i</sup> Apol. pro Orig. apud Hier. Tom. 4. p. 194, 195. <sup>j</sup> Eccl. 2. c. 6. <sup>k</sup> Pref. ad lib. Theod. 2. c. 6. p. 188.

of *Clemens Romanus*, of *Clemens*, and *Dionysius of Alexandria*, of *Athanasius*, *Hilary*, *Cyprian*, and many more. *Dionysius* the famous Bishop of *Corinth*, who lived many years before *Origen*, assures us he was served at this rate; that at the request of the brethren he had written several Epistles, but that the Apostles and emissaries of the Devil had filled them with weeds and tares, expunging some things, and adding others. The Apologist in *Photius* tells us *Origen* himself complained of this in his life time; and so indeed he does in his Letter to them of *Alexandria*, where he smartly resents that charge of blasphemy had been ascribed to him and his doctrine, of which he was never guilty, and that it was less wonder if his doctrine was adulterated, when the great *S. Paul* could not escape their hands; he tells them of an eminent Heretic, that having taken a Copy of a dispute which he had had with him, did afterwards cut off, and add what he pleas'd, and change it into another thing, carrying it about with him, and glorying in it. And when some friends in *Palestin* sent it to him then at *Athens*, he returned them a true and authentic Copy of it. And the same foul play he lets them know he had met with in other places, as at *Ephesus* and at *Antioch*, as he there particularly relates. And if they durst do this while he was yet alive, and able (as he did) to right himself, what may we think they would do after his death, when there were none to controul them? And upon this account most of those assertions must especially be discharged, wherein *Origen* is made to contradict himself, it being highly improbable (as *Rufinus* well urges) that so prudent and learned a person, one far enough from being either fool or mad man, should write things so contrary and repugnant to one another. And that not only in divers, but in one and the same Book.

XXIX. I might further observe his constant zeal against Heretics, his opposing and refuting of them wherever he came both by word and writing, his being sent for into foreign Countries to convince gainayers, his professing to abominate all heretical doctrines, and his refusing so much as to communicate in prayer with *Paul* the Heretic of *Antioch*, though his whole maintenance did depend upon it. And methinks it deserves to be considered, that *Athanasius* in all the heat of the *Arrian* controversies (then whom certainly none was ever more diligent to search out heretical persons and opinions, or more accurate in examining and refuting the chief of those doctrines, that are laid at *Origen's* door) should never charge him upon that account. Nay he particularly quotes him to prove our Lords coeternity and coessentiality with the Father exactly according to the decisions of the *Nicene* Synod, dismissing him with the honourable character of *σωμεινός & φιλοπονώτατος*, the most admirable, and infinitely industrious person. Nor is there any heterodox opinion of his, that I know of, once taken notice of in all his works, but only that concerning the duration of future torments, and that too but obliquely mentioned. Whence I am apt to conclude, either that *Origen's* writings were not then so notoriously guilty, or that this great man, and zealous defender of the Churches doctrine (who being Bishop of *Alexandria* could not be ignorant of what *Origen* had taught or written, nay assures us, he had read his Books) did not look upon those dangerous things that were in them, as his sense. And indeed so he says expressly; that what things he wrote by way of controversy and disputation, are not to be looked upon as his own words and

<sup>a</sup> Ap. Euseb. II. Eccl. 1. c. 23. p. 145.

<sup>b</sup> Ubi sup.

<sup>c</sup> Ap. Rufin. in Tom. 4. p. 195.

<sup>d</sup> Loc. cit. p. 194.

<sup>e</sup> Decret. Synod. Nic. contr. Heres. Arrian. p. 277. T. 1. vid. de Blasph. in S. S. p. 971. & Socr. H. E. l. 6. c. 13. p. 320.

<sup>f</sup> De Com. essent. Patr. F. & S. S. p. 236. T. 1.

\* Socrat. H.  
Eccl. l. 6. c. 12.  
p. 319.

b Euseb. H.  
Eccl. l. 6. c. 3.  
p. 108, 109.

c Ap. Euseb.  
contr. Marcell.  
l. 1. p. 23.

d Ad Pammach.  
de error. Orig. p.  
192. Tom. 2.

sentiments, but as those of his contentious adversaries whom he had to deal with, which accordingly in the passages he cites he carefully distinguishes from Origen's own words and sense. To all which I may add, that when the controversy about the condemnation of his Books was driven on most furiously by Theophilus and Epiphanius, Theotimus the good Scythian Bishop plainly told Epiphanius, that for his part he would never so much dishonour a person so venerable for his piety and antiquity, nor durst he condemn what their Ancestors never rejected, especially when there were no ill and mischievous Doctrines in Origen's Works; therewithall pulling out a Book of Origen's, which he read before the whole Convention, and shewed it to contain Expositions agreeable to the Articles of the Church. With these two excellent persons let me join the judgment of a Writer of the middle Ages of the Church, Haymo Bishop of Halberstadt, who speaking of the things laid to Origen's charge: "For my part (says he) saving the faith of the Ancients, I affirm of him, either that he never wrote these things, but that they were wickedly forged by Heretics, and fathered upon his name; or if he did write them, he wrote them not as his own judgment, but as the opinion of others. And if, as some would have it, they were his own sentiments, we ought rather to deal compassionately with so learned a man, who has conveyed so vast a treasury of Learning to us. What faults there are in his Writings, those orthodox and useful things which they contain, are abundantly sufficient to overbalance."

XXX. THIS and a great deal more is, and may be pleaded in Origen's defence. And yet after all it must be confessed, that he was guilty of great mistakes, and rash propositions, which the largest charity cannot excuse. He had a natural warmth and fervor of mind, a comprehensive wit, an insatiable thirst after knowledge, and a desire to understand the most abstruse and mysterious speculations of Theology, which made him give himself an unbounded liberty in inquiring into, and discoursing of the nature of things, he wrote much, and dictated apace, and was engaged in infinite variety of business, which seldom gave him leisure to review and correct his writings, and to let them pass the censure of second and maturer thoughts; he traded greatly in the writings of the Heathens, and was infinitely solicitous to make the doctrines of Christianity look as little unlike as might be to their best and beloved notions. And certainly what Marcellus Bishop of Ancyra long since objected against him, is unquestionably true (notwithstanding what Eusebius has said to save it) that coming fresh out of the philosophic Schools, and having been a long time accurately trained up in the principles and books of Plato, he applied himself to divine things, before he was sufficiently disposed to receive them, and fell upon writing concerning them, while secular learning had yet the predominancy in his mind, and so unwarily mingled philosophic notions with Christian principles, further than the analogy of the Christian faith would allow. And I doubt not but whoever would parallel his and the Platonic principles, would find that most of the *weisay* *διδασκαλία* he is charged with, his master-notions were brought out of the School of Plato, as the above mentioned Huetius has in many things particularly observed. S. Hierom himself (whom the torrent of that time made a severe enemy to Origen) could but have so much tenderness for him, even in that very Tract<sup>b</sup> wherein he passes the

the deepest censures upon him, after he had commended him for his parts, zeal, and strictness of life; "Which of us (says he) is able to read so much as he has written? who would not admire the ardent and sprightly temper of his mind towards the holy Scriptures? But if any envious Zealot shall object his errors to us, let him freely hear what was said of old:

— Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.  
Verum opere in longo fas est obrepere somnum.

Horat. de Art.  
Poet. v. 359.  
p. 815.

In a long Work each slip the Censors Rod  
Does not deserve. Homer does sometimes nod.

"Let us not imitate his Faults, whose Vertues we cannot reach. Others both Greeks and Latines have erred in the faith as well as he, whom it's not necessary to name, lest we might seem to defend him, not by his own merit, but by the mistakes of other men. To all that has been hitherto said, I may add this, that suppose him guilty of as pestilent and dangerous errors as the worst of his enemies lay to his charge, yet he afterwards repented of what he had rashly and unadvisedly written, as appears by his Epistle to Fabian Bishop of Rome. And is it not intolerable rudeness and incivility at least, perpetually to upbraid and reproach a man with the faults of his past life, and which he himself has disowned? Sorrow for what is past in some measure repairs the breach, and Repentance must be allowed next door to Innocence."

\* Ap. Hier. ubi  
supr. p. 153. vid.  
Russ. Invelt. I.  
in Hieron. inter  
oper. Hier. T. 4.  
p. 219. Primus  
felicitatis gra-  
dus est, non  
delinquere:

Secundus, delicta cognoscere. Illic currit innocentia integra & illibata que servat, hic succedit medela que sanat.  
Cyp. ad Cornel. Epist. 55. p. 83.

His Writings mentioned by the Ancients, and which of them extant at this day.

Homiliarum mysticarum in Genes. Lib. II.	In Psalmos } Commentarii. Homiliae. Scholia.
Commentar. in Genes. Lib. XIII.	
Extant Latine Homiliae XVII.	Ext. Lat. in Psalm. 36. Hom. V. in
Commentar. Tomi in Exodum.	Psalm. 37. Hom. II. in Psalm. 38.
Ext. Latine Homiliae XII.	Hom. II.
Scholia in Leviticum	In Proverbia Salom. Commentar.
Ext. Homiliae XVI.	Explicatio Ecclesiastis.
In Numeros extant Lat. Homiliae XXVIII.	In Canticum Cantic. Commentarii.
In Deuteronomium Homiliae.	Ext. Lat. Homiliae II.
In Lib. Jesu Nave ext. Homil. XXVI	In Esaiam } Commentar. Libri XXX. Homiliae XXV. Scholia.
Lat.	
In Lib. Judicum ext. Hom. IX. Lat.	Ext. Lat. Homiliae IX.
In I. Lib. Regum Homil. IV.	In Jeremiam Homiliae XLV.
In Lib. II. extat Homilia una.	Extant Gr. Lat. Homil. XVII.
In Lib. Paralipom. Homil. I.	In Threnos Tomi IX.
In duos Esdrae Libros Homiliae.	In Ezechielem Tomi XXV.
In Lib. Job Tractatus.	Ext. Lat. Homil. XIV.

In

*In Daniele* Expositio.  
*In XII. Prophetas* Tomi XXV.  
*In Matthæum* { *Comment. Lib. XXV.*  
                   *Homiliæ XXV.*  
                   *Scholia.*  
*Ext. Gr. Lat. Tomi VII.*  
*In Lucam* *Commentar. Tomi V.*  
*Ext. Lat. Homiliæ XXXIX.*  
*In Joannem* *Commentar. Tom. XXXII.*  
*Ext. Gr. Lat. Tom. IX.*  
*In Acta Apostolorum* *Homil. aliquot.*  
*In Epistolam ad Romanos* *Explicationum Lib. XX.*  
*Ext. Lat. Libri X.*  
*In I. ad Corinthios* *Commentarii.*  
*In Epist. ad Galatas* { *Commentarii.*  
                               *Homiliæ.*  
                               *Scholia.*  
*In Epist. ad Ephes. Comment. Lib. III.*  
*In Epist. ad Coloss. Commentarii.*  
*In I. ad Thess. Vol. (ut minimum) III.*  
*In Epist. ad Titum.*  
*In Epist. ad Hebræos* { *Commentarii*  
                               *Homiliæ.*  
*Tetrapla.*  
*Hexapla.*  
*Octapla.*  
*Commentarii in Veteres Philosophos.*  
*De Resurrectione Libri II.*  
*De Resurrectione Dialogi.*  
*Stromateum Libri X.*

*Disputationes cum Beryllo.*  
*Περὶ ἀρχῶν, seu de Principiis Lib. IV.*  
*Ext. Lat.*  
*Contra Celsum Lib. VIII. Ext. Gr. L.*  
*De Martyrio. Ext. Gr. L.*  
*Homil. de Engastrimytho. Ext. Gr. L.*  
*De Oratione. Ext. Gr. Ms.*  
*Philocalia de aliquot præcipuis Theologia locis & questionibus ex Origenis scriptis à S. Basilio & Gregor. Naz. excerptis, cap. XXVII. ext. Gr. L.*  
*Epistolæ fere infinitæ, ex his hodie ext.*  
*Epistola ad Jul. Africanum de Histor. Susanna, Gr. L.*  
*Epistola ad Gregorium Thaumaturgum. Ext. Gr. L. in Philocalia. Doubtful.*  
*Dialogus contra Marcionitas, de recta in Deum fide. Ext. Gr. L. Supposititious.*  
*In Libri Job Tract. III. & Comment. in eundem.*  
*Commentarius in Evangel. S. Marci. Homiliæ in diversos.*  
*De Philosophorum Sectis & dogmatibus.*  
*Lamentum Origenis.*  
*Scholia in Orationem Dominicam, & in Cantica B. Virginis, Zachariæ, & Simeonis.*

The End of ORIGEN's Life.


THE

THE LIFE OF  
**S. BABYLAS**  
 BISHOP OF  
**ANTIOCH.**



His Originals obscure. His education and accomplishments enquired into. Made Bishop of Antioch, when. Antioch taken by the King of Persia. Recovered by the Roman Emperour. Babylas his fidelity in his charge.

The Decian Persecution, and the grounds of it: severely urged by the Emperours Edicts. Decius his coming to Antioch. His attempt to break into the Christian Congregation. Babylas his bold resistance. This applied to Numerianus, and the ground of the mistake. The like reported of Philip the Emperour. Decius his bloody act related by S. Chrysostom. His rage against Babylas, and his examination of him. The Martyrs resolute answer. His imprisonment and hard usage. The different accounts concerning his death. Three Youths his fellow-sufferers, in vain attempted by the Emperour. Their Martyrdom first, and why. Babylas beheaded. His command that his chains should be buried with him. The translation of his body under Constantius. The great sweetness and pleasantness of the Daphne. Apollo's Temple there. S. Babylas his bones translated thither by Gallus Cæsar. The Oracle immediately rendered dumb. In vain consulted by Julian. The confession of the Demon. Julian's command for removing Babylas his bones. The Martyrs Remains triumphantly carried into the City. The credit of this Story sufficiently attested. The thing owned by Libanius and Julian. Why such honour suffered to be done to the Martyr. Julian afraid of an immediate vengeance. His Persecution against the Christians at Antioch. The sufferings of Theodorus. The Temple of Apollo fired from Heaven.

I.  O great and general is the silence of Church-Antiquity in the Acts of this holy Martyr, especially the former part of his life, that I should wholly pass him over, did not his latter times furnish us with some few memorable passages concerning him. His Countrey, Parents, Education, and way of life, are all unknown, as also whether he was born and bred a Gentile, or a Christian. No doubt he was trained up under the advantages of a liberal and ingenuous education, living in places that opportunely ministered unto it, and in times when none but men of known parts and eminency both for Learning and Piety were advanced to the Government of the Church: and when great measures of Arts and Learning were not onely commendable, but necessary, both to feed and preserve the Flock of God, to resist and convince gain-sayers, and to defend Christianity against the attempts both of secret and open Enemies. For as the Christian Church never wanted professed Adversaries from without, who endeavoured both by Sword and Pen to stifle and suppress its growth, nor pretended Friends from within, who by Schisms and Heresies disturbed its Peace, and tore out its very Bowels; so never were these more predominant then in those Times, and parts of the World wherein this good man lived.

II. ANN. Chr. CCXXXIX. Gordian Imper. I. died. Zebinus Bishop of Antioch, in whose room Babylas succeeded. He was a stout and prudent Pilot, who (as S. Chrysostom<sup>b</sup> says of him) guided the holy Vessel of that Church in the midst of Storms and Tempests, and the many Waves that beat upon it. Indeed in the beginning of his Presidency over that Church he met not with much trouble from the Roman Powers, the old Enemies of Christianity, but a fierce storm blew from another quarter. For Sapor King of Persia had lately invaded the Roman Empire, and having over-run all Syria, had besieged and taken Antioch, and so great a

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. II. Eccl. Hist. c. 29. p. 229.  
<sup>b</sup> Homil. de S. Babyl. p. 64. Tom. I.

<sup>c</sup> Capitol. in Gordian. III. c. 26 p. 669.

dread did his Conquests strike into all parts, that the terrour of them flew into Italy, and startled them even at Rome itself. He grievously oppressed the People of Antioch, and what treatment the Christians there must needs find under so merciless and insolent an Enemy (at no time favourable to Christians) is no hard matter to imagine. But it was not long before God broke this yoke from off their necks. For Gordian the Emperour raising a mighty Army, marched into the East, and having cleared the Countries as he went along, came into Syria, and went directly for Antioch, where he totally routed the Persian Army, recovered Antioch and the conquered Cities, and gained some considerable places belonging to Sapor, whom he forced to retire back into his own Countrey: of all which he gives an account in a<sup>\*</sup> Letter to the Senate, who joyfully received the news, and decreed him a triumph at his return to Rome.

III. THE Church of Antioch being thus restored to its former tranquillity, Babylas attended his charge with all diligence and fidelity, instructing, feeding, and governing his Flock, preparing both young and old to undergo the hardest things, which their Religion might expose them to, as if he had particularly foreseen that black and dismal Persecution that was shortly to overtake them. Having quietly passed through the reign of Philip (who was so far from creating any disturbance to the Christians, that he is generally, though groundlessly, supposed to have been a Christian himself) he fell into the troublesome and stormy times of Decius, who was unexpectedly advanced, and in a manner forced upon the Empire. One, whose character might have passed among none of the worst of Princes, if he had not so indeleibly stained his memory with his outrageous violence against the Christians. The main cause whereof the generality of Writers, taking the hint from Eusebius<sup>a</sup>, make to have been hatred to his Predecessor Philip, a Christian, as they account him, and whom he resolved to punish in his spleen and malice against them. But methinks much more probable is the account which Gregory Nyssen<sup>b</sup> gives of this matter, viz. the large spread and triumphant prevalency of the Christian Faith, which had diffused itself over all parts, and planted every corner, and filled not Cities onely, but Countrey Villages; the Temples were forsaken, and Churches frequented, Altars overthrown, and Sacrifices turned out of doors. This vast increase of Christianity, and great declension of Paganism, awakened Decius to look about him: he was vexed to see the Religion of the Empire trodden under foot, and the worship of the gods every where slighted and neglected, opposed and undermined by a novel and upstart Sect of Christians, which daily multiplied into greater numbers. This made him resolve with all possible force to check and control this growing Sect, and to try by methods of cruelty to weary Christians out of their Profession, and to reduce the People to the Religion of their Ancestors. Whereupon he issued out Edicts to the Governours of Provinces, strictly commanding them to proceed with all severity against Christians, and to spare no manner of torments, unless they returned to the obedience and worship of the gods. Though I doubt not but this was the main Spring that set the rage and malice of their enemies on work, yet Cyprian<sup>c</sup> like a man of great piety and modesty, seeks a cause nearer home, ingenuously confessing, that their own sins had set open the Flood-gates for the divine displeasure to break in upon them, while

<sup>a</sup> H. Eccl. I. 6. c. 39. p. 234.

<sup>b</sup> De vit. Greg. Thaum. p. 999. Tom. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Epist. VII. p. 16.

Pride, and Self-seeking, Schism and Faction reigned so much among them, the very Martyrs themselves, who should have been a good example unto others, casting off the order and discipline of the Church; and being swelled with so vain and immoderate a tumor, it was time God should send them a thorn in the flesh to cure it.

IV. THE Provincial Governours forward enough to run of themselves upon such an errand, made much more haste, when they were not onely encouraged, but threatned into it by the Imperial Edicts, so that the Persecution was carried on in all parts with a quick and a high hand, concerning the severity whereof we shall speak more elsewhere. At present it may suffice to remarque that it swept away many of the most eminent Bishops of the Church, *Fabian* Bishop of *Rome*, *Alexander* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, and several others. Nor was it long before it came to *S. Babylas* his door. For *Decius* probably about the middle of his reign, or some time before his *Thracian* expedition, wherein he lost his life, came into *Syria*, and so to *Antioch*, to take order about his affairs that concerned the *Persian* War. I confess his coming into these parts is not mentioned in the *Roman* Histories, and no wonder, the accounts of his life either not having been written by the *Historie Auguste Scriptores*, or if they were, having long since perished, and few of his Acts are taken notice of in those Historians that yet remain. However the thing is plainly enough owned by Ecclesiastical Writers. While\* he continued here, either out of curiosity, or a design to take some more plausible advantage to fall upon them, he would needs go into the Christian Congregation, when the public Assembly was met together. This *Babylas* would by no means give way to, but standing in the Church Porch, with an undanted courage and resolution opposed him, telling him, that as much as lay in his power, he would never endure that a Wolf should break in upon Christs Sheepfold. The Emperour urged it no further at present, either being unwilling to exasperate the rage and fury of the People, or designing to effect it some other way. This passage there are, and *Nicephorus* among the rest, (with whom accord exactly the *Menæa* and *Menologies* of the *Greek* Church) that ascribe not to *Decius*, but *Numerianus* (whom *Suidas* his Translator corruptly styles *Marianus*) who reigned at least thirty years after. A mistake without any pillar or ground of truth to support it, there being at that time no *Babylas* Bishop of *Antioch*, whom all agree to have suffered under the *Decian* Persecution. And it is not improbable what *Baronius*\* conjectures, but the mistake might at first arise from this, that there was under *Decius* one *Numerius*, one of the Generals of the Army, a violent persecutor of the Christians, whom 'tis not to be doubted the first mistakers of the report confounded with *Numerianus*, and applied to him what belonged to the Emperour, under whom he served.

V. *EUSEBIUS* relates a like passage to this, but attributes it to the Emperour *Philip*, *Decius* his Predecessor, telling us, that when on the *Vigils* of *Easter* he would have gone with the rest of the Christians into the Church, to be present at their Prayers, the Bishop of the place would by no means suffer him, unless he would make public confession of his sins, and pass through the Order of the Penitents, for that he had been guilty of many hainous and enormous crimes, which he readily submitted to. But besides that, this is laid as the main foundation of *Philip's* falsely supposed Christianity, *Eusebius* justifies it by no better authority than

\* *Chrysost.* lib. de *S. Babyl.* Tom. 6. pag. 658. *Chrysost.* Philost. H. Eccl. l. 7. c. 8. p. 64. *Suid.* in voc. Βαβυλάς. *Niceph.* H. Eccl. l. 10. c. 28. p. 63.

\* *Ad Ann.* 253. n. CXXVI. *vid.* *S. Metaphr.* in *Martyr. S. Ifigen.* apud. *Sur.* *Feb.* V. p. 48.

<sup>b</sup> *H. Eccl.* l. 6. c. 34. p. 232.

then Fame and meer Report. And indeed stands alone in this matter. For though some of the Ancients referred it to *Numerian*, yet none but he entitled *Philip* to it. *S. Chrysostom* in a large *Encomiastic* (wherein he describes this Act of *Babylas* in all the colours wherein Wit and Eloquence could represent it, particularly equalling it with the spirit and freedom of *Elias* and *John the Baptist*) tells us, that when the Emperour made this attempt, he had newly washed his hands in innocent blood, having barbarously, and against the faith of his most solemn Oath, and the Laws of Nations, put to death the little Son of a certain King, whom his Father had given in hostage to secure a Peace made between them. This probably was either the son of some petty Prince in those parts, who entered into a League with him while he was at *Antioch*, or some young Prince of *Persia*, pawned as a pledge to ensure the Peace between those two Crowns, and whom he had no sooner received, but either to gratifie his cruelty, or else pretending some fraud in the Articles, he inhumanely butchered. The Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, tells us, and vouches *Leontius* Bishop of *Antioch* for the relation, that *Philip* (in the *Greek* is added δ' ἰστωρ, probably for δ' ἰστωρ, the surname of that Emperour, and not *Junior*, the Younger, as the Translator renders it, and elsewhere corrects it by Πρεσβύτερος, the Elder) being Governour of a Province in the reign of *Gordianus*, *Gordian* had committed the care of his young son to him, whom after his Fathers death he slew, and usurped the Empire: that being thus guilty of murder, though he was a Christian, yet *S. Babylas* would not admit him or his Wife into the Church; for which affront offered to so great persons, and not merely because he was a Christian himself, *Decius* afterwards put *S. Babylas* to death. A strange medley of true and false; as indeed 'tis the custom of that Author to confound times, things, and persons. However most evident it is from *Chrysostom*, that it was the same Emperour by whom this young Prince was murdered, and *S. Babylas* put to death, which could be no other then *Decius*; who with hands thus reeking in the blood of the innocent, would have irreverently rushed into the holy place of the Christian Sanctuary, where none but pure hands were lift up to Heaven.

VI. *DECIUS*, though for the present he dissembled his anger and went away, yet inwardly resented the affront, and being returned to the Palace, sent for *Babylas*, and having sharply expostulated with him for the boldness and insolency of the Fact, commanded him to do Sacrifice to the gods, assuring him that this was the onely expedient to expiate his crime, divert his punishment, and to purchase him honour and renown. The Martyr answered to all his enquiries with a generous confidence, despised his proffers, and defied his threats, told him, that as to the offence wherewith he charged him, he was obliged as a Pastor readily to do whatever was conducive to the benefit of his Flock; and for his command, he was resolved never to apostatize from the service of the true God and sacrifice to Devils, and those who falsely usurped the name and honour of Deities. The Emperour finding his resolutions firm and inflexible, gave order that chains and fetters should be clapt upon him, with which he was sent to prison, where he endured many severe hardships and sufferings, but yet rejoiced in his bonds, and was more troubled at the misery that attended him that sent him thither, then at the weight of his own chains, or the sharpness of those torments that

\* *ubi sup.* p. 655.

<sup>b</sup> *Olymp.* CCLVII. 4. *Decii* 1. *Incid.* XIV. p. 630. *vid. ibid.* p. 522.

<sup>c</sup> *Philost.* *Suid.* *ubi sup.*

<sup>d</sup> *Chrysost.* loc. cit. p. 667, 668. *martyr. Rom.* ad *Januar.* XXIV.

that were heaped upon him. So naturally does Christianity teach us to bless them that curse us, to pray for them that despitefully use and persecute us, and to overcome evil with good.

VII. THERE is some little difference in the accounts of the Ancients, concerning the manner of his Martyrdom. \* *Eusebius* and some others make him after a famous confession to die in Prison; while \* *Chrysostom* (whom I rather incline to believe in this matter, as more capable to know the Traditions and examine the Records of that Church) and *Suidas* affirm, that being bound he was led forth out of Prison to undergo his Martyrdom, the one plainly intimating, the other positively expressing it, that he was beheaded. The fatal sentence being passed, as he was led to execution, he began his Song of triumph, *Return unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with me.* Together with him were led along three Youths, Brothers, (whose names the *Roman Martyrology* \* tells us, were *Urbanus*, *Prilidianus*, and *Epolonius*) whom he had carefully instructed in the Faith, and had trained up for so severe a trial. The Emperour not doubting to prevail upon their tender years, had taken them from their Tutor, and treated them with all kinds of hardship and cruelty, as methods most apt to make impression upon weak and timorous minds. But perceiving them immovably determined not to sacrifice, he commanded them also to be beheaded. Being arrived at the place of execution, *Babylas* placed the Children first, giving them the precedence of Martyrdom, lest the spectacle of his bloody fate should relax their constancy, and make them desert their station. As the Officer was taking off their heads, he cried aloud, *Behold, I and the children which the Lord hath given me;* and after that laid down his own neck upon the Block, having first \* given order to his friends, to whom he had committed the care of his body, that his Chains and Fetters should be buried in the same grave with him, that they might there remain as Ensigns of honour, and the badges of his sufferings, and as evidences how much he accounted those things which seem most ignominious among men, to be for Christs sake most splendid and honourable: imitating therein the great *S. Paul*, who took pleasure in bonds, chains, imprisonments, reproaches, professing to rejoice and glory in nothing so much as in his sufferings, and in the Cross of Christ. Accordingly his chains were laid up with him in the Grave, where *Chrysostom* assures us they remained in his time.

\* *Chrysost.* *Suid.*  
*Martyr. Rom.*  
*ubi sup. cit.*

\* *Chrysost.* *ibid.*  
*p. 671. Sozom.*  
*l. 6. c. 19. p. 625.*  
*Niceph. l. 10.*  
*c. 28. p. 61.*

VIII. WHERE his body was first buried, we are not told; but wherever it was, there it rested till the reign of *Constantius*, when it had a more magnificent interment, which proved the occasion of one of the most remarkable occurrences that Church-antiquity has conveyed to us. There was a place in the Suburbs of *Antioch* called *Daphne*, a place that seemed to be contrived by nature on purpose as the highest Scene of pleasure and delight. It was a delicate Grove thick set with *Cypress*, and other Trees which according to the season afforded all manner of fruits and flowers. Furnished it was with infinite variety of shady Walks, the Trees joining their bushy heads forbad the approaches of the Sun to annoy and scorch them; watered with plenty of Crystal Fountains and pleasant Rivulets, the air cool and temperate, and the wind playing within the boughs of the Trees, added a natural harmony and delightful murmur. It was the usual Scene of the Poets amorous and wanton fancies, and indeed so great a temptation to in-

temperance

temperance and riot, that it was accounted scandalous for a good man to be seen there. But that which was the greatest glory of the place was a stately and magnificent Temple, said to be erected there by *Selenus* Father to *Antiochus*, who built *Antioch*, and by him dedicated to *Apollo Daphneus*, who also had a very costly and ancient Image placed within the Temple, where Oracles were given forth, which gave not the least addition to the renown and honour of it. And in this condition it remained, till *Gallus*, *Julian's* elder Brother, being lately created *Cesar* by his Cousin *Constantius*, was sent to reside at *Antioch*, to secure those frontier parts of the Empire against the incursions of the Enemy. He having a singular veneration for the memories of Christian Martyrs, resolved to purge this place from its lewd Customs and Pagan Superstitions. Which he thought he could not more effectually compass then by building a Church over against *Apollo's* Temple; which was no sooner finished and beautified, but he caused *S. Babylas* his Coffin to be translated thither.

IX. THE Devil it seems liked him not for so near a neighbour, his presence striking him dumb, so that henceforth not one syllable of an Oracle was given out. This silence was at first \* looked upon as the effect onely of neglect, that the sullen *Demon* would not answer, because he had not his usual tribute of Sacrifices, Incense, and other Ritual honours paid to him; but was found afterwards to arise from the neighbourhood of *S. Babylas* his ashes, which caused their second removal upon this occasion. *Julian* having succeeded *Constantius* in the Empire, came to *Antioch* in order to his expedition into *Persia*, and being intolerably overgrown with superstition, presently went up to *Apollo's* Temple, to consult \* the Oracle about the success of the War, and some other important affairs of the Empire, offering the choicest Sacrifices, and making very rich and costly Presents. But alas all in vain, his Prayers, and Gifts, and Sacrifices availed nothing, the *Demon* giving him to understand that the dead kept him from speaking, and that till the place was cleared from the Corps that lay hard by, he could return no answers by the Oracle. *Julian* quickly perceived his meaning, and though many dead bodies had been buried there, he suspected 'twas *Babylas* his Remains that were particularly aimed at, and therefore commanded the Christians to remove them thence. Who thereupon assembled in infinite numbers, persons of all Ages and Sexes, and laying the Coffin upon an open Chariot, brought it into the City with the most solemn triumph, singing Psalms of joy all the way they went; and at the end of every period, adding this tart stinging Verse, *Confounded be all they that worship carved Images.*

\* *Chrysost.* *p. 674*  
& *Scriptures* *supra*  
*citat.*

\* *Chrysost.* *Homil.*  
*de S. Babyl.* *p.*  
*644. & l. de*  
*S. Babyl.* *p. 671,*  
*677, 679. Soz.*  
& *Niceph.* *ubi*  
*sup. citat. l. 3.*  
*c. 18. p. 191.*  
*Theodor. H. E. l.*  
*3. c. 10. p. 132.*  
*Conf. Philost.*  
*loc. sup. citat.*

X. THE Reader 'tis like may be apt to scruple this story, as favouring a little of superstition, and giving too much honour to the Reliques of Saints. To which I shall say no more, then that the credit of it seems unquestionable, it being reported not onely by *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret* (who all lived very near that time) but by *Chrysostom*, who was born at *Antioch*, and was a long time Presbyter of that Church, and was Scholar there to *Libanius* the *Sophister* at that very time when the thing was done, and an eye-witness of it, and who not onely preached the thing, but wrote a Discourse against the *Gentiles* upon this very Subject, wherein he appeals \* to the knowledge both of young and old then alive, who had seen it, and challenges them to stand up, and con-

\* *Vid. lib. citat.*  
*p. 654. & Hom.*  
*de Bab. p. 641.*  
\* *Ibid.* *p. 676.*

tradict,

\* Monod. sup.  
Apoll. Janon  
igni exst. p.  
185.

b. Nicapog p. 96.

c. Ibid. p. 581.

\* Lib. 23. p.  
1641.

d. Sacr. c. 19. p.  
191. Socr. &  
Theod. ibid.

tradict, if they could, the truth of what he related. Nay, which further puts the case past all peradventure, \* *Libanius* the Orator evidently confesses it, when he tells us, that *Apollo Daphneus*, though before neglected and forgotten, yet when *Julian* came with Sacrifices and Oblations to kiss his foot, he appeared again in his Rites of Worship, after that he had been freed from the unwelcom neighborhood of a certain dead man, who lay hard by, to his great trouble and disturbance. And *Julian* himself<sup>b</sup> tells the Christians that he had sent back *ὁ νεκρὸς τῆς Δαφνῆς*, their dead man that had been buried in *Daphne*. Nor is it improbable that God should suffer such an extraordinary passage to happen, especially at this time, to demonstrate the vanity of the Gentile Religion, to correct the infidelity of the Emperour, and to give testimony to that Religion, which he scorned with so much insolence and sarcasm, and pursued with so much vigour and opposition. If any enquire why *Julian* should so far gratifie the Christians, as to bestow the Martyrs bones upon them, and suffer them to convey them with so much pomp and honour into the City, and not rather scatter the ashes into the air, throw them into the fire, or drown the Coffin in the River? \* *Chrysostom* answers, that he durst not, he was afraid lest the divine vengeance should overtake him, lest a thunderbolt from heaven should strike him, or an incurable disease arrest him, as such kind of miserable fates had overtaken some of his predecessors in the height of their activity against the Christians, and he had lately seen sad instances of it that came very near him; his Uncle *Julian* Præfect of the East, a petulant scorner and apostate derider of Christians, who having broken into the great Church at *Antioch*, had treated their Communion Plate with the greatest irreverence and contempt, throwing it upon the ground, spurning, and sitting upon it, and after all carrying it away into the Emperours Exchequer, was immediately seized with a loathsome disease, which I am not willing to mention, which within a few days, in spite of all the Arts of Physic, put an end to his miserable life. And *Ælix* the Treasurer, a man of the same spirit and temper, and engaged with him in the same design, coming up to the Palace, on a sudden fell down upon the top of the steps and burst asunder. *Ammianus Marcellinus* \* himself confessing that he died of a sudden Flux of blood. Others there were, who about that time came to wretched and untimely ends, but these two onely are particularly noted by *Chrysostom*. Examples, which 'tis probable had put an awe and restraint upon him.

XI. BUT evil men wax worse, and worse. *Julian*, however awed at present, yet his rage quickly found a vent, which all his Philosophy could not stop. Vexed<sup>d</sup> to see the Christians pay so solemn a veneration to the Martyr, and especially stung with the hymns which the Christians sung, the very next day he gave order against the advice of his Privy Council, to *Salust* the Præfect, to persecute the Christians, many of whom were accordingly apprehended, and cast into Prison. And among the rest one *Theodorus* a Youth, was caught up in the streets, and put upon the Rack, his flesh torn off with iron Pincers, scourged and beaten, and when no tortures could shake his constancy, or so much as move his patience, he was at length dismissed. *Rufinus* afterwards met with this *Theodorus*, and asking him whether in the midst of his torments he felt any pain, he told him, at first he was a little sensible, but that one in the shape of a young man stood by him, who gently wiped off the sweat from

from his face, refreshed him with cold water, and supported his spirit with present consolations, so that his Rack was rather a pleasure than a torment to him. But to return.

XII. HEAVEN shewed it self not well pleased with the proceedings of the Emperour. For immediately the Temple of *Apollo* in the *Daphne* took fire, which in a few hours burnt the famed image of the god, and reduced the Temple, excepting onely the Walls and Pillars, into ashes. This the Christians ascribed to the divine vengeance, the Gentiles imputed it to the malice of the Christians; and though the Priests and Warders of the Temple were racked to make them say so, yet could they not be brought to affirm any more, then that it was fired by a light from Heaven. This conflagration is mentioned not onely by Christian Writers, but by \* *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and by <sup>b</sup> *Julian* himself, but especially by *Libanius* the Orator, who in an Oration on purpose made to the People, elegantly bewails its unhappy fate; whose Discourse *S. Chrysostom* takes to task, and makes witty and eloquent remarques upon it. If the Reader ask what became of *Babylas* his Remains after all this noise and bustle, they were entombed within the City in a Church dedicated to his name and memory, and in after-Ages are said<sup>c</sup> to have been translated (by some Christian Princes, probably, during their Wars in the holy Land) to *Cremona* in Italy, where how oft they have been honourably reposed, and with how much pomp and ceremonious veneration they are still entertained, they who are curious after such things may enquire.

### The End of S. BABYLAS's Life.

THE LIFE OF  
**S. CYPRIAN**  
 BISHOP OF  
 CARTHAGE.



*Michx, Buegh, del. et sculp.*

**S. CYPRIANUS CARTHAGINENSIS**

*His Birth-place. The Nobility of his Family exploded. The confounding him with another Cyprian Bishop of Antioch. These two vastly distinct. S. Cyprian's education. His professing Rhetoric. His conversion to Christianity*

stianity by the persuasions of Cæcilius. Their mutual endearment. His great charity to the Poor. His Baptism. Made Presbyter, and Bishop of Carthage. His modest declining the honour. His proscription, recess, and care of his Church during that retirement. The case of the Lapsed. A brief account of the rise of the Novatian Sect. The fierceness of the Persecution at Carthage under Decius. The courage and patience of the Christians. Cyprian's return. A Synod at Carthage about the case of the Lapsed, and the cause of Novatian. Their determination of these matters. Ratified by a Synod at Rome: and another at Antioch. A second Synod about the same affair. Moderation in the Ecclesiastical Discipline used in the time of Persecution. The great Pestilence at Carthage. The miserable state of that City. The mighty charity of S. Cyprian and the Christians at that time. These evils charged upon the Christians. S. Cyprian's vindication of them. The time of baptizing Infants determined in a Synod. Another Synod to decide the case of the Spanish Bishops that had lapsed in the time of Persecution. The Controversie concerning the Rebaptizing those who had been baptized by Heretics. This resolved upon in a Synod of LXXXVII. African Bishops. The immoderate heats between Cyprian, Firmilian, and Stephen Bishop of Rome about this matter. Cyprian arraigned before the Proconsul. His resolute carriage. His banishment to Curubis. His Martyrdom foretold him by a Vision. His Letters during his exile. The severe usage of the Christians. His withdrawalment, and why. His apprehension and examination before the Proconsul. The sentence passed upon him. His Martyrdom, and place of burial. His piety, fidelity, chastity, humility, modesty, charity, &c. His natural parts. His learning wherein it mainly consisted. The politeness and elegance of his stile. His quick proficiency in Christian studies. His frequent converse with Tertullian's Writings. His Books. The excellency of those ascribed to him. The great honours done to his memory.

i.



**I**ASCIVS Cæcilius Cyprian was born at Carthage, in the declining part of the foregoing *Sæculum*, though the particular year cannot be ascertained. Who or what his Parents were is unknown. \*Cardinal Baronius (not to mention others) makes him descended of a rich honourable Family, and himself to have been one of the chief of the Senatorian Order; and this upon the authority of Nazianzen, who indeed af-

firms it; but then certainly forgot that in very few lines before he had exploded as a fabulous mistake, the confounding our Cyprian with another of the same name, of whom Nazianzen unquestionably meant it. For besides our *Carthaginian* Cyprian, there was another born at *Antioch*, a person of great learning and eminency, who travelled through *Greece*, *Phrygia*, *Egypt*, *India*, *Chaldea*, and where not? famous for the Study and the Arts of *Magic*, by which he sought to compass the affections of *Justina*, a noble Christian Virgin at *Antioch*, by whose prayers and endeavours he was converted, baptized, made first *Sexton*, then *Deacon* of that Church, was indued with miraculous powers, and afterwards consecrated Bishop of that Church, (though I confess I find not his name in the Catalogue of the Bishops of that See, drawn up by *Nicephorus* of *Constanti-*

\* Ad Ann. 250. n. V. vid. not. ad Martyrol Rom. Sept. XXVI. p. 600. † Orat. in laud. S. Cypri. p. 275.

*Constantinople*) and at last having been miserably tormented at *Antioch*, was sent to *Dioctesian* himself then at *Nicomedia*, by whose command together with *Justina*, sent thither also at the same time from *Damascus*, he was beheaded. The History of all which was largely described in three Books in Verse, written by the noble Empress *Eudocia*, the excerpta whereof are still extant in *Photius*. This account *Simcon* the *Metaphrast*, *Nicephorus* and the later *Greeks* without any scruple attribute to S. Cyprian of Carthage, nay some of them make him to suffer Martyrdom under the *Decian* Persecution. Though in the whole mistake the more to be pardoned, in that not only *Prudentius*, but *Nazianzen* had long before manifestly confounded these two eminent persons, who finding several passages of the *Antiochian Cyprian* very near a kin to the other, carried all the rest along with them, as two persons very like are oft mistaken the one for the other. To prove that our Cyprian was not him described by *Nazianzen*, were a vain and needless attempt, the accounts concerning them being so vastly different, both as to their Countrey, Education, manner of Life, Episcopal charge, the time, place, and companions of their death, that it is plainly impossible to reconcile them: But of this enough.

II. S. CYPRIAN's education was ingenuous<sup>b</sup>, polished by Study<sup>c</sup> and the Liberal Arts, though he principally addicted himself to the Study of Oratory and Eloquence, wherein he made such vast improvements, that publicly and with great applause he taught Rhetoric at *Carthage*. All which time he lived in great pomp and plenty, in honour and power, his garb splendid, his retinue stately; never going abroad (as himself tells us<sup>d</sup>) but he was thronged with a crowd of Clients and Followers. The far greatest part of his life he passed among the errors of the *Gentile* Religion, and was at least upon the borders of old Age when he was rescued from the Vassalage of inveterate Customs, the darkness of Idolatry, and the errors and vices of his past life, as himself intimates in his Epistle to *Donatus*. He was converted to Christianity by the arguments and importunities of *Cæcilius*<sup>e</sup> a Presbyter of *Carthage*, a person whom ever after he loved as a friend, and revered as a father. And so mutual an endearment was there between them, that Cyprian in honour to him assumed the title of *Cæcilius*; and the other at his death made him his Executor, and committed his Wife and Children to his sole care and tutelage. Being yet a *Catechumen*<sup>f</sup>, he gave early instances of a great and generous piety: professed a strict and severe temperance and sobriety, accounting it one of the best preparations for the entertainment of the truth, to subdue and tread down all irregular appetites and inclinations. His estate, at least the greatest part of it, he sold, and distributed it among the necessities of the Poor, at once triumphing over the love of the World, and exercising that great duty of Mercy and Charity, which God values above all the Ritual Devotions in the World. So that by the speedy progress of his piety (says *Pontius* his Friend and Deacon) he became almost a perfect Christian, before he had learnt the rules of Christianity.

III. BEING fully instructed in the rudiments of the Christian Faith, he was baptized<sup>h</sup>, when the mighty assistances which he received from above, perfectly dispelled all doubts, enlightened all obscurities, and enabled him with ease to do things, which before he looked upon as impossible to be discharged. Not long after, he was called to the inferior

<sup>a</sup> Cod. CXXXIV col. 416.

<sup>b</sup> Pont. Diac. in vit. Cypri. non longe ab init.

<sup>c</sup> Hier. de script. in Cypriano.

<sup>d</sup> Ad Donat. Epist. 1. p. 2.

<sup>e</sup> ubi supra.

<sup>f</sup> Pont. ibid. p. 12.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. p. 11.

<sup>h</sup> Epist. 1. p. 2, 3.

Eccle-

Ecclesiastic Offices, and then advanced to the degree of Presbyter, wherein he so admirably behaved himself, that he was quickly summoned to the highest order and honour in the Church. *Donatus* his immediate predecessor in the See of *Carthage* (as his own words seem to imply) being dead, the general vogue both of Clergy and People (*Felicissimus* the Presbyter and some very few of his party only dissenting<sup>b</sup>) was for *Cyprian* to succeed him. But the great modesty and humility of the man made him flee from the first approaches of the news, he thought himself unfit for so weighty and honourable an employment, and therefore desired that a more worthy person, and some of his Seniors in the Faith might possess the place. His declining it did but set so much the keener an edge upon the desires and expectations of the People; his doors were immediately crowded, and all passages of escape blocked up; he would indeed have fled out at the window, but finding it in vain, he unwillingly yielded, the People in the mean while impatiently waiting, divided between hope and fear, till seeing him come forth, they received him with an universal joy and satisfaction. This charge he entered upon *Ann. CCXLVIII.* as himself plainly intimates, when in his Letter to *Cornelius* he tells him he had been four years Bishop of *Carthage*: which Epistle was written not long after the beginning of *Cornelius* his Pontificat, *Ann. CCLI.* It was the third Consulship of *Philip* the Emperour; a memorable time, it being the thousandth year *ab Urbe Condita*, when the *Ludi Seculares* were celebrated at *Rome* with all imaginable magnificence and solemnity. Though indeed it was then but the declining part of the *Annus Millefimus*, which began with the *Palilia*, about *April XXI.* of the foregoing year, and ended with the *Palilia* of this: whence in the ancient coins of this Emperour these *Secular Sports* are sometimes ascribed to his second, sometimes to his third Consulship, as commencing in the one, and being compleated in the other.

IV. THE entrance upon his Care and Government was calm and peaceable, but he had not been long in it before a storm overtook him, and upon what occasion I know not, he was publicly proscribed by the name of *Cacilius Cyprian Bishop of the Christians*, and every man commanded not to hide or conceal his goods. And not satisfied with this, they frequently called out, that he might be thrown to the Lions. So that being warned by a divine admonition and command from God (as he pleads for himself<sup>c</sup>) and least by his resolute defiance of the public sentence he should provoke his adversaries to fall more severely upon the whole Church, he thought good at present to withdraw himself, hoping that malice would cool and die, and the fire go out when the fuel that kindled it was taken away. During this recess, though absent in body, yet was he present in spirit, supplying the want of his presence by Letters, (whereof he wrote no less than XXXVIII) by pious counsels, grave admonitions, frequent reproofs, earnest exhortations, and especially by hearty prayers to Heaven for the welfare and prosperity of the Church. That which created him the greatest trouble, was the case of the *lapsed*, whom some Presbyters without the knowledge and consent of the Bishop, rashly admitted to the communion of the Church upon very easy terms. *Cyprian*, a stiff asserter of Ecclesiastic Discipline, and the rights of his place, would not brook this, but by several Letters not only complained of it, but endeavoured to reform it,

not

not sparing the Martyrs themselves, who presuming upon their great merits in the cause of Religion, took upon them to give *Libels of Peace* to the *lapsed*, whereby they were again taken into communion, sooner than the Rules of the Church did allow.

V. THIS remissness of Discipline, and easy admission of Penitents, gave occasion to *Novatus*, one of the Presbyters of *Carthage* to start aside, and draw a Faction after him, denying any place to the *lapsed*, though penitent, in the peace and communion of the Church; not that they absolutely excluded them the mercy and pardon of God (for they left them to the sentence of the divine Tribunal) but maintained that the Church had no power to absolve them that once *lapsed* after Baptism, and to receive them again into communion. Having sufficiently imbroiled the Church at home (where he was in danger to be excommunicated by *Cyprian* for his scandalous, irregular, and unpeaceable practices) over he goes with some of his party to *Rome*, where by a pretence of uncommon sanctity and severity, besides some Confessors lately delivered out of Prison, he seduced *Novatianus* (who by the Greek Fathers is almost perpetually confounded with *Novatus*) a Presbyter of the Roman Church, a man of an insolent and ambitious temper, and who had attempted to thrust himself into that Chair. Him the Party procures by clancular Arts and uncanonical means to be consecrated Bishop, and then set him up against *Cornelius*, lately ordained Bishop of that See, whom they peculiarly charged with holding a communion with *Trophimus* and some others of the *Thuriscati*, who had done sacrifice in the late Persecution. Which though plausibly pretended, was yet a false allegation; *Trophimus* and his Party not being taken in, till by great humility and a public penance they had given satisfaction to the Church, nor he then suffered to communicate any otherwise than in a Lay-capacity. Being disappointed in their designs, they now openly shew themselves in their own colours, separate from the Church, which they charge with looseness and licentiousness in admitting scandalous offenders, and by way of distinction, styling themselves *Cathari*, the pure undefiled Party, those who kept themselves from all society with the *lapsed*, or them that communicated with them. Hereupon they were on all hands opposed by private persons, and condemned by public Synods, and cried down by the common Vote of the Church, probably not so much upon the account of their different sentiments and opinions in point of pardon of sin, and Ecclesiastical penance (wherein they stood not at so wide a distance from the doctrine and practice of the early Ages of the Church) as for their insolent and domineering temper, their proud and surly carriage, their rigorous and imperious imposing their way upon other Churches, their taking upon them by their own private authority to judge, censure and condemn those that joined not with them, or opposed them, their bold devesting the Governours of the Church of that great power lodged in them, of remitting crimes upon repentance, which seem to have been the very soul and spirit of the *Novatian* Sect.

VI. IN the mean while the Persecution under *Decius* raged with an uncontrolled fury over the African Provinces, and especially at *Carthage*, concerning which *Cyprian* every where gives large and sad accounts, whereof this the sum. They were scourged, and beaten, and racked, and roasted, and their flesh pulled off with burning pincers, beheaded with swords, and run through with spears, more instruments

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Epist. 55. ad Antonian. p. 66.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 69.

<sup>c</sup> Epist. 53. p. 75. Epist. 7. p. 16. Epist. 8. p. 19. lib. ad Demetr. p. 200.

of

of torment being many times employed about the man at once, then there were limbs and members of his body: they were spoiled and plundered, chained and imprisoned, thrown to wild Beasts, and burnt at the stake. And when they had run over all their old methods of execution, they studied for more, *excogitat novas penas ingeniosa crudelitas*, as he complains. Nor did they only vary, but repeat the torments, and where one ended another began; they tortured them without hopes of dying, and added this cruelty to all the rest, to stop them in their journey to heaven; many who were importunately desirous of death, were so tortured, that they might not die, they were purposely kept upon the Rack, that they might die by piece-meals, that their pains might be lingering, and their sense of them without intermission, they gave them no intervals, or times of respite, unless any of them chanced to give them the slip and expire in the midst of torments. All which did but render their faith and patience more illustrious, and make them more earnestly long for Heaven. They tired out their tormentors, and overcame the sharpest engines of execution, and smiled at the busy Officers that were raking in their wounds, and when their flesh was wearied, their faith was unconquerable. The multitude beheld with admiration these heavenly conflicts, and stood astonished to hear the servants of Christ in the midst of all this with an unshaken mind making a free and bold confession of him, destitute of any external succour, but armed with a divine power, and defending themselves with *the shield of Faith*.

VII. TWO full years S. Cyprian had remained in his retirement, when the Persecution being somewhat abated by the death of *Decius*, he returned to *Carthage*, *An. CCLI.* where he set himself to reform disorders, and to compose the differences that disturbed his Church. For which purpose he conven'd a Synod of his neighbor-Bishops to consult about the cause of the *lapsed*. Who were no sooner met, but there arrived Messengers with Letters from *Novatian*, signifying his Ordination to the See of *Rome*, and bringing an accusation and charge against *Cornelius*. But the men no sooner appeared, but were disowned, and rejected from Communion, especially after that *Pompeius* and *Stephanus* were arrived from *Rome*, and had brought a true account and relation of the case. The Synod therefore advised and charged them to desist from their turbulent and schismatical proceedings, not to rend the Church by propagating a pernicious Faction, that it was their best way and the safest counsel they could take to shew themselves true Christians, by returning back to the Peace of the Church. As for the *lapsed*, having discussed their case according to the Rules of the holy Scripture, they concluded upon this wise and moderate expedient, that neither all hopes of Peace and communion should be denied them, lest looking upon themselves as in a desperate case, they should start back into a total apostacy from the Faith, nor yet the censures of the Church be so far relaxed, as rashly to admit them to Communion: but that the causes being examined, and regard being had to the will of the Delinquents, and the aggravations of particular cases, their time of penance should be accordingly prolonged, and the divine clemency be obtained by acts of a great sorrow and repentance. Their meaning is, that the *lapsed* being of several sorts, should be treated according to the nature of their crimes; the *Libellatici*, who had only purchased libels of security and dismissal from the Heathen Magistrate to excuse them from doing sacrifice in time of Persecution, should

<sup>a</sup> Ad Cornel.  
Epist. 41. p. 55.

<sup>b</sup> Ad Anton.  
Epist. 52. p. 67.

should have a shorter time of penance assigned them, the *Sacrificati*, who had actually sacrificed to Idols, should not be taken in till they had expiated their offence by a very long penance, and (as they sometimes call it) *satisfaction*. This Synodical determination <sup>a</sup> was presently sent to *Rome*, and ratified by *Cornelius* and a Council of sixty Bishops, and above as many Presbyters and Deacons, concluding (and the Decree examined, assented to, and published by the Bishops in their several Provinces) that *Novatus* and his insolent Party, and all that adhered to his inhumane and merciless opinion, should be excluded the Communion of the Church; but that the Brethren who had fallen into that calamity, should be gently dealt with, and restored by methods of repentance. About the same time there was a Synod also held at *Antioch* by the *Eastern* Bishops about the same affair. For so *Dionysius* <sup>b</sup> Bishop of *Alexandria* in his Letter to *Cornelius* of *Rome*, tells him, that he had been summoned by *Helenus* Bishop of *Tarsus*, *Firmilian* of *Cappadocia*, and *Theodistus* of *Casarea* in *Palestine*, to meet in Council at *Antioch*, to suppress the endeavours of some, who sought there to establish the *Novatian* Schism.

VIII. THE next Year *May XV. Ann. CCLII.* began another <sup>c</sup> Council at *Carthage* about this matter, and wherein they steered the same course they had done before, being rather swayed to moderate counsels herein, because frequently admonished by divine revelations of an approaching Persecution, and therefore did not think it prudent and reasonable, that men should be left naked and unarmed in the day of battle, but that they might be able to defend themselves with the shield of Christ's body and blood. For how should they ever hope to persuade them to shed their own blood in the cause of Christ, if they denied them the benefit of his blood? how could it be expected they should be ready to drink of the cup of Martyrdom, whom the Church debarred the privilege to drink of the cup of Christ? While peace and tranquillity smiled upon the Church, they protracted the time of penance, and allowed not the *Sacrificati* to be readmitted, but at the hour of death. But that now the enemy was breaking in upon them, and Christians were to be prepared and heartened on for suffering, and encouragement to be given to those who by the sincerity of their repentance had shewed themselves ready to resist unto blood, and to contend earnestly for the Faith. This they did not to patronize the Lazy, but excite the Diligent, the Churches Peace being granted not in order to ease and softness, but to conflict and contention. And if any improved the indulgence to worse purposes, they did but cheat themselves, and such they remitted to the divine Tribunal. At this Synod appeared one *Privatus*, who having some years since been condemned for Heresie and other crimes by a Council of XC. Bishops, desired that his cause might be heard over again, but was rejected by the Synod, whereupon gathering a Party of the *lapsed*, or the Schismatics, he ordained at *Carthage* one *Fortunatus* Bishop, giving out that no less than five and twenty Bishops were present at the consecration. But the notorious falsehood and vanity of their pretences being discovered, they left the place and fled over to *Rome*.

IX. ABOUT this time happened that miserable Plague, that so much afflicted the *Roman* World, wherein *Carthage* had a very deep share. <sup>d</sup> Vast multitudes were swept away every day, the fatal Messenger

<sup>a</sup> Id. ibid. Enstib.  
l. 6. c. 43. p. 242.

<sup>b</sup> Ap. Enstib. H.  
Eccle. l. 6. c. 46.  
p. 247.

<sup>c</sup> Epist. Synod.  
ad Cornel. Ep.  
54. p. 76. &  
Ep. 55. p. 82.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 83.

<sup>e</sup> Post D. l. c. in  
vit. Cypri. p. 13.

senger knocking as he went along at every door. The streets were filled with the carcasses of the dead, which seemed to implore the assistance of the living, and to challenge it as a right by the Laws of Nature and Humanity, as that which shortly themselves might stand in need of. But alas all in vain, every one trembled, and fled, and shifted for himself, deserted their dearest friends and nearest relations; none considered what might be his own case, nor how reasonable it was that he should do for another, what he would another should do for him, and if any staid behind, it was onely to make a prey. In this calamitous and tragic Scene, S. Cyprian calls the Christians together, instructs them in the duties of Mercy and Charity, and from the Precepts and Examples of the holy Scripture shews them what a mighty influence they have to oblige God to us; that it was no wonder if their charity extended onely to their own Party, the way to be perfect, and to be Christians indeed, was to do something more than *Heathens and Publicans, to overcome evil with good*, and in imitation of the divine benignity to *love our enemies*, and according to our Lords advice, to pray for the happiness of them that persecute us; that God constantly makes his Sun to rise, and his rain to fall upon the Seeds and Plants, not onely for the advantage of his own children, but of all other men; that therefore they should act as became the nobility of their new birth, and imitate the example of such a Father, who professed themselves to be his children. Persuaded by this and much more that he discoursed to the same effect, enough to convince the very *Gentiles* themselves, they presently divided their help according to each ones rank and quality. Those who by reason of poverty could contribute nothing to the charge, did what was infinitely more, personally laboured in the common calamity, an assistance infinitely beyond all other Contributions. Indeed every one was ambitious to engage under the conduct of such a Commander, and in a service wherein they might so eminently approve themselves to God the Father, and Christ the Judge of all, and in the mean time to so pious and good a Bishop. And by this large and abundant charity great advantage redounded not to themselves onely, who were *of the household of Faith*, but universally to all. And that he might not be wanting to any, he penned at this time his excellent Discourse *concerning Mortality*, wherein he so eloquently teaches a Christian to triumph over the fears of death, and shews how little reason there is excessively to mourn for those friends and relations, that are taken from us.

X. THIS horrible pestilence, together with the Wars which of late had, and even then did, over-run the Empire, the *Gentiles* generally charged upon the Christian Religion, as that for which the gods were implacably angry with the World. To vindicate it from this common objection, Cyprian addresses himself in a Discourse to *Demetrian* the *Proconsul*, wherein he proves that these evils that came upon the World, could not be laid at

the door of Christianity, assigning other reasons of them, and among the rest their wild and brutish rage against the Christians, which had provoked the deity to bring these calamities upon them, as a just punishment of their folly and madness in persecuting a Religion, so innocent and dear to heaven. The Persecution being over,

a controversy arose concerning the time of baptizing Infants, started espe-

Exoritur ultio violati nominis Christiani, & usquequo ad prostigandas Ecclesias edicta Decii ceciderunt, eatenus incredibilium morborum pestis extenditur. Nulla fere provincia Romana, nulla Civitas, nulla domus fuit, que non illa generali pestilentia correpta atque vastata sit. P. Orosius Hist. adv. Pagan. l. 7. c. 21. fol. 310. p. 2.

especially by *Fidus* an *African* Bishop, who asserted that Baptism was not to be administered on the third or fourth, but as Circumcision under the *Jewish* state to be deferred till the eighth day. S. Cyprian in a Synod of sixty six Bishops determined this question, that it was not necessary to be deferred so long, nor the grace and mercy of God to be denied to any as soon as born into the World; that it was their universal sentence and resolution, that none ought to be prohibited baptism and the grace of God; which as it was to be observed and retained towards all, so much more towards Infants and new born children. Not long after which, another Council was held by *Cyprian*, (importuned thereunto by the Bishops of *Spain*) to consult concerning the case of *Basilides* Bishop of *Asturica*, and *Martial* of *Emerita* in *Spain*, who had lapsed into the most horrible idolatry in the late Persecution, and yet still retained their places in the Church. The Synod resolved, that they were fallen from their Episcopal Order, and the very lowest degree of the Ministry, and that upon their repentance they were to be restored to no more than the capacity of *Laics* in the Communion of the Church.

XI. IN this Synod, or another called not long after, the famous contest about rebaptizing those who had been baptized by Heretics, received its first approbation. It had been sometime since by occasion of the *Montanists* and *Novatians* canvassed in the *Eastern* parts, thence it flew over to *Numidia*, by the Bishops whereof it had been brought before *Cyprian*, and the Council at *Carthage*, who determined that the thing was necessary to be observed, and that this was no novel sentence, but had been so decreed by his Predecessors, and the thing constantly practised and observed among them, as he assures them in the Synodical *Epistle* about this matter. Among others to whom they sent their Decrees, the Synod<sup>a</sup> especially wrote to *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome* (who had so far espoused the contrary opinion, as to excommunicate the Synod at *Iconium* for making the like determination) him they acquainted with the sentence they had passed, and the reasons of it, which they hoped he also would assent to, however did not magisterially impose it upon him, every Bishop having a proper authority within the jurisdiction of his own Church, whereof he is to render an account to God. Pope *Stephen* (with whom stood a great part of the Church) liked not their proceedings; whereupon a more general Council was summoned, where no less than LXXXVII. Bishops from all parts of the *African* Churches met together, who unanimously ratified the former sentence, whose names and particular votes are extant in the *Acts* of that Council. But numbers made the cause never the better resented at *Rome*, and indeed the controversy arose to that height between these two good men, that *Stephen* gave *Cyprian* very rude and unchristian language<sup>c</sup>, styling him *false Christ*, *false Apostle*, *deceitful worker*, and such like: while on the other hand *Cyprian* treated him with more than ordinary sharpness and severity, charging<sup>d</sup> him with pride and impertinence, and self-contradiction, with ignorance and indiscretion, with childishness and obstinacy, and other expressions, far enough from that reverence and regard, which S. *Stephen's* successors claim at this day. And no better usage did he find from *Firmilian* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, as may be seen in his Letter to *Cyprian*<sup>e</sup>, charging *Stephen* with sacrificing the Churches Peace to a petulant humour, where inhumanity, audaciousness, insolence, wickedness, are some of the characters bestowed

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Epist. Synod. ad Fid. Ep. 59. p. 94.

<sup>b</sup> Epist. 63. p. 112. & seq.

<sup>c</sup> Epist. 69. p. 117.  
<sup>d</sup> Epist. 72. p. 121.

<sup>e</sup> Apud Cyprian. p. 282. & Concil. Tom. 1. col. 785. Edit. no. 115.

<sup>f</sup> Firmil. Epist. ad Cyprian. p. 150.

<sup>g</sup> Ad Pampet. Epist. 74. p. 129.

<sup>h</sup> Apud Cyprian. p. 145.

upon him. A great instance how far passion and prejudice may transport wise and good men beyond the merits of the cause, and what the Laws of Kindness and Charity do allow. I note no more concerning this, then that *Cyprian* and his Party expressly disowned *Anabaptism*, or rebaptization, they freely confessed that there was but one Baptism, and that those who came over from Heretical Churches, where they had had their baptism, were not rebaptized, but baptized, their former baptism being *ipso facto* null and invalid, and they did then receive, what (lawfully) they had not before.

XII. IT was now the Year CCLVII. when *Aspasius Paternus* the Proconsul of *Africa* sent for *Cyprian* to appear before him, telling him, that he had lately received orders from the Emperours (*Valerian* and *Gallienus*) commanding that all that were of a Foreign Religion, should worship the gods according to the Roman Rites, desiring to know what was his resolution? *Cyprian* answered, *I am a Christian and a Bishop, I acknowledge no other gods, but one only true God, who made Heaven and Earth, and all that therein is. This is he whom we Christians serve, to whom we pray day and night, for our selves and for all men, and for the happiness and prosperity of the Emperours.* And is this then thy resolution? said the Proconsul. That resolution, replied the Martyr, which is founded in God, cannot be altered. Then he told him, that he was to search out the Presbyters as well as Bishops, requiring him to discover them. To which *Cyprian* gave no other answer, then that according to their own Laws, they were not bound to be Informers. The Proconsul then acquainted him, that he was commanded to prohibit all private Assemblies, and to proceed with capital severity against them that frequented them. Whereat the good man told him, that his best way was to do as he was commanded. The Proconsul finding 'twas in vain to treat with him, commanded him to be banished, and accordingly he was transported to *Curubis*, a little City standing in a Peninsula within the *Lycian* Sea, not far from *Pentapolis*; a place pleasant and delightful enough, and where he met with a kind and a courteous usage, was frequently visited by the brethren, and furnished with all conveniences necessary for him.

XIII. BUT the greatest entertainment in this retirement, were those divine and heavenly Visions with which God was pleased to honour him, by one whereof the very first day of his coming thither he was particularly forewarned of his approaching Martyrdom, whereof *Pontius* the Deacon, who accompanied him in his banishment, gives us this account from the Martyrs own mouth. There appeared to him as he was going to rest, a young man of a prodigious stature, who seemed to lead him to the *Prætorium* and to present him to the Proconsul then sitting upon the Bench: who looking upon him, began to write something in a Book, which the young man who looked over his shoulder, read, but not daring to speak, intimated by signs what it was: for extending one of his hands at length, he made a cross stroke over it with the other, by which *Cyprian* presently guessed the manner of his death. Whereupon he importunately begged of the Proconsul but one days respite to dispose his affairs, and partly by the pleasingness of the Judges countenance, partly by the signs which the young man made of what the Proconsul was noting in his Book, he immediately gathered that his request was granted. And just so it accordingly came to pass, both as to the time and

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manner of his Martyrdom, that very day twelve-moneth, whereon he had this vision, proving the period of his life.

XIV. HOW active and diligent he was to improve his opportunities to the best advantage, appears from the several Letters he wrote during his confinement, especially to the Martyrs in prison, whose spirit he refreshed by proper consolations, and pressed them to persevere unto the Crown. While he was here he had news brought him of the daily increase of the Persecution, the Emperor *Valerian* having sent a Rescript to the Senate, that Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons should be put to death without delay; that Senators, and persons of rank and quality should lose their honours and preferments, forfeit their estates, and if still they continued Christians, lose their heads; and that Matrons having had their goods confiscated, should be banished: that *Xystus* and *Quartus* had already suffered in the Cemetery, where their solemn assemblies were held; and that the Governours of the City carried on the Persecution with might and main, spoiling and putting to death all that they could meet with. This sad and uncomfortable news gave the good man just reason to expect and provide for his own fate, which he waited and wished for every day. Indeed some persons of the highest rank and quality his ancient friends came to him, and persuaded him for the present to withdraw, offering to provide a secure place for his retreat. But the desire of that Crown which he had in his eye, had set him above the World, and made him deaf to their kind offers and intreaties. True it is that when news was brought that the Officers were coming for him, to carry him to *Utica* to suffer there, by the advice of his friends he stept aside, being unwilling to suffer any where but at *Carthage*, in the eye of the people, where he had so long, and so successfully preached the Christian Faith, the truth whereof he was desirous to seal with his blood; it being very fit and congruous, that a Bishop should suffer for our Lord in that place where he had governed his Church, and by that eminent confession edifie and encourage the Flock committed to him, as he tells the People of his charge in the last Letter that ever he wrote. As for themselves, he advised them to peace and unity, not to create trouble to one another, not to offer themselves to the Gentiles, but if any was apprehended, to stand to it, and freely confess, as God should enable him to declare himself.

XV. *GALERIUS Maximus* the new Proconsul being returned to *Carthage*, *Cyprian* (who resolved but till then to conceal himself) came home, and took up his residence in his own Gardens. Where Officers were presently sent to apprehend him, who putting him into a Chariot, carried him to the place where the Proconsul was retired for his health, who commanded him to be kept till the next day, which was done in the house of one of the Officers that secured him, the People alarm'd with the news of his return and apprehension, flocking to the doors, and watching there all night. The next morning being *Septemb. XIV. Ann. Chr. CCLVIII.* he was led to the Proconsuls Palace, who not being yet come forth, he was carried aside into a by-place, where he rested himself upon a seat, which by chance was covered with a linnen cloth, that so (says my Author) even in the hour of his Passion he might enjoy some part of Episcopal honour. The length and hurry of his walk, had put the infirm and aged man into a violent sweat, which being observed by a Military Messenger, who had formerly been a Christian, he came to him

him and offered to accommodate him with dry linnen instead of that wet and moist that was about him: this he did in a pretended civility, but really with design to have secured some monument of the Martyrs last agony and labour, who returned no other answer, then, *We seek to cure complaints and sorrows, which perhaps to day shall be no more for ever.* By this time the *Proconsul* was come out, who looking upon him, said, *Art thou Thascius Cyprian, who hast been Bishop and Father to men of an impious mind? the sacred Emperours command thee to do sacrifice. Be well advised, and do not throw away thy life.* The holy Martyr replied, *I am Cyprian, I am a Christian, and I cannot sacrifice to the gods; do as thou art commanded; as for me, in so just a cause there needs no consultation.* The *Proconsul* was angry at his resolute constancy, and told him, that he had been a long time of this sacrilegious humour, had seduced abundance into the same wicked conspiracy with himself, and shewn himself an enemy to the gods and religion of the *Roman Empire*, one whom the pious and religious Emperours could never reduce to the observance of their holy Rites: that therefore being found to be the Author and Ring-leader of so hainous a crime, he should be made an example to those whom he had seduced into so great a wickedness, and that disciplin and severity should be established in his blood. Whereupon he read his sentence out of a Table-book, *I will that Thascius Cyprian be beheaded.* To which the Martyr onely answered, *I heartily thank Almighty God, who is pleased to set me free from the chains of the body.*

XVI. SENTENCE being passed, he was led away from the Tribunal with a strong guard of Souldiers, infinite numbers of people crouding after, the Christians weeping and mourning, and crying out, *let us also be beheaded with him.* The place of Execution was *Sextus* his Field, a large Circuit of ground, where the Trees (whereof the place was full) were loaded with persons to behold the Spectacle. The Martyr presently began to strip himself, first putting off his cloak, which he folded up, and laid at his feet, and falling down upon his knees, recommended his soul to God in prayer; after which he put off his *Dalmatic*, or under-coat which he delivered to the Deacons, and so standing in nothing but a linnen vestment, expected the headsmen, to whom he commanded

*Cum venisset Spiculator, iussit suis, ut eidem Spiculatori XXV. (alia Acta habent XX.) aureos darent. Act. Cypr. p. 18. Aureus sub imperatoribus Romanis valuit de nostro 155. sed sub Alexandro Severo primo cusi sunt Semissis Aurei (de nostro 75. 6 d.) & Tremissis Aurei, qui valuit de nostro 55. vid. Breviary. de Rom. cap. 14. de ultimo hunc ex Actis Cypriani locum intelligendum puto.*

the sum of about VI. pounds to be given, the Brethren spreading linnen cloths about him to preserve his blood from being spread upon the ground. His shirt sleeves being tied by *Julian* (or as one of the Acts calls him, *Tullian*) the Presbyter, and *Julian* the Sub-deacon, he covered his eyes with his own hand, and the Executioner did his Office. His body was by the Christians deposited not far off, but at night for fear of the *Gentiles*, removed, and with abundance of lights and torches solemnly interred in the Cemetery of *Macrobins Candidus* a *Procurator*, near the Fish-ponds in the *Mappalian* way. This was done *Ann. CCLVIII. Valeriani & Gallien. V.* so extravagantly wide is the account of the *Alexandrin Chronicle* (if it means the same person) when it tells us, that S. Cyprian suffered Martyrdom *Ann. Alexandri Imp. XIII.* that is *Ann. Chr. CCXXXIV.* though the *Consuls* under which he places it (and this agrees better with his other accounts, both of the *Olympiads*, and of *Christs Ascension*) assign it to the last year of *Maximinus*, *Ann. Chr. CCXXXVII.* for so he says, that

*Ann. 4. Olympiad. CCI III. indit. XIII. 526.*

that it was CCV. years after our Lords ascension into Heaven. Which was however far enough from truth. Indeed elsewhere he places S. Cyprian's Martyrdom *Valeriani II.* which (as appears by the *Consuls*) should be V. that is, *Ann. Chr. CCLVIII.* But it is no new thing with that Author to confound times and persons, and assign the same events to different years. Thus died this good man, the first Bishop of his See that suffered Martyrdom, as *Pontius* his Deacon informs us, who was a true lover of him, and followed him to the last, and professes himself not to rejoice so much at the glory and triumph of his Master, as to mourn that he himself was left behind.

XVII. S. CYPRIAN though starting late, ran apace in the Christian race. He had a soul inflamed with a mighty love and zeal for God, whose honour he studied by all ways to promote. A wise and prudent Governour, a great asserter of the Churches Rights, a resolute Patron and defender of the Truth, a faithful and vigilant Overseer of his flock, powerful and diligent in preaching, prudent in

*Quaecunque bona in multis libris tuis intulisti, nescius ipsum te nobis designasti: es enim omnibus in tractatu major, in sermone facundior, in consilio sapientior, in patientia simplicior, in operibus largior, in abstinentia sanctior, in obsequio humilior, & in actu bono innocentior. Nemes. &c. Martyr. Epist. ad Cypr. p. 157.*

his determinations, moderate in his counsels, grave and severe in his admonitions, pathetic and affectionate in his persuasives, indulgent to the Penitent, but inflexible to the obstinate and contumacious. Infinite pains he took to reclaim the lapsed, and to restore them to the Church by methods of penance and due humiliation: he invited them kindly, treated them tenderly; if their minds were honest, and their desires sincere, he would not rigorously examine their crimes by over-nice weights and measures; so prone to pity and compassion, that he was afraid lest he himself offended in remitting other mens offences. He valued the good of souls above the love of his own life, constant in the profession of Religion, from which neither by hopes nor fears could he be drawn aside. How strictly chaste and continent he was, even in his first entrance upon Christianity, we have noted in the beginning of his life. His humility eminently appeared in his declining the honour of the Episcopal Order, and desire that it might be conferred upon a more deserving person; and when some factious and schismatical persons traduced him as taking too much upon him, because he controlled their wild and licentious courses, he vindicates his humility at large in a Letter to *Pupianus*, who had made himself Head of the Party that appeared against him. So modest, that in all great transactions concerning the Church, he always consulted both his Colleagues and his Flock, himself assuring us, that from the very entrance upon his Bishoprick he determined, not to adjudge any thing by his own private Order, without the counsel of the Clergy, and the consent of the People. His behaviour was composed and sober, his countenance grave, yet chearful, neither guilty of a frowning severity, nor an over-pleasing mirth, but an equal decorum and temperament of both, it being hard to say, whether he more deserved to be loved or feared, but that he equally deserved both. And the very same he was in his garb, sober and moderate, observing a just distance both from slovenliness and superfluity, such as neither argued him to be swelled with pride and vanity, nor infected with a sordid and penurious mind. But that which set the Crown upon the head of all his other Vertues, was his admirable and exemplary Charity, he was of a kind and compassionate temper

*An. 1. Olymp. 259. Ind. IV. Valer. II.*

*ibid. pag. 16.*

*Id. ad cor. nel. Epist. 55. p. 85.*

*Id. Epist. 69. p. 116.*

*Id. Presb. & Diacon. Epist. 5. p. 14.*

*Id. p. Diacon. in vit. Cypr. p. 12.*

per, and he gave it vent. Upon his first embracing the Christian Religion he sold his estate (which was not mean and inconsiderable) and gave almost all of it to the Poor, from which he suffered no considerations to restrain him. His hand, and tongue, and heart, were open upon all occasions; we find him at one time not only earnestly \* pressing others to contribute towards the redemption of Christians taken captive by the Barbarians, but himself sending a collection of a great many thousand Crowns. Nor was this a single act done once in his life, but his ordinary practice; his doors were open to all that came, the Widow never returned empty from him; to any that were blind, he would be their guide to direct them; those that were lame, he was ready to lend his assistance to support them; if any were oppressed by might, he was at hand to rescue and protect them. Which things, he was wont to say, they ought to do, who desired to render themselves truly acceptable and dear to God.

XVIII. HIS natural parts seem to have been ready and acute enough, which how far he improved by secular and Gentile Learning, is unknown. He seems to have laid no deep foundations in the Study of Philosophy, whereof few or no footsteps are to be seen in any of his Writings: his main excellency was eloquence, Rhetoric being his proper profession before his conversion to Christianity; wherein he attained to so great a pitch, that *Erasmus*, a competent judge of these matters, sticks not to affirm<sup>b</sup>, that among all the Ecclesiastics he is the only African Writer, that attained the native purity of the Latin Tongue. *Tertullian* is difficult and obscure, *S. Augustin* strangely perplexed and dry; but *Cyprian* (as *S. Hierom* long since truly censured) like a pure Fountain is smooth and sweet. And *Lactantius* long before him passed this judgment, that *Cyprian* alone was the chief and famous Writer, eminent for his teaching Oratory, and writing Books admirable in their kind: that he had a facile, copious, pleasant, and (which is the greatest grace of Speech)

clear and perspicuous wit, that a man can hardly discern, whether he be more eloquent in his expressions, easie in his explications, or potent in his persuasives. Indeed his stile is very natural and easie, nothing elaborate or affected in it, or which favours of craft and ostentation, but such every where the tenor of his language (I speak \* *Erasmus* his sense as well as my own) that you will think you hear a truly Christian Bishop, and one designed for Martyrdom speaking to you. His mind was inflamed with piety, and his speech was answerable to his mind: he spake elegantly, and yet things more powerful then elegant, nor did he speak powerful things so much as live

them. After his coming over to the Church, he made such quick and vast proficiencies in Christian Theology, that \* *Baronius* thinks it not improbable to suppose either that before his conversion he had been conversant in the Books of Christians, or that he was miraculously instructed from above. 'Tis certain that afterwards he kept close to *Tertullian's* Writings, without which he scarce ever passed one day, often saying to his Notary, *Reach hither my Master*, meaning *Tertullian*. A passage which *S. Hierom* tells us he received from *Paulus* of *Concordia* in Italy, who had

\* Ad Episc.  
Nonid. Epist.  
Cyp. 97.

a Pont. ubi sup.

b Pref. in Cyp.  
inter Eras. Ep.  
l. 28. Ep. 1. 6.  
col. 1616.  
c Epist. ad Pau-  
lin. p. 104. Tom. 1.  
d De Justit. l. 5  
c. 1. p. 459.

In cubat in Tybia sanguis, sed ubique lingua pollet:  
Sola superstes agit de corpore, sola obire nescit.  
Dum genus esse hominum Christus sine & wigere  
mundum,  
Dum liber ullus erit, dum serini sacra literarum,  
Te legat omnis amans Christum, tuas, Cyprianus,  
discent.  
Spiritus ille Dei, qui fluxerat auctor in Prophetas,  
Fontibus eloqui te coelitus altus irrigavit.  
Onive candidius lingue genus: O novum saporem!  
ut liquor ambrosius, cor mitigat, imbuat palatum,  
Sedem anime penetrat, mentem fovet, & perer-  
vat artis:  
Sic Deus interior sentitur, & inditur medullis.  
Prudent. Noel. Stephan. Hymn. XII. in Passion.  
Cyp. Martyris, & Episc. Carthag.

\* Loc. citat.

\* Ad. v. 250.  
n. XI.

\* Descript. in  
Tertull.

had it from the mouth of *Cyprian's* own *Amannensis* at Rome. And certainly it sounds not a little to the commendation of his judgment, that he could drink so freely at that great mans Fountain, and suck in none of his odd and uncouth opinions, that he could pick the Flowers, and pass by the useles or noxious weeds; as a wife man many times is so far from being corrupted, that he is the more warned and confirmed in the right by another mans errors and mistakes. As for his Writings, *S. Hierom* passes them over with this character, that it was superfluous to reckon them up, being clearer and more obvious then the Sun. Many of them are undoubtedly lost, the greatest part of what remain, are Epistles, and all of them such, as admirably tend to promote the peace and order of the Church, and advance piety and a good life. A great number of *Tracts*, either dubious or evidently supposititious, are laid at his door, some of them very ancient, and most of them useful, it being his happiness above all other Writers of the Church (says \* *Erasmus*) that nothing is fathered upon him but what is learned, and what was the issue of some considerable Pen.

XIX. HE was highly honoured while he lived, not only by men, consulted and appealed to in all weighty cases by foreign Churches, but by frequent visions and divine condescensions (as he was wont to call them) whereby he was immediately warned and directed in all important affairs and exigences of the Church. After his death his memory was had in great veneration, the people of *Carthage* erecting two eminent Churches to it, one in the place of his Martyrdom, the other in the *Mappalian* way, where he was buried. The former was stiled *Mensa Cypriani*, *Cyprian's* Table, because there he had been offered up a Sacrifice acceptable unto God. And here they had their anniversary commemorations of him. Whether this was the Church mentioned by *Procopius* a, I cannot tell, who informs us, that the *Carthaginians* above all people in the World honoured *S. Cyprian*, building a magnificent Church to his memory without the City Walls near the Sea side, and besides other expressions of honour done to him, they kept a yearly festival, which they called *Cypriana*. This Church *Honorius* King of the *Vandals* afterwards took from the *Catholics*, casting out the Orthodox Clergy with disgrace and contempt, and bestowed it upon the *Arrians*, which XCV. years after was recovered by the Emperour *Justinian* under the conduct of *Belisarius*, who besieged and took *Carthage*, and drove the *Vandals* out of all those parts.

#### His Writings.

Genuine.  
*Epistola ad Donatum statim à Baptismo conscripta.*  
*Epistola in Sessu toto biennio conscripta XXXVIII.*  
*Epistola sub Pontificatu Cornelii & Lucii XVIII.*  
*Epistole Miscellaneæ in pace variis temporibus conscriptæ VIII.*  
*Epistole sub Pontificatu Stephani, & de rebaptizandis Hæreticis X.*

*Epistola in exilio scripta sub finem vitæ VII.*  
*De disciplina & habitu Virginum.*  
*De Lapsis.*  
*De Unitate Ecclesiæ Catholicæ.*  
*De Oratione Dominica.*  
*Ad Demetrianum.*  
*De Idolorum vanitate.*  
*De Mortalitate.*  
*De Opere & Eleemosynis.*  
*De Bono Patientiæ.*

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De

\* Ibid. in Cyp.

b ubi sup.

c Viti. de Per-  
sec. Vandal. l. 1.  
inter Oorthod.  
pp. p. 801. Tom.  
2.

d De Bell. Van-  
dal. l. 1. vid. Ni-  
ceph. l. 17. c. 12.  
p. 751.

De Zelo & Livore.  
De exhortatione Martyrii ad Fortunatum.  
Testimoniorum Adversus Judæos Lib. III.  
Concilium Carthaginense, de baptizandis Hæreticis.

## Supposititious.

De Spectaculis.  
De Disciplina & bono pudicitie.  
De Laude Martyrii ad Mosen, &c.  
Ad Novatianum, quod Lapsis spes veniæ non sit deneganda.  
De Cardinalibus Christi operibus.  
De Nativitate Christi.  
De ratione Circumcisionis.  
De Stella & Magis, ac innocentium necesse.  
De baptismo Christi, & manifestatione Trinitatis.  
De jejunio & tentationibus Christi.  
De Cæna Domini.  
De Ablutione pedum.

De unctione Chrismatis, & aliis Sacramentis.  
De Passione Christi.  
De Resurrectione Christi.  
De Ascensione Christi.  
De Spiritu Sancto.  
De Aleatoribus.  
De montibus Sina & Sion contr. Judæos.  
Carmen, Genesis.  
Carmen, Sodoma.  
Carmen, ad Senatorem Apostatam.  
Hymnus de Pascha Domini.  
Oratio pro Martyribus.  
Oratio in die Passionis sue.  
De singularitate Clericorum.  
In Symbolum Apostolorum Expositio.  
De Judaica incredulitate, Adv. Judæos, qui Christum insecuti sunt.  
De revelatione Capitis B. Joan. Baptiste.  
De duplici Martyrio, ad Fortunatum.  
De XII. Abusionibus Sæculi.  
Dispositio Cænæ.

The End of S. CYPRIAN's Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF  
**S. GREGORY**  
BISHOP OF  
NEOCÆSAREA.



**S. GREGORIUS THAUMATURGUS**

S. Gregory where born. His Kindred and Relations. The rank and quality of his Parents. His youthful studies. His study of the Laws. His travels to Alexandria. The calumny there fixed upon him, and his

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miraculous vindication. His return through Greece. His studying the Law at Berytus, and upon what occasion. His fixing at Cæsarea, and putting himself under the tutorage of Origen. The course of his studies. His Panegyric to Origen at his departure. Origen's Letter to him, and the importance of it. His refusal to stay at Neocæsarea, and retirement into the Wilderness. His shunning to be made Bishop of Neocæsarea. Consecrated Bishop of that City during his absence. His acceptance of the charge, and the state of that place at his entrance upon it. His miraculous instruction in the great mysteries of Christianity. His Creed. The miracles wrought by him in his return. His expelling Demons out of a Gentile Temple, and the success of it. His welcome entrance into the City, and kind entertainment. His diligent preaching to the people. His erecting a Church for divine worship, and its signal preservation. An horrible plague stopped by his prayers. The great influence of it upon the minds of the people. His judging in civil causes. His drying up a Lake by his prayers, which had been the cause of an implacable quarrel between two Brothers; And his restraining the overflowings of the River Lycus. The signal vengeance inflicted upon two Jews, counterfeited beggars. The fame and multitude of his miracles, and the authorities to justify the credibility of them. The rage and cruelty of the Decian Persecution in the Regions of Pontus and Cappadocia. His persuading the Christians to withdraw. His own retirement. The narrow search made for him, and his miraculous escape. His betrayer converted. His return to Neocæsarea, and instituting solemnities to the memories of the Martyrs, and the reasons of it. The inundations of the Northern Nations upon the Roman Empire. His Canonical Epistle to rectify the disorders committed by occasion of those inroads. His meeting with others in the Synod at Antioch, about the cause of Paulus Samosatenus. His return home, age, and death. His solemn thanks to God for the flourishing state of his Church, and command concerning his burial. The excellent character given of him by S. Basil. His Writings. The charge of Sabellianism. S. Basil's Apology for him in that behalf. Modesty to be used in censuring the ancient Fathers, and why.

<sup>a</sup> Greg. Nyss. in vit. Gr. Thaum. p. 569. Tom. 2.



**GREGORY**, called originally *Theodorus*, was born at *Neocæsarea*, the Metropolis of *Cappadocia*, situate upon the River *Lycus*. His Parents were *Gentiles*, but eminent for their birth and fortunes. He had a Brother called *Athenodorus*, his fellow-pupil, and afterwards Colleague in the Episcopal Order in his own Countrey, and one Sister at least, married to a Judge under the Governour of *Palestine*. His Father <sup>b</sup> was a Zealot for his Religion,

<sup>b</sup> Gr. Thaum. Panegy. ad Orig. p. 182.

wherein he took care to educate him, together with the Learning of the *Gentile* World. When he was fourteen years of age his Father died, after which he took a greater liberty of enquiring into things, and as his reason grew more quick and manly, and was advantaged by the improvements of education, he saw more plainly the folly and vanity of that Religion, wherein he had been brought up, which presently abated his edge, and turned his inclinations towards Christianity. But though he had lost his Father, his Mother <sup>c</sup> took care to compleat his breeding, placing him and his brother under Masters of Rhetoric and Eloquence.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* p. 184.

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By one of which, who was appointed to teach him the *Latin* Tongue, as a necessary piece of noble and ingenious education, he was persuaded to the study of the *Roman* Laws, as what would be a mighty advantage to him in what way soever he should make use of his *Rhetorical* Studies afterwards. And the man himself being no inconsiderable Lawyer, read Lectures to him with great accuracy and diligence, which he as sedulously attended to, rather to gratifie his humour and his fanisie, then out of any love to those Studies, or design to arrive at perfection in them. Which however sufficiently commends his industry, those Laws (as himself observes <sup>d</sup>) being vast and various; and not to be learned without trouble and difficulty. And which above all encreased the labour was, that they were all written in *Latin*, a Language (as he confesses) great indeed and admirable, and suited to the Majesty of the Empire; but which he found troublesome enough to make himself but a competent Master of.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.* p. 171.

**II. HAVING** laid the foundations of his first and most necessary studies at home, he designed yet further to accomplish himself by foreign travels, going probably first for *Alexandria*, grown more then ordinarily famous by the *Platonic* School lately erected there. Indeed I am not confident of the precise assigning this period of his life, but know that I cannot be much wide the mark, *Gregory of Nyssa* <sup>e</sup> assuring <sup>f</sup> us, that he came thither in his Youth, where by the closeness of his Studies, but especially by the admirable sobriety and strictness of his life, he visibly reproached the debaucheries of his fellow-Students, who were of more wanton and dissolute manners. They presently fall a meditating revenge, confederating with a common strumpet to put an abuse and affront upon him. Accordingly dressed in a loose wanton garb, she came to him one day as he was engaged in a serious and grave discourse with some learned and peculiar friends, impudently charging him with over-familiar converses, relating what she thought good to affirm had either been said, or had passed between them; charging him moreover with cheating her of the reward of their lewd embraces. The company, who knew him to be a person of quite another temper, stormed at the boldness and impudence of the woman, while he regardless of the affront, said nothing to it, calmly desiring a friend to give her the money that she asked, that they might be no longer interrupted in their discourses. But behold how ready Heaven is to vindicate the cause of injured innocence. The money was no sooner paid into her hand, but as if acted by a furious *Demon*, she fell into fits of the most wild and extravagant madness, roaring out the most horrid noise, throwing herself upon the ground, pulling and tearing of her hair, distorting her eyes, and foming at the mouth, nor could she be freed from the rude treatments of the merciless *Demon*, till he whom she had wronged had forgiven her, and interceded with Heaven for her.

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid.* sup. p. 972.

**III. DEPARTING** from *Alexandria*, he came back, as we may probably suppose through *Greece*, and staid a while at *Athens*, where <sup>g</sup> *Socrates* tells us he studied, and thence returned to his own Countrey, applying himself to his old study of the Law, which he had now a great opportunity to improve by going to *Berytus*, a City of *Phœnicia*, and a famous University for the Profession of the *Roman* Laws, whence *Eunapius* <sup>h</sup> says of *Anatolius*, 'twas no wonder if he was incomparably skill'd in the Laws, being born at *Berytus*, the Mother of those Studies. Hither

<sup>g</sup> *H. Eccl. l. 4. c. 27. p. 244.*

<sup>h</sup> *Is vit. Prolog. p. 117.*

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<sup>a</sup> Panegy. ad  
Orig. p. 186.

he came upon this occasion\*. The *President of Palestin* had taken his Brother-in-law, an eminent Lawyer, along with him to be his *Affessor* and assistant in governing the affairs of that Province, who not long after sent for his Wife, and a request that he also would come along with her. All things conspired to make him willing to undertake this journey, the gratifying his Sister with his company; the importunity and persuasion of his friends, the conveniency of residing at *Berytus*, for the study of the Law, and the advantage of conveyance, and the public carriages that were sent to fetch his sister and her retinue into those parts. Whether he actually studied at *Berytus*, cannot be gathered from any account that he himself gives of it, nay rather the contrary<sup>b</sup>, though *S. Hierom* and others expressly affirm it. If he did, he staid not long, quickly growing weary of his Law-studies, being tempted with the more pleasant and charming speculations of Philosophy. The fame of *Origen*, who at that time had opened a School at *Cæsarea* in *Palestin*, and whose renown no doubt he had heard sufficiently celebrated at *Alexandria*, soon reached him, to whom he immediately betook himself, where meeting accidentally with *Firmilian* a *Cappadocian* Gentleman, and afterwards Bishop of *Cæsarea* in that Countrey, and finding a more then ordinary sympathy and agreeableness in their tempers and studies, they entered into a League of friendship, and jointly put themselves, together with his Brother *Athenodorus*, under the tutorage of that so much celebrated Master. Where <sup>c</sup> *Erasmus* his mistake must be pardoned, making our *Gregory* and *Theodorus* two distinct Scholars of *Origen*, when 'tis so notoriously known they were but two names of the same person. Though herein the more easily to be excused, that <sup>d</sup> *Nicephorus Callistus* long before him, had besides ours, made another *Theodorus* Scholar also to *Origen* at that same time at *Cæsarea*, who was, as he tells us, an eminent Bishop in *Palestin*. But herein there is an universal silence in all other Writers, not the least intimation of it in *Eusebius*, from whom he derives his accounts of things. So plain it is, that of two several names he made two different persons.

IV. GLAD he was to have fallen under so happy an institution, *Origen* by the most apt and easie methods leading him through the whole region and circumference of Philosophy. By how many Stages he brought him through the several parts of Discipline, *Logic*, *Physics*, *Mathematics*, *Ethics*, *Metaphysics*, and how he introduced him into the mysteries of Theology, *S. Gregory* himself has given us<sup>e</sup> large and particular accounts, which it is not material here to insist upon. Above all he endeavoured to settle him in the full belief and persuasion of the Christian Religion, whereinto he had some insight before, and to ground him in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, as the best System of true Wisdom and Philosophy. Five years he continued *Origen's* Disciple, when he was recalled into his own Countrey. Being to take his leave, he made an Oration before his Master, and in a numerous Auditory, wherein as he gives *Origen* his just commendations, so he particularly blesses God<sup>f</sup> for the happy advantages of his instructions, and return thanks to his tutelar and guardian Angel, which as it had superintended him from his birth, so had especially conducted him to so good a Master: elegantly bewailing<sup>g</sup> his departure from that School, as a kind of banishment out of *Paradise*, a being turned like the Prodigal out of his Fathers house, and a being carried captive as the Jews were into *Babylon*: concluding, that

<sup>f</sup> Paneg. p. 197.  
Græc.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. p. 178,  
181.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. p. 218.  
Græc.

of all things upon earth, nothing could give so great an ease and consolation to his mind, as if his kind and benign Angel would bring him back to that place again.

V. HE was no sooner returned to *Neocæsarea*, but *Origen* followed him with a Letter<sup>a</sup>, commending his excellent parts, able to render him either an eminent Lawyer among the *Romans*, or a great Philosopher among the *Greeks*, but especially persuading him to improve them to the ends of Christianity, and the practice of Piety and Vertue. For which purpose he let him know, that he instructed him mainly in those Sciences and parts of Philosophy, which might be introductory to the Christian Religion, acquainting him with those things in Geometry and Astronomy, which might be useful for the understanding and explaining the holy Scriptures, these things being as previously advantageous to the knowledge of the Christian Doctrine, as Geometry, Music, Grammar, Rhetoric, and Astronomy, are preparatory to the study of Philosophy. Advising him before all things to read the Scripture, and that with the most profound and diligent attention, and not rashly to entertain notions of divine things, or to speak of them without solemn premeditation; and not onely to seek but knock, to pray with faith and fervency, it being in vain to think that the door should be opened where prayer is not sent before-hand to unlock it. At his return<sup>b</sup> all mens eyes were upon him, expecting that in public meetings he should shew himself<sup>c</sup> and let them reap some fruit of all his studies; and to this he was universally courted and importuned, and especially by the wise and great men of the City, intreating him to reside among them, and by his excellent precepts and rules of life to reform and direct the manners of men. But the modest young man knowing how unfit they generally were to entertain the dictates of true Philosophy, and fearing lest by a great concourse and applause he might be insensibly ensnared into pride and vain-glory, resisted all addresses, and withdrew himself into the Wilderness, where he resigned up himself to solitude and contemplation, conversing with God and his own mind, and delighting his thoughts with the pleasant speculations of nature, and the curious and admirable works of the great Artificer of the World.

VI. *NEOCÆSAREA* was a place large and populous, but miserably over-grown with Superstition and Idolatry, so that it seemed the place where *Satans* seat was, and whither Christianity had as yet scarce made its entrance, to the great grief and resentment of all good men, who heartily wished that Religion and the fear of God were planted in that place. <sup>d</sup> *Phedimus* Bishop of *Amasea*, a neighbour City in that Province, a man indued with a Prophetic spirit, had cast his eye upon our young Philosopher, as one whose ripe parts and piety did more then weigh down his want of age, and rendred him a person fit to be a Guide of Souls to the place of his Nativity, whose relation to the place would more endear the employment to him. The notice hereof being intimated to him, he shifted his Quarters, and as oft as sought for, fled from one Desert and solitary shelter to another, so that the good man by all his arts and industry could not lay hold of him, the one not being more earnest to find him out, then the other was vigilant to decline him. *Phedimus* at last despairing to meet with him, resolved however to go on with his design, and being acted *ὁρμῇ πνευματικῇ*, by a divine and immediate impetus, betook himself to this pious stratagem (the like pre-

<sup>a</sup> Extat in  
Orig. Philocal.  
c. 13. p. 41.

<sup>b</sup> Gr. Nyss. ib. p.  
975.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 975.

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sident probably not to be met with in the Antiquities of the Church) not regarding *Gregorius* his absence (who was at that time no less than three days journey distant from him) he made his address and prayer to God, and having declared that both himself and *Gregory* were at that moment equally seen by God, as if they were present, in stead of imposition of hands, he directed a Discourse to S. *Gregory*, wherein he set him apart to God, and constituted him Bishop of that place, and God who steers the hearts of men, inclined him, how averse soever before, to accept the charge, when, probably, he had a more formal and solemn Consecration.

VII. THE Province he entered upon was difficult, the City and parts thereabouts being wholly given to the worship of *Dæmons*<sup>a</sup>, and enslaved to the observance of Diabolic Rites, there not being above seventeen Christians in those parts, so that he must found a Church before he could govern it; and which was not the least inconvenience, Heresies had spread themselves over those Countries, and he himself though accomplished with a sufficient furniture of humane Learning, yet altogether unexercised in Theological studies, and the mysteries of Religion. For remedy whereof he is said to have had an immediate assistance from Heaven. For while one night he was deeply considering of these things, and discussing matters of Faith in his own mind, he had a vision, wherein two august and venerable persons (whom he understood to be S. *John* the *Evangelist* and the blessed *Virgin*) appeared in the Chamber where he was, and discoursed before him concerning those points of Faith, which he had been before debating with himself. After whose departure he immediately penned that *Canon* and rule of Faith which they had declared, and which he ever after made the Standard of his Doctrin, and bequeathed as an inestimable Legacy and *deposuitum* to his Successors, the Tenor whereof we shall here insert, together with the Original *Greek*; which being very difficult to be exactly rendred into our Language, the learned Reader (if he likes not mine) may translate for himself.

Εἷς Θεός πατήρ λόγος ζωῆς, σοφίας ὑπερώτης, ἐκ δυνάμεως, ἐκ χάρακτος αἰδίου· πλάσας, πλείον ἡγνῆται· πατήρ ὃς μονογενής. Εἷς κύριος, μόνος ἐκ μόνου, Θεός ἐκ Θεοῦ· χάρακτος αἰδίου ἐκ εἰκῶν τῆς θεότητος, λόγος ἐνεργός, σοφία τῆς ἡπύς ὅλων συστάσεως πᾶν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐκ δυνάμεως τῆς ὅλης κτίσεως πᾶν ἐκκλησίαν, υἱὸς ἀληθινὸς ἀληθινῶν πάλαι· ἀόρατος ἀόρατος, ἐκ ἀφθαρσίας ἀφθάρτου, ἐκ ἀθανάτου ἀθάνατος, ἐκ αἰδίου αἰδίου. Καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, ἐκ Θεοῦ τῷ ὑπαρξίν ἔχον, ἐκ δὲ ὧν πεφωτός, δηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· εἰκὼν τῆς ἡμῶν, πλείον πλείον ζωῆς, ζώων ἀθάνατος· πᾶσι ἁγία, ἀγία, ἀγιασμός ἁγίων· ἐν ᾧ φανερωμένη Θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ὁ ὅτι πρῶτον, ἐκ ἐν πᾶσι· Καὶ Θεὸς ὁ υἱός, ὁ διὰ τῶν τῶν· Τελὸς τῆς αἰδίου, δόξης ἐκ αἰδίου

There is one God, the Father of the living Word, and of the subsisting Wisdom and Power, and of Him who is his Eternal Image, the perfect begetter of Him that is perfect, the Father of the only begotten Son. There is one Lord, the only [Son] of the only [Father] God of God, the Character and Image of the Godhead, the powerful Word, the comprehensive Wisdom, by which all things were made, and the Power that gave Being to the whole Creation, the true Son of the true Father, the Invisible of the Invisible, the Incorruptible of the Incorruptible, the Immortal of the Immortal, and the Eternal of Him that is Eternal. There is one Holy Ghost, having its subsistence of God, which appeared through

ἐκ βασιλείας, μὴ μεριζομένη, μηδὲ ἀπομορφεύμενη.

the Son to mankind, the perfect Image of the perfect Son, the Life-giving Life, the holy Fountain, the Sanctity,

and the Author of Sanctification: by whom God the Father is made manifest, who is over all, and in all; and God the Son, who is through all. A perfect Trinity, which neither in Glory, Eternity, or Dominion is divided, or separated from it self.

To this Creed he always kept himself, the Original whereof written with his own hand, my Author assures us was preserved in that Church in his time.

VIII. THUS incomparably furnished, he began to apply himself more directly to the charge committed to him, in the happy success whereof he was infinitely advantaged by a power of working miracles (so much talked of among the Ancients) bestowed upon him. As he was returning home from the Wilderness, being benighted, and overtaken with a storm, he together with his company turned aside to shelter themselves in a *Gentile* Temple, famous for Oracles and Divinations, where they spent the night in prayers and hymns to God. Early in the morning came the *Gentile* Priest to pay the accustomed devotions to the *Dæmons* of the place, who had told them, it seems, that they must henceforth relinquish it by reason of him that lodged there; he made his lustrations, and offered his Sacrifices, but all in vain, the *Dæmons* being deaf to all importunities and invocations. Whereupon he burst out into a rage and passion, exclaiming against the holy man, and threatening to complain of him to the Magistrates, and the Emperour. But when he saw him generously despising all his threatnings, and invested with a power of commanding *Dæmons* in and out at pleasure, he turned his fury into admiration, and intreated the Bishop as a further evidence of that divine authority that attended him, to bring the *Dæmons* once more back again into the Temple. For whose satisfaction he is said to have torn off a piece of Paper, and therein to have written these words, *Gregory to Satan, enter*. Which Schedule was no sooner laid upon the Altar, and the usual incense and oblations made, but the *Dæmons* appeared again as they were wont to do. Whereby he was plainly convinced that it was an Authority superiour to all infernal powers, and accordingly resolved to accompany him; but being unsatisfied in some parts of the Christian Doctrin, was fully brought over, after he had seen S. *Gregory* confirm his discourses by another evident miracle; whereupon he freely forsook house and home, friends, and relations, and resigned up himself to the instructions of his divine Wisdom and Philosophy.

IX. THE fame of his strange and miraculous actions had prepared the People of *Neocæsarea* to entertain him with a prodigious reverence and regard, the people generally flocking out of the City to meet him, every one being ambitious to see the person of whom such great things were spoken. He unconcerned in the applause and expectations of all the Spectators that were about him, without so much as casting his eye on the one side or the other, passed directly through the midst of the crowds into the City. Whither being come, his friends that had accompanied him out of his solitudes, were very solicitous where and by whom he should be entertained. But he reproving their anxiety, asked

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them, whether they thought themselves banished the divine Protection? whether Gods providence was not the best and safest refuge and habitation? that whatever became of their bodies, it was of infinitely more importance to look after their minds, as the onely fit and proper habitations, which were by the Vertues of a good life to be trimmed and prepared, furnished, and built up for Heaven. But there wanted not many, who were ready enough to set open their doors to so welcom a guest, among which especially was *Musonius*, a person of greatest honour, estate, and power in the City, who intreated him to honour his house with his presence, and to take up his lodging there: whose kindness, as being first offered he accepted, dismissing the rest with a grateful acknowledgment of that civility and respect which they had offered to him.

X. IT was no little abatement to the good mans joy to think in what a prophane and idolatrous place his lot was fallen, and that therefore it concerned him to lose no time. Accordingly that very day he fell to preaching, and with so good success, that before night he had converted a little Church. Early the next morning the doors were crowded, persons of all ranks, ages, infirmities and distempers flocking to him, upon whom he wrought two cures at once, healing both soul and body, instructing their minds, convincing their errors, reclaiming and reforming their manners, and that with ease, because at the same time strengthening the infirm, curing the sick, healing the diseased, banishing *Demons* out of the possessed; men greedily embracing the Religion he taught, while they beheld such sensible demonstrations of its power and divinity before their eyes, and heard nothing reported but what was verified by the testimony of their own senses. Having thus prepared a numerous Congregation, his next care was to erect a Church where they might assemble for the public solemnities of Religion, which by the chearful contributions of some, and the industrious labour of others, was in a little time both begun and finished. And the foundations of it seem to have been laid upon a firmer basis than other buildings, seeing it outstood not onely Earthquakes, frequent in those parts, but the violent storm of *Dioclesian's* reign, who commanded the Churches of the Christians in all places to be demolished; and was still standing in *Gregory Nyssen's* time, who further tells us, that when a terrible Earthquake lately happened in that place, wherewith almost all the buildings both public and private were destroyed and ruined, this Church onely remained entire, and not the least stone was shaken to the ground.

<sup>a</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1007.

XI. *S. Gregory Nyssen*<sup>b</sup> reports one more memorable passage then the rest; which at his first coming to the place made his conversion of the people much more quick and easie. There was a public festival held in honour of one of the gods of that Country, whereto not onely the *Neocesareans*, but all the inhabitants of the neighbour-Country came in, and that in such infinite numbers, that the Theater was quickly full, and the crowd so great, and the noise so confused and loud, that the Shews could not begin, nor the solemn rites be performed. The People here-upon universally cried out to the *Demon*, *Jupiter, we beseech thee make us room.* *S. Gregory* being told of this, sent them this message, that their prayer would be granted, and that greater room would be quickly made them, then they desired. Immediately a terrible Plague brake in upon them, that turned their Music into Weeping, and filled all places with

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with cries and dying groans. The distemper spread like Wild-fire, and persons were sick and dead in a few moments. The Temples, whither many fled in hopes of cure, were filled with carcases; the Fountains and the Ditches, whither the heat and fervour of the infection had led them to quench their thirst, were dammed up with the multitudes of those that fell into them; some of their own accord went and fate among the Tombs, securing a Sepulchre to themselves, there not being living enough to perform the last offices to the dead. The cause of this sad calamity being understood, that it proceeded from their rash and foolish invocation of the *Demon*, they addressed themselves to the Bishop, intreating him to intercede with his God (whom they believed to be a more potent and superiour Being) in their behalf, that he would restrain that violent distemper that raged amongst them. He did so, and the Pestilence abated, and the destroying Angel took his leave. And the issue was, that the people generally deserted their Temples, Oracles, Sacrifices, and the idolatrous Rites of their Religion, and took Sanctuary in Christianity, as the securest refuge, and the best way to oblige Heaven to protect them.

XII. HIS known prudence, and the reputation of his mighty and (as my Author<sup>a</sup> calls them) *Apostolical* miracles advanced him into so much favour and veneration with the People, that they looked upon whatever he said or did, as the effect of a divine power. And even in secular causes, where the case was any thing knotty and difficult, it was usually brought to him, whose sentence was accounted more just and impartial, more firm and valid than any other decision whatsoever. It happened that two Brothers were at Law about a Lake, which both challenged as belonging to that part of their inheritance their Father had left them. The Umpirage of the case was left to him, who by all the persuasive arts of insinuation first endeavoured to reconcile them, and peaceably to accommodate the difference between them. But his pains proved fruitless and ineffectual, the young men stormed, and resolved each to maintain his right by force of Arms, and a day was set when they were to try their titles by all the power which their tenants of each side could bring into the field. To prevent which the holy Bishop went the night before to the place, where he continued all night in the exercises of devotion, and by his prayers to Heaven procured the Lake to be turned into a parcel of dry and solid ground, removing thereby the bone of contention that was between them, the remains of which Lake were shewed many Ages after. Thus<sup>b</sup> also he is said to have miraculously restrained the violence of the River *Lycus*, which coming down from the Mountains of *Armenia* with a swift rapid torrent, and swelled by the tributary concurrence of other Rivers, fell down into a plain Champain Countrey, where over-swelling and sometimes breaking down its banks, it overflowed the Countrey thereabouts, to the irreparable damage of the inhabitants, and very often to the hazard and loss of their lives. Unable to deal with it any other way, they apply themselves to *S. Gregory* to improve his interest in Heaven, that God, who alone rules the raging of the Sea, would put a stop to it. He goes along with them to the place, makes his address to him, who has set a bound to the Waters, that they may not pass over, nor turn again to cover the Earth; thrusts his Staff down into the Bank, and prayed that that might be the boundary of the insolent and raging stream, and so

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* p. 950.

departed. And it took effect, the River ever after mannerly keeping within its Banks, and the Tradition adds, that the Staff it self grew up into a large spreading Tree, and was shewed to Travellers together with the relation of the miracle in my Authors days. In his return from *Comana*<sup>a</sup> (whither he had been invited and importuned both by the Magistrates and People, to constitute a fit person Bishop of that City) he was espied by two *Jews*, who knowing his charitable temper, either out of covetousness, or a design to abuse him, agreed to put a trick upon him. To that purpose one of them lies along upon the ground and feigns himself dead, the other deplores the miserable fate of his companion, and begs of the holy Bishop as he passed by to give somewhat towards his burial, who taking off his coat that was upon him, cast it upon the man, and went on his way. No sooner was he gone out of sight, but the *Impostor* came laughing to his fellow, bad him rise, and let them make themselves merry with the cheat. He called, pulled, and kicked him, but alas in vain, the comical sport ended in a real Tragædy, the man was dead indeed, his breath expiring that very moment the garment was cast upon him, and so the Coat really served for what he intended it, as a covering to his burial.

XIII. IN an Age so remote from the miraculous Ages of the Church, and after that the World has been so long abused by the impostures of a Church, pretending to miracles as one of the main notes and evidences of its Catholicism and Truth, these passages may possibly seem suspicious, and not obtain a very easie belief with the more scrupulous Reader. To which perhaps it may be enough to say, at least to justify my relating them, that the things are reported by persons of undoubted credit and integrity, especially *S. Basil* and his brother *Gregory*, both of them wise and good men, and who lived themselves within less than an hundred years after our *S. Gregory*; and what is more considerable, were capable of deriving their intelligence from a surer hand than ordinary, their aged Grandmother *Macrina*, who taught them in their youth, and superintended their education, having in her younger years been Scholar and Auditor of our *S. Gregory*, and from her I doubt not they received the most material passages of his life, and the account of his miracles, of many whereof she her self was capable of being an eye-witness, and wherewith she acquainted them, as she also did with the doctrine that he taught, wherein *S. Basil*<sup>b</sup> particularly tells us she instructed them, and told them the very words which she had heard from him, and which she perfectly remembred at that age. Besides, that his Brother solemnly<sup>c</sup> professes in recounting this great mans miracles, to set them down in a plain and naked relation, without any Rhetorical arts to amplify and set them off, and to mention onely some few of those great things that had been done by him, and purposely to suppress many yet in memory, lest men of incredulous minds should disbelieve them, and count all Fables which were above the standard of their sentiments and apprehensions. Indeed as to the main of the thing, I might challenge the faith of all Ages ever since, who have unanimously believed, and conveyed the report of it down to us, and upon this account the title of *Thaumaturgus*, the Wonder-worker, is constantly and uncontrollably ascribed to him in the Writings of the Church. And *S. Basil*<sup>d</sup> assures us, that upon this very account the *Gentiles* were wont to call him a *Second Moses*, and that in his time he was had in such universal

verbal admiration among the People of that Countrey, and his memory so fresh among them, that no time would be able to blot it out.

XIV. IN this faithful and successful management of his place, he quietly continued till about the year CCL. when the Emperour *Decius*<sup>a</sup> *ibid. p. 999* vexed to see the Christian Religion so much yet the ground of declining Paganism, published very severe edicts against the Christians, commanding the Governours of Provinces as they valued their heads, to put them into a strict and rigorous execution; wherein *Pontus* and *Cappadocia* shared if not deeper, to be sure equal with the rest. All other business seemed to give way to this, persecuting the Christians was the debate of all public Councils, and the great care of Magistrates, which did not vent it self in a few threatnings, and hard words, but in studying methods of cruelty, and instruments of torment, the very apprehension whereof is dreadful and amazing to humane nature, Swords and Axes, Fire, Wild Beasts, Stakes, and Engines to stretch and distend the limbs, iron Chairs made red hot, frames of Timber set up strait, in which the bodies of the tormented, as they stood were raked with nails that tore off the flesh: and innumerable other arts daily invented, every great man being careful that another should not seem to be more fierce and cruel then himself. Some came in as Informers, others as Witnesses, some searched all private corners, others seized upon them that fled, and some who gaped for their Neighbours Estates, took hold of the opportunity to accuse and persecute them for being Christians. So that there was a general confusion and consternation, every man being afraid of his nearest relatives, the Father not consulting the safety of his Child, nor the Child regarding its duty to its Parents; the *Gentile* Son betraying his Christian Father, and the Infidel Father accusing his Son for embracing Christianity, and the Brother accounting it a piece of Piety to violate the Laws of Nature in the cause of Religion, and to condemn his own Brother, because a Christian. By this means the Woods became full, and the Cities empty, and yet no sooner were many houses rid of their proper owners, but they were turned into common Goals, the public Prisons not being able to contain the multitudes of Christians, that were sent to them. You could not go into the Markets, or places of usual concourse, but you might have seen some apprehended, others led to trial or execution, some weeping, others laughing and rejoicing at the common misery: no regard had to Age, or Sex, or Vertue or Merit, but as in a City stormed by a proud and potent Conquerour, every thing was without mercy exposed to the rage and rudeness of a barbarous and inhumane enemy.

XV. *S. GREGORY* beholding the sad and calamitous state of the present time, and having considered<sup>b</sup> seriously with himself the frailty<sup>c</sup> *ibid. p. 1001.* and imbecillity of humane nature, and how few (of his new Converts especially) would be able to bear up under those fierce conflicts which the cause of Religion would engage them in, timely advised his Church a little to decline the force of the present storms, telling them 'twas better by flying to save their souls, then by abiding those furious trials to hazard their falling from the Faith. And to let them see that this might be done, and that herein there was no prejudice to their souls, he resolved to shew them the way by his example, himself first retiring out of danger, retreating to a Desert Mountain, accompanied with none but the *Gentile* Priest whom he had converted, and who ministred to him in the

<sup>a</sup> *Ad Neocæsar. Epist. l. XXV. p. 131. tom. 3.*

<sup>b</sup> *ibid. sup. p. 685.*

<sup>c</sup> *ib. p. 995.*

<sup>d</sup> *ibid. p. 1009.*

<sup>e</sup> *De Spirit. S. c. 29. p. 360. tom. 2.*

capacity of a Deacon. And it was but time he should withdraw, the enemy chiefly aiming at him as the head of the Party, and laying all possible snares to take him. Being informed where he lay concealed, they went in vast numbers to hunt him out, some besetting round the foot of the Mountain, that he might not escape, others going up searched every place till they came very near him. He persuading his Deacon to a firm confidence of the divine protection, presently fell to prayer, as the other also did by his example, with eyes and hands lift up to Heaven. The Persecutors in the mean time pried into all places, examined every bush and shrub, every crevice of a Rock, every nook and hole, but finding nothing, returned back to their companions at the bottom, hoping that by this time he might be fallen into their hands. And when the Informer described the very place where he lay, they affirmed they saw nothing there but a couple of trees a little distant from each other. The company being gone, the Informer staid behind, and went directly to the place, where finding them at their devotions, and concluding their escape to be the immediate effect of a divine preservation (God having blinded their eyes that they should not see them) fell down at the Bishops feet, gave up himself to be a Christian, and a companion of his solitudes and dangers.

*Ibid.* p. 1092.

XVI. DESPAIRING now of meeting with the Shepherd, the Wolves fell with the fiercer rage upon the Flock that staid behind, and not there onely, but ran up and down all parts of the Province, seizing upon Men, Women, and Children, that had but any reverence for the name of Christ, dragging them to the City, and casting them into Prison, where they were sure to be entertained with variety of tortures. S. Gregory in the mean time remained in his solitary retirement, till God having mercifully commanded the Storm to blow over, and the tyranny of the Persecution to cease, he quitted his shady and melancholy Walks, and came back to *Neocesarea*, and visiting his Diocess all about, established in every place anniversary Festivals and Solemnities, to do honour to the memory of the Martyrs, that had suffered in the late Persecution. A great instance of his wisdom and prudence at that time, not onely in doing right to the memory of the Martyrs, but by this means training up people to a readier embracing of Religion, when they saw that it indulged them a little mirth and freedom in the midst of those severe Yokes that it put upon them. He had observed what advantage the idolatry of the Gentiles made by permitting its Votaries liberty (indeed licentiousness) in their religious solemnities, and he reasonably presumed it would be no little encouragement to some to desert their superstitions, and come over to Christianity, if they were suffered to rejoice, and use a little more innocent freedom then at other times, which could not be better done then at the *Memorials* of the Martyrs, though it cannot be denied, but that this custom produced ill effects afterwards.

XVII. IN the reign of the Emperour *Gallienus* about the year CCLX. and for some years before, God being (as *Orosius* truly enough conjectures) offended with the cruel usage which the Christians met withall from the present Powers, was resolved to punish the World. And to that end did not onely suffer *Valerian* the Emperour (friendly enough at first, but afterwards a bitter Persecutor of the Christians) to be betrayed into the hands of *Sapor* King of *Persia* (who treated him with the highest instances of scorn and insolence) but permitted the Northern Nations like

like a mighty inundation to break down the Banks, and overflow most parts of the *Roman* Empire. The *Germans* betook themselves some into *Spain*, others passed the *Alps*, and came through *Italy* as far as *Ravenna*; the *Alemanni* foraged *France*, and invaded *Italy*; the *Quades* and *Sarmatae* wasted *Pannonia*, the *Parthians* fell into *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*, and the *Goths* broke in upon *Pontus*, *Asia*, and some parts of *Greece*. Intollerable were the outrages which these barbarous people committed where-ever they came, but especially upon the Christians, whose goods they plundered, ravished their Wives and Daughters, tortured their persons and compelled them to offer sacrifice, and communicate in their Idol-Festivals: many of the *Renegadoes* spoiling their fellow-Christians, and some under a pretence of finding, stole, or at least kept their neighbours goods to their own use. In this general confusion, a neighbour Bishop of those parts writes to S. Gregory of *Neocesarea* to beg his advice what to do in this sad state of affairs. Who by *Euphrosynus* sent back a *Canonical* Epistle (so often cited and magnified by the Ancients, and still extant) to rectifie these irregularities and disorders, wherein he prescribes the several stations and orders of Penitents, but especially reproves and censures their inordinate avarice, shewing how uncomely it is in it self, how unsuitable to Christians, how abhorrent to God and all good men to covet and grasp what is another mans; and how much more barbarous and inhumane in this calamitous time to spoil the oppressed, and to enrich themselves by the blood and ruines of their miserable Brethren. And because some might be apt to plead they did not steal, but onely take up what they accidentally met with, he lets them know, that whatever they had found of their neighbours, nay though it were their enemies, they were bound by Gods Law to restore it, much more to their Brethren, who were fellow-sufferers with them in the same condition. And if any thought it were warrant enough to keep what they had found, though belonging to others, having been such deep losers themselves, he tells them, this is to justify one wickedness with another, and because the *Goths* had been enemies to them, they would become *Goths* and Barbarians unto others. Nay many (as he tells us) joined in with the Barbarians in open persecuting, capturing, and tormenting of their Brethren. In all which cases he pronounces them fit to be excluded the communion of the Saints, and not to be readmitted till by a just penance according to the various circumstances of the case, they had made public and solemn satisfaction to the Church.

XVIII. NOT long after this, *Paulus* of *Samosata* Bishop of *Antioch* began to broach very pernicious Doctrins concerning the person of our blessed Saviour. To prevent the infection whereof, the most eminent of the Bishops and Clergy of all those parts frequently met in Synod at *Antioch*, the chief of whom were *Firmilian* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, our S. Gregory and his brother *Athenodorus* Bishop also in *Pontus*, and some others. The Synod being sate, and having canvassed the matter, the crafty Heretic saw 'twas in vain to contend, and therefore dissembling his errors as well as he could, he confessed what could not be hid, and by a feigned repentance salved his credit for the present, and secured his continuance in that honourable place he held in the Church. This Council was held *Ann. Chr.* CCLXIV. which our S. Gregory seems not long to have survived, dying either this, or most probably the following

<sup>a</sup> *Hist. l. 7. c. 22.*  
<sup>b</sup> *Eccl. Poll. in*

*vit. Gallien. c.*

*455. p. 717.*

*718. vid. Zosim.*

*Hist. lib. 1. p.*

*352. & c. 359.*

*Eccl. Poll. in*

*vit. Claud. c. 8.*

*p. 806.*

<sup>a</sup> *Enst. H. E. b.*  
<sup>7.</sup> *c. 27. p. 278.*

lowing year. \* Nicephorus makes him to have lived to a very great age, which he must, if (as he affirms) he died under Dioclesian; and \* Suidas by a mistake much more prodigious, makes him to de cease in the reign of Julian. A little before his death, being sensible that his time drew near, he sent up and down the City and the Vicinage to make a strict enquiry whether there were any that yet were strangers to the Christian Faith. And being told that there were but seventeen in all, he sighed, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, appealed to God how much it troubled him, that he should leave any part of mens salvation incomplete, but that withall it was a mercy that challenged the most grateful resentment, that when he himself had found but seventeen Christians at his first coming thither, he should leave but seventeen Idolaters to his successor. Having heartily prayed for the conversion of Infidels, and the increase and consummation of those that were converted, he calmly and peaceably resigned up his soul to God: having first enjoined his friends to make no trouble about his Funeral, nor procure him any proper and peculiar place of burial, but that as in his life time he had carried himself as a Pilgrim and Foreigner in the World, claiming nothing for himself, so after death he might enjoy the portion of a Stranger, and be cast into the common lot.

XIX. HE was a man (says \* S. Basil) of a Prophetical and Apostolic temper, and who in the whole course of his life expressed the height and accuracy of an Evangelical conversation. In all his devotions he was wont to shew the greatest reverence, never covering his head in prayer, as accounting that of the Apostle most proper and rational, that every one praying or prophesying with his head covered, dishonoureth his head. All Oaths he avoided, making Yea and Nay the usual measure of his communication. Out of regard to our Lords threatening he durst never call his Brother Fool; no anger, wrath, or bitterness proceeded out of his mouth. Slandering and reproaching others he greatly hated, as a quality opposite to a state of salvation. Envy and Pride were strangers to his innocent and guileless soul. Never did he approach the holy Altar, till first reconciled to his Brother. He severely abominated lies and falshood, and all cunning and artificial methods of detraction; well knowing that every lie is the spawn and issue of the Devil, and that God will destroy all those that speak lies.

XX. HIS Writings are first particularly mentioned by \* S. Hierom, who reckons up his Eucharistical Panegyric to Origen, his short and (as he calls it) very useful Metaphrase upon Ecclesiastes, several Epistles (in which doubtless his Canonical Epistle had the first place) and his Creed or short exposition of Faith, which though not taken notice of in some, is extant in other Editions of S. Hieroms Catalogue. All which (some of his Epistles excepted) are still extant, and probably are all he ever wrote. For though there are other Tracts commonly ascribed to him, yet without any great reason or evidence to warrant their legitimacy, whereof their strongest assertors are not very confident. It appears from \* S. Basil that he was by some of old suspected as inclining to Sabellianism, which confounded the persons in the holy Trinity, and that many sheltered themselves under his authority from an expression of his, affirming that the Father and Son are two in the consideration of the mind, but one in person. For this S. Basil makes a large Apology, and shews that it was spoken in the heat of disputation against Aelian a Gen-

tile, ὁ δὲ γὰρ λέγει, ἀλλ' ἑνὸς νοῦ, not dogmatically as a point of Doctrin, but in heat and in the fervency of disputation, when judgment and consideration is not at leisure to weigh every thing by nice scruples; that his earnest desire to gain the Gentile made him less cautious and solicitous about exactness of words, and that he indulged something to the apprehensions of his adversary, that so he might get the better advantage upon him in the greater and more important principles; that this betrayed him into some unwary expressions, which the Heretics of after-times improved to bad purposes, and strained to another sense then what was originally intended by him that spake them: That as to the particular charge of the Sabellian error, he was so far from it, that it had been chiefly confuted and laid asleep by the evidence of that very doctrin which S. Gregory had preached, the memory whereof was preserved fresh among them. However nothing can be more true and modest then what \* S. Hierom observes in such cases, that it's great rashness and irreverence presently to charge the Ancients with Heresie for a few obnoxious expressions, since it may be, they erred with a simple and an honest mind, or wrote them in another sense, or the passages have been since altered by ignorant Transcribers, or they took less heed and care to deliver their minds with the utmost accuracy and exactness, while as yet men of perverse minds had not sown their tares, nor disturbed the Church with the clamour of their disputations, nor infected mens minds with their poisonous and corrupt opinions.

His Writings.

Genuine.	Supposititious.
Πανηγυρὶς ἐνχαριστίας ad Origenem.	Ἡ κτ' μέρ. Πίσις.
Metaphrasis in Ecclesiastem.	Capita XII. de fide, cum Anathematismis.
Brevis expositio fidei.	In Annunciationem S. Dei Genitricis Sermones III.
Epistola Canonica.	Sermo in Sancta Theophrasia.
Aliae Epistolae plures, quae non extant.	Ad Tatianum de Anima λέγει. νεφέ. λαλώδης.

The End of S. GREGORY Thaumaturgus's Life.

THE LIFE OF  
**S. DIONYSIUS**  
 BISHOP OF  
 ALEXANDRIA.



**S. DIONYSIUS ALEXANDRINUS.**

*The place of his nativity. His Family and Relations. His conversion how. His studies under Origen. Whether a professed Rhetorician. His succeeding Heraclas in the Catechetical School. His being constituted Bishop of*

of Alexandria, and the time of it. A preparatory Persecution at Alexandria, how begun. The severity of it. The Martyrdom of Apollonia, and the fond honours done her in the Church of Rome. The Persecution continued and promoted by Decius his Edicts. The miserable condition of the Christians. The sudden Conversion and Martyrdom of a Guard of Souldiers. Dionysius apprehended and carried into banishment, there to be beheaded. A pleasant account of his unexpected deliverance by means of a drunken rout. His retirement into the Desarts. His return to Alexandria. The great number and quality of the Lapsed in the late Persecution. The contests about this matter. Dionysius his judgment and practice herein. The case of Serapion. His dealing with Novatian about his Schism, and the copy of his Letter to him. His being engaged in the controversy about Rebaptization, and great moderation in it. His Letter to Pope Sixtus about a person baptized by Heretics. Valerianus the Emperours kindness to Christians. How turned to cruelty. Dionysius brought before Æmilian. His discourse with him, and resolute constancy. He is condemned to be banished. His transportation into the Desarts of Lybia. The success of his Ministry there. Innumerable Barbarians converted to the Faith. Gallienus his relaxing the Persecution. His Letter to Dionysius granting liberty to the Christians. Alexandria shut up by the usurpation of Æmilian. The Divisions within, and Siege without. The horrible Pestilence at Alexandria; and the singular kindness and compassion of the Christians there above the Heathens. Dionysius his confutation of Sabellius. His unwary expressions, and the charge against him. His vindication, both by himself and by S. Athanasius. His writing against Nepos. Nepos who, and what his Principles and Followers. Dionysius his encounter with the heads of the Party; His convincing and reducing them back to the Orthodox Church. His engaging in the Contraversie against Paulus Samosatenus. The loose, extravagant, and insolent temper and manners of that man. Dionysius his Letter to the Synod at Antioch concerning him. The success of that affair. Dionysius his death. His Writings and Epistles. The loss of them bewailed.

I.



DIONYSIUS was in all probability born at Alexandria, where his Parents seem to have been persons of considerable note and quality, and his Father, and possibly his Ancestors, to have born very honourable Offices, and himself to have lived some time in great secular pomp and power. He was born and bred a Gentile, but by what particular occasion converted to Christianity, I know not, more then what we learn from a Vision and Voice that spake to him, mentioned by himself, that by a diligent reading whatever Books fell into his hand, and an impartial examination of the things contained in them, he was first brought over to the Faith. Having passed his juvenile studies, he put himself under the institution of the renowned Origen, the great Master at that time at Alexandria, famous both for Philosophic and Christian Lectures, after which he is said by some to have publicly professed Rhetoric and Eloquence; as indeed there seems a more peculiar vein of Fancie and Rhetoric to run through those fragments of his Discourses which do yet

Epist. ad Phil. l. 6. c. 7. p. 253.  
 Ibid. l. 6. c. 29. p. 229. Hieron. de Script. in Dionys.  
 Anastas. Sinait. Ody. c. 22. p. 341.  
 Maxim. Schol. in c. 5. de Celest. Hierarch. p. 24. Tom. 2.

yet remain. But I can scarce believe that the Dionysius mentioned by Anastasius and Maximus, and by them said of a Rhetorician to be made Bishop of Alexandria, to have been the same with ours, were it for no other reason, then that he is said to have written Scholia on the Works of S. Denys the Areopagite, which we are well assured had no being in the World till many years after his time. Ann. CCXXXII. Demetrius Bishop of Alexandria being dead, Heraclas one of Origen's Scholars, and his successor in the Catechetical School, succeeded in his room; upon whose preferment Dionysius then Presbyter of that Church was advanced to his place. Wherein he discharged himself with so much care and diligence, such universal applause and satisfaction, that upon Heraclas his death, who sat fifteen or sixteen years, none was thought so fit to be again his successor as Dionysius, who accordingly entred upon that See. Ep. ejus ad Fab. ib. c. 39. p. 232. Ann. CCXLVI. though Eusebius his Chronicon places it two years after, Philippi Imp. Ann. V. expressly contrary to his History, where he assigns the third year of that Emperour, for the time of his consecration to that place.

II. THE first years of his Episcopal charge were calm and peaceable, till Decius succeeding in the Empire Ann. CCXLIX. turned all into hurry and combustion, persecuting the Christians with the utmost violence, whereof the Church of Alexandria had a heavy portion. Indeed the Persecution there had begun a year before, while Philip the Emperour was yet alive, upon this occasion: A certain Gentile Priest or Poet led the Dance, exciting the People of that place (naturally prone to superstition) to revenge the quarrel of their gods. The multitude once raised, ran on with an uncontrollable fury, accounting cruelty to the Christians, the onely instance of piety to their gods. Immediately they lay hands upon one Metras an aged man, who refusing to blaspheme his Saviour, they beat him with clubs, pricked him in the face and eyes with sharp Reeds, and afterwards leading him into the Suburbs, stoned him. The next they seized on was a Woman called Quinta, whom they carried to the Temple, where having refused to worship the Idol, she was dragged by the feet through the streets of the City over the sharp flints, dashed against great stones, scourged with whips, and in the same place dispatched by the same death. Apollonia an ancient Virgin being apprehended, had all her teeth dashed out, and was threatned to be burnt alive, who onely begging a little respite, of her own accord cheerfully leapt into the flames. Incredible it is (but that the case is evident from more instances then one) with how fond a veneration the Church of Rome celebrates the memory of this Martyr. They infinitely extol her for the nobility of her Birth, the eminent piety and virtues of her Life, her chastity, humility, frequent fastings, fervent devotions, &c. (though not one syllable of all this mentioned by any ancient Writer) bring in a voice from Heaven stiling her, the Spouse of Christ, and telling her, that God had granted her what she had asked. They make her the tutelar Goddess or Guardian of all that are troubled with the tooth or headach, and in many solemn Offices of that Church, pray that at her intercession God would cure them of those pains; nay formally address their prayers to her, that she would intercede with God for them on that behalf, and by her Passion obtain for them (they are the very words of the Prayer) the remission of all the sins which with teeth and mouth they had committed through gluttony and speaking. Innumerable

Ep. ejus ad Fab. ib. c. 39. p. 232.

Vid. Bollandi de vit. SS. ad Febr. IX.

are

are the miracles reported of her, and to me, it seems a miracle, and to exceed all the rest, were it true, what is related of the vast number of her teeth. For besides those which are preserved among the Reliques of foreign Churches (which are not a few) we are \*told, that when King Edward, then afflicted with the Tooth-ach, commanded that all S. Apollonia's teeth in the Kingdom should be sought out and sent him; so many were brought in, that several great Tuns could not hold them. It seems they were resolved to make her ample amends for those few teeth she lost at the time of her Martyrdom. But it is time to return to the Alexandrian Persecution, where they every where broke open the Christians houses, taking away the best of their goods, and burning what was not worth the carrying away. A Christian could not stir out day or night, but they presently cried out, *Away with him to the fire.* In which manner they continued, till quarrelling among themselves they fell foul upon one another, and gave the Christians a little breathing time from the pursuits of their malice and inhumanity.

III. IN this posture stood affairs when Decius having usurped the Empire, routed and killed his Master Philip, his Edict arrived at Alexandria, which gave new life to their rage and cruelty. And now they fall on afresh, and persons of all ages, qualities, and professions are accused, summoned, dragged, tortured, and executed with all imaginable severity; multitudes of whom, \*Dionysius particularly reckons up, together with the manner of their martyrdom and execution. Vast numbers that fled for shelter to the Woods and Mountains, met with a worse death abroad, than that which they sought to avoid at home, being famished with hunger and thirst, starved with cold, over-run with diseases, surprized by thieves, or worried by wild beasts, and many taken by the Arabs and barbarous Saracens, who reduced them into a state of slavery more miserable than death itself. In this evil time though many revolted from the Faith, yet others maintained their station with a firm and unshaken courage, and several who till that moment had been strangers and enemies to the Christian Religion, on a sudden came in and publicly professed themselves Christians in open defiance of those immediate dangers that attended it. Whereof one instance may suffice. One who was thought to be a Christian, and ready to renounce his Religion, being led into the place of Judicature, Ammon, Zeno, and the rest of the military Guard that stood at the door, derided him as he was going in, gnashing upon him with their teeth, and making such grimaces, such mimic and antique gestures, that all mens eyes were upon them. When behold on a sudden before any one laid hand upon them, they came into open Court, and unanimously professed themselves to be Christians. An accident wherewith the Governors and the Assessors upon the Bench were strangely surprized and troubled. The condemned were chearful and courageous, and most ready to undergo their torments, while the Judges themselves were amazed and trembled. Sentence being passed upon them, they went out of Court in a kind of pomp and state, rejoicing in the testimony they were to give to the Faith, and that God would so gloriously triumph in their execution.

IV. S. DIONYSIUS bore a part in the common Tragedy, though God was pleased to preserve him from the last and severest act, as a person eminently useful to his Church. No sooner had Sabinus the Prefect received the Imperial Orders, but he immediately dispatched a Frumen-

tarius, or military Officer (whose place it was to seize Delinquents, and enquire out seditious reports and practices against the State, and therefore particularly belonged to Judges and Governours of Provinces) to apprehend him. The Serjeant went all about, and narrowly ransacked every corner, searching all ways and places where he thought he might hide himself, but in the mean time never searched his own house, concluding he would not dare to abide at home, and yet there he staid four days together, expecting the Officers coming thither. At length being warned of God, he left his house with his servants and some of the Brethren that attended him, but not long after fell into the hands of the Souldiers, and having received his sentence, was conducted by a Guard under the command and conduct of a Centurion and some other Officers to Taposiris, a little Town between Alexandria and Canopus, there probably to be beheaded with less noise and clamour. It happened in the mean while that Timotheus one of his friends, knowing nothing of his apprehension, came to the house where he had been, and finding it empty, and a Guard at the door, fled after him in a great amazement and distraction, whom a Country man meeting upon the Road, enquired of him the cause why he made so much hast. He probably supposing to have heard some news of them, gave him a broken and imperfect relation of the matter. The man was going to a Wedding feast (which there they were wont to keep all night) and entering the house told his company what he had heard. They heated with Wine, and elevated with mirth, rose all up and ran out of doors, and with a mighty clamour came towards the place where he was. The Guard hearing such a noise and confusion at that time of night, left their Prisoner and ran away, whom the rabble coming in found in bed. The good man supposing them to be Thieves, was reaching his cloaths that lay by him to give them; but they commanded him to rise presently and go along with them, whereat he besought them (understanding now the errand upon which they came) to dismiss him and depart, at least to be so kind to him, as to take the Souldiers Office upon them, and themselves behead him. While he was thus passionately importuning them, they forced him to rise, and when he had thrown himself upon the ground, they began to drag him out by the hands and feet, but quitted him not long after, and returned it's like to their drunken sports. This Trage-comic Scene thus over, Caius and Faustus, Peter and Paul, Presbyters, and his fellow-prisoners, took him up, and leaving the Town, set him upon an Ass, and conveyed him away into a desolate and uncomfortable part of the Desarts of Lybia, where he together with Peter and Caius, lay concealed, till the storm was over-past.

V. THE Persecution being in a great measure blown over by the death of Decius, Dionysius came out of his Solitudes, and returned to Alexandria, where he found the affairs of his Church infinitely entangled and out of order, especially by reason of those great numbers that had denied the Faith, and lapsed into Idolatry in the late Persecution, among which were many of the wealthy and the honourable, and who had places of authority and power; some freely renouncing, others so far degenerating from the Gallantry of a Christian spirit, that when cited to appear and sacrifice to the gods (as he tells us<sup>b</sup>) they trembled, and looked as pale and gaily, as if they had come not to offer, but to be made a sacrifice, inasmuch that the very Gentiles derided and despised them.

\* Vid. Chemnit. ex am. Concil. Vid. Part. IV. de viliq. SS. p. 13. col. 1.

\* Ibid. p. 238.

b Ibid. p. 240.

c Epist. Dion. ad German. Ibid. c. 40. p. 235.

\* Vid. Epist. ejus ad Domit. ib. l. 7. c. 11. p. 260.

b Ibid. c. 40. p. 238.

them. Most of these after his return sued to be readmitted to the Communion of the Church, which the Ecclesiastic Discipline of those Times did not easily allow of, especially after the *Novatian* principles began to prevail, which denied all communion to the lapsed, though expressing their sorrow by never so long and great a penance. Upon what occasion *Novatus* and his partner *Novatian* first started this rigorous and severe opinion, how eagerly *Cyprian* and the *African* Bishops stickled against it, how far it was condemned both there and at *Rome*, in what cases and by what measures of Penance the lapsed Penitents were to be taken in, we have already noted in *Cyprian's* Life. *S. Dionysius* was of the moderate Party, wherein he had the concurrence of most of the *Eastern* Bishops, and as he \*pleads the general judgment and practice of the holy Martyrs, many of whom had before their death received the lapsed upon their repentance again into the Church, and had themselves freely communicated with them. Whose judgment he thought it not reasonable should be despised, nor their practice controlled, nor the accustomed order overturned. Indeed he himself had ever observed this course, and therefore at the beginning of the Persecution had given order to the Presbyters of the Church to restore peace, and give the Eucharist to Penitents, especially in danger of death, and where they had before earnestly desired it. Which was done accordingly, as appears from the memorable instance of *Scrapion*, an aged person, mentioned by him, who having lapsed in the time of Persecution, had often desired reconciliation, but in that confused time could not obtain it: but being suddenly surprized by a summons of death, and having laid three days speechless, on the fourth had onely so much use of his tongue restored him, as to bid his Nephew, a Boy that attended him, go for one of the Presbyters, to give him absolution, without which he could not die. The Presbyter was at that time sick, but pitying the mans case, gave the Boy a little part of the consecrated Eucharist, which he kept by him, bidding him moisten it, and put it into his mouth. Which was no sooner done, but he breathed out his soul with unspeakable comfort and satisfaction, that he now died in communion with the Church.

VI. NOR was his care herein confined to his single Diocess, but he wrote Letters about this matter to most of the eminent Bishops and Governours of the Church. And that he might leave nothing unattempted, he treated with *Novatian* (or as he calls him *Novatus*) himself, endeavouring by all mild and gentle methods to reduce him to the peace and order of the Church. His Epistle to him, being but short and very pateristical, we shall here subjoin.

*Dionysius* to *Novatus* our Brother, greeting:

**F**Orasmuch as you your self confess, you were unwillingly drawn into this Schism, make it appear so by your willing and ready returning to the Church. For better it were to suffer any thing, then that the Church of God should be rent asunder. Nor is it less glorious to suffer Martyrdom upon this account, then in the case of not sacrificing to Idols. Yea, in my mind much more honourable. For in the one case a man suffers onely for his own soul, but in this he undergoes Martyrdom for the whole Church of God. And if now thou shalt persuade and reduce thy brethren to peace and concord, thy

merit will out-weigh thy crime. The one will not be charged to thy reproach, and the other will be mentioned to thy praise. And suppose thou shalt not be able to persuade them, yet however save thy own soul. I pray that thou mayest live peaceably, and farewell in the Lord.

VII. NO sooner had he well rid his hands of this, but he was engaged in another controversy, which involved and disturbed the whole Christian Church, I mean that concerning the rebaptizing those who had been baptized by Heretics, so hotly disputed between *S. Cyprian* and *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*. *Dionysius* together with *Firmilian* Bishop of *Casarea* in *Cappadocia*, and a great many others in the *East*, stood on *Cyprian's* side, maintaining that they ought to be baptized. But however carried himself in it with great temper and moderation; he distinguished between Apostates who had received their baptism in the Catholic Church, and those upon their return they did not baptize (as *Cyprian* also affirms) but onely admitted by imposition of hands, and this rule and practice, he tells us<sup>b</sup>, he had learned from his predecessor *Heraclas*:<sup>c</sup> but then for pure Heretics, who had no other baptism then what had been conferred by Heretical persons, (which in reality was null and of no effect) these he thought fit to be entered into the Church by Catholic baptism. Besides that, he engaged more as a Mediator, then a Party, writing to Pope *Stephen* to use moderation in the case, as he did also to *Sixtus* his successor, and most other Bishops of that time. Indeed that he was not stiff and rigorous in his sentiments, may appear from the instance he relates in his Epistle to Pope *Sixtus*, wherein he begs his advice. A certain man in his Church, who went among the Classe of the faithful, both in his and his Predecessors days, beholding the form and manner of Baptism as it was administered among the Orthodox, came to *Dionysius*, and with tears bewailed his own case, and falling at his feet, confessed that the Baptism which he had received among the Heretics was nothing like this, but full of blasphemy and impiety; that for this reason he was infinitely troubled in conscience, and durst not lift up his eyes to Heaven, begging that he might partake of the true and sincere Baptism, and that grace and acceptation that was conferred by it. This *Dionysius* would not admit, telling him that his long communion with the Church was equivalent to it, that he that had so often been present at the giving of thanks, and said *Amen* to the prayers of the Congregation, that had stood before the holy Table, and had taken the holy food into his hands, and been so very long partaker of the body and blood of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, that having done thus for so many years together, he durst not admit him to another Baptism: bidding him to be of good cheer, and with a firm faith and a good conscience approach the holy Sacrament. All which notwithstanding did not quiet the mans mind, but that still he droopt under his fears and scruples, durst not be present at the Lords Table, nor could hardly be persuaded to come to the public Prayers. What answer *Sixtus* returned to this instance, is uncertain, but by this it is evident, that *S. Dionysius* was no zealot for the contrary opinion, though it must be confessed, there was something particular in this, that occurred not in ordinary cases, he presuming that so long a communion with the Church, so continued and open a profession of the Orthodox Faith did tantamount a being legally initiated and baptized into it.

P p

VIII. IN

\* *Epist. ad Fab.*  
*lib. 4. c. 24.*

<sup>a</sup> *Epist. c. 44. p.*  
*246.*

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid. c. 45. p.*  
*247.*

<sup>a</sup> *Ibid. l. 7. c. 4.*  
*p. 251.*

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid. c. 253.*

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid. c. 9. p.*  
*254.*

VIII. IN these contests he passed over the short reign of *Gallus*, *De-*  
*cus* his successor, who not taking warning \* by his predecessors error,  
a Dion. Epist. ad  
Herm. lib. c. 1.  
p. 252. stumbled at the same stone. And when he found all things quiet and  
peaceable, must needs fall a persecuting the Christians, whose prayers  
with Heaven secured the peace and prosperity of the Empire. But this  
b Ibid. c. 10. p.  
255. alas was but a preparatory storm to that which followed in the reign of  
*Valerian*, whom our *Dionysius* makes to be the *Beast* in the *Revelation*,  
*to whom was given a month speaking great things, and blasphemies, and power*  
*was given unto him to continue forty and two months.* He was at first ex-  
traordinarily kind to Christians beyond any of the precedent Empe-  
rours, even those who were themselves accounted Christians: so that  
his whole Family was full of pious and good men, and his house a kind of  
Church. But this weather was too fair and benign to last long: Being  
seduced and deluded by an Arch-Magician of *Egypt*, he was prevailed  
with to fall from his kindness, and to persecute the Christians, whom  
the Conjuror represented as persons, who by wicked and execrable  
charms hindered the Emperours prosperity, colouring his pretence from  
their power over *Demons*, whose mischievous Arts they obstructed,  
and whom they ordinarily banished with the speaking of a word; and  
persuading him that to urge the *Gentile* Rites, to maintain Lustrations,  
Sacrifices, Divinations by the blood and intrails of Men and Beasts, was  
the ready way to make him happy. Whereupon Edicts were every  
where published against the Christians, and they without the least pro-  
tection exposed to the common rage.

c Ep. ejus ad  
Herm. lib. c. 11.  
p. 257.

IX. ORDERS being come to *Alexandria*, *Dionysius* accompanied  
with some of his Clergy, addressed himself to *Æmilian* the Governour,  
who did not at first downright forbid him to hold their solemn Assem-  
blies, but endeavoured to persuade him to leave off that way of Wor-  
ship, presuming others would quickly follow his example. The an-  
swer he returned was short and Apostolical, that *we must obey God rather*  
*then men*, openly assuring him, that he would worship the true God,  
and none but him, from which resolution he would never start, nor  
ever cease to be a Christian. The Governour told them, that both by  
word and writing he had acquainted them with the great clemency of  
the Emperours towards them, permitting them to be safe, if they would  
but act agreeably to nature, and adore the Gods that were Protectors  
of the Empire, and he hoped they would be more grateful than to re-  
fuse it. The Bishop replied, that every one worshipped those whom  
they thought to be gods, that as for themselves they adored and served  
that one God, who is the Creator of the World, and who gave that  
Government to the Emperours, and to whom they offered up dayly  
prayers for the permanency and stability of their Empire. To which  
the other rejoined, that if he were a god, none hindered them from wor-  
shipping him together with them who were truly gods, they being en-  
joined to worship [not one, but] gods, and those whom all men owned  
to be so. *Dionysius* answered, *We cannot worship any other.* "I see, re-  
plied *Æmilian*, that you are a company of foolish and ingrateful  
people, and not sensible of the favour of our Lords the Emperours:  
"wherefore you shall stay no longer in this City, but be sent to *Cephro*  
"in the parts of *Lybia*, for thither according to the Emperours com-  
mand, I resolve to banish you. Nor shall either you, or any of your  
"Seet have leave to keep your meetings, or to frequent your *Cemeteria*;  
"which

"which if any dare to attempt, it shall be at his peril, and he shall be pu-  
nished suitably to his crime. Be gone therefore to the place allot-  
ted you.

X. THE sentence was speedily put into execution, *Dionysius* though  
then sick, not being allowed one days respite to recover himself, or pro-  
vide for his journey thither. Indeed when he came distinctly to under-  
stand the place of his exile, he was a little troubled, knowing it to be a  
place destitute of the society of good men, and perpetually exposed to  
the incursions of Thieves and Robbers; but was better satisfied when  
told that it was near a great and populous City, whose neighbourhood  
would furnish him with persons both for Converse, and for opportuni-  
ties of Conversion. *Cephro* was the most rude and barbarous Tract of  
the *Lybian* Desert, and *Colythius* (which as \* *Nicephorus* tells us, was that  
particular part of it to which *Dionysius* was designed) the most uncom-  
fortable it's like of all the rest. Thither therefore was he sent, whom  
great numbers of Christians quickly followed, partly from *Alexandria*,  
and partly out of other parts of *Egypt*. At his first arrival he was treat-  
ed with rudeness and shows of stones, but had not been long there, be-  
fore he not onely civilized their barbarous manners, but reclaimed them  
from idolatry, and brought them to embrace the Christian Faith. And  
as he met with success, so he shifted his quarters, preaching up and  
down those wild and disconsolate parts, and turning the Wilderness  
into a Church. Nor could all the malice and threatnings of the Gover-  
nour hinder, but that the Christians still assembled at *Alexandria*, not-  
withstanding that their beloved Bishop was ravished from them, and  
that *Æmilian* proceeded with the utmost rigour against all that were  
brought before him, killing many with all the arts of cruelty, keeping  
others for the rack and torment, loading them with chains, and thrust-  
ing them into squalid and nasty Dungeons, forbidding any of their friends  
to come near them. Though even in the height of these afflictions  
God supported their spirits, and animated others to venture in, and to  
administer comfort and necessaries to them, not scrupling though with  
the peril of their heads to interr the bodies of the Martyrs.

XI. HOW long *Dionysius* continued in his banishment, I find not,  
probably till *Valerian* was taken captive by the King of *Persia*, *Ann.*  
CCLIX. when *Gallienus* his Son ruled alone, who from the unhappi-  
ness of his Father took the measures of his carriage towards the Chri-  
stians: he saw that while he favoured the Christians, Heaven smiled  
upon his designs, and things went on in a smooth and uninterrupted  
course; but when once he began to bear hard upon them, the Tide tur-  
ned, and the divine vengeance pursued and overtook them, and that  
therefore nothing could be more prudent and reasonable, then to give a  
check to the present fury, and suffer them to go on securely in the exer-  
cise of their Religion, which he did by this following Edict.

\* Euseb. l. 7. c.  
13. p. 262.

Emperour Cæsar P. Licinius GALLIENUS,  
Pius, Felix, Augustus, to Dionysius, Pinnas,  
Demetrius, and the rest of the Bishops.

WE have given Order that the Indulgence of our bounty shall be extended throughout the World, that all Religious places shall be freed from force and violence. Wherefore ye also may freely enjoy the benefit of our Rescript, so as no man shall dare to vex or molest you, and what you now may lawfully enjoy has been long since granted by Us. And for this end Aurelius Cyrenius Our High Steward shall keep the Copy of this Edict which we have now granted.

The like Rescript he also sent to other Bishops, giving them the free leave of their Cemeteries, the places where they buried their dead, and often assembled for their Religious Solemnities, especially the memorials of the Martyrs.

XII. SCARCE was Dionysius quietly settled at home, when he was alarm'd by another accident, which forced him for a while again, if not to retire, at least to keep so close, that he was not capable to execute his charge. <sup>a</sup>Æmilianus the Præfect partly by his own ambition, and partly forced by an unhappy accident wherein he was involved, took the Empire upon him, the Roman Army in Egypt joining with him, partly out of dislike to Gallienus, partly out of affection to Æmilian, who was a brisk active man. Immediately he seized upon the Store-houses, that Countrey being the common Granary of the Empire. Gallienus being acquainted with the news, ordered Theodotus his General to march with an Army into those parts, who besieged Alexandria, and reduced the City to great extremity. For they were not more vigorously assaulted by the enemy from without, then undermined <sup>b</sup> by Parties and Factions within, the City being divided into two Factions, one contending for Gallienus, and the other for Æmilian. So that there was no converse nor commerce between them, Dionysius being compelled in all his private affairs, and the public concernment of his Church to transact with his friends by Letters, it being safer, as he tells us, for a man to travel from East to West, then to pass from one part of Alexandria to another, so barbarous and inhumane were the outrages committed there. The issue was, that Gallienus his Party prevailed to let in Theodotus and his Army, who seized the Tyrant, and sent him to the Emperour, who caused him to be strangled in Prison.

XIII. HOW stormy and tempestuous is the Region of this Lower World! one Wave perpetually pressing upon the neck of another. The Persecution was seconded by a Civil War and a cruel Famine, and that no sooner over, but a terrible Plague followed close at the heels of it; one of the most dreadful and amazing Judgments which God sends upon mankind. It over-ran City and Coun-

try,

try, sweeping away what the fury of the late Wars had left, there not having been known (saith the Historian <sup>a</sup>) in any Age so great a destruction of mankind. This Pestilence (which some say <sup>b</sup> came first out of Æthiopia) began in the reign of Gallus and Volusian, and ever since more or less straggled over most parts of the Roman Empire, and now kept its fatal residence at Alexandria, where by an impartial severity it mowed down both Gentiles and Christians, and turned the Paschal solemnity (it being then the time <sup>c</sup> of Easter) into days of weeping and mourning, all places were filled with dying groans, and sorrows either for friends already dead, or those that were ready to depart, it being now, as formerly under that great Egyptian Plague, and something worse, there was a great cry in Egypt, for there was not an house where there was not only one, but many dead. In this sad and miserable time how vastly different was the carriage of the Christians and the Heathens. The Christians out of the superabundance of their kindness and charity without any regard to their own health and life, boldly ventured into the thickest dangers, daily visiting, assisting, and ministering to their sick and infected brethren, cheerfully taking their pains and distempers upon them, and themselves expiring with them. And when many of those whom they thus attended, recovered and lived, they died themselves, as if by a prodigious and unheard of charity, they had willingly taken their diseases upon them, and died to save them from death. And these the most considerable both of Clergy and People, cheerfully embracing a death that deserved a title little less then that of Martyrdom. They embraced the bodies of the dead, closed their eyes, laid them out, washed and dressed them up in their funeral weeds, took them upon their shoulders, and carried them to their Graves, it not being long before others did the same offices for them. The Gentiles on the contrary put off all sense of humanity, when any began to fall sick, they presently cast them out, ran from their dearest friends and relations, and either left them half dead in the high-ways, or threw them out as soon as they were dead, dreading to fall under the same infection, which yet with all their care and diligence they could not avoid.

XIV. NOR were these the onely troubles the good man was exercised with, he had contests of another nature that swallowed up his time and care. Sabellius a Libyan, born at Ptolemais a City of Pentapolis, had lately started <sup>d</sup> dangerous notions and opinions about the doctrine of the holy Trinity, affirming the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be but one subsistence, one person under three several names, which in the time of the Old Testament gave the Law under the notion of the Father, in the New, was made man in the capacity of the Son, and descended afterwards upon the Apostles in the quality of the Holy Ghost. Dionysius as became a vigilant Pastor of his Flock, presently undertakes the man, and while he managed the cause with too much eagerness and fervency of disputation, he bent the stick too much the other way, asserting not onely <sup>e</sup>περόντα ἡβ̄ ὑποστάσεων, a distinction of Persons, but <sup>f</sup>ἑνὸς ἀφ' οὗ, a difference of Essence, and an inequality of Power and Glory. For which he is severely censured by S. Basil and some of the Ancients, as one of those that mainly opened the gap to those Arrian impieties that after broke in upon the World. Though S. Basil could not but so far do him right, as to say that it was not any ill meaning, but onely an over-vehement desire to oppose his adversary that betrayed him into those

<sup>a</sup> Tr. Poll. in vit.  
<sup>b</sup> Æmil. p. 778.  
<sup>c</sup> in vit. Gall.  
c. 4. p. 715.

<sup>d</sup> Dionys. Epist.  
ad Hierach. ib.  
c. 21. p. 266.

<sup>a</sup> Zosim. Histor.  
l. 1. p. 347.  
<sup>b</sup> Porp. l. c. in  
vit. Gall. p. m.  
1235. Entrop.  
H. Rom. l. 9. p.  
1924.

<sup>c</sup> Dionys. ib. c.  
22. p. 268.

<sup>d</sup> Dion. Epist.  
ad Sx. ib. c. 6.  
p. 252. Niceph.  
l. 6. c. 26. p. 419.

<sup>e</sup> Basil. ad  
Maga. Philos.  
Epist. XII.  
p. 60.

<sup>f</sup> ubi sapr.

those unwary and inconsiderate assertions. Some Bishops of *Pentapolis* immediately took hold of this, and going over to *Rome* represented his dangerous errors; where the case was discussed in a Synod, and Letters written to *Dionysius* about it, who in a set *Apology* answered for himself, and declared his sense more explicitly in this controversy, as may be seen at large in *Athanasius*, who has with infinite pains vindicated our *Dionysius*, his Predecessor, as a man sound and orthodox, and who was never condemned by the Governours of the Church for impious opinions, or that he held those abominable tenets which *Arrius* broached afterwards. And certainly *S. Basil* might and would have passed a milder censure, had he either perused all *Dionysius* his Writings, or remembred how much he concerned himself to clear *S. Gregory of Neocæsarea*, *Dionysius* his contemporary, from the very same charge, for which he could not but confess he had given too just occasion.

XV. NO sooner was this controversy a little over, but he was engaged in another. *Nepos* an *Egyptian* Bishop lately dead (a man eminent for his constancy in the Faith, his industry and skill in the holy Scriptures, the many Psalms and Hymns he had composed, which the Brethren sung in their public Meetings) had not long since fallen into the error of the *Millenaries*, and had published Books, to shew that the promises made in the Scriptures to good men, were *Ἰσχυρώμενον*, according to the sense and opinion of the *Jews* to be literally understood, and that there was to be a *thousand years* State upon Earth, wherein they were to enjoy sensual pleasures and delights. Endeavouring to make good his assertions from some passages in *S. John's Revelation*, styling his Book *Ἐλεγχθ. Ἀλληγορησάν, A Confutation of Allegorical Expositors*. This Book was greedily caught up and read by many, and advanced into that esteem and reputation, that Law and Prophets, and the Writings of the Evangelists and Apostles were neglected and thrown aside, and the doctrine of this Book cried up, as containing *μέγα π. & κερυμαῖον μυστήριον*, some great and extraordinary mystery, concealed before from the World: the more Simple and Unwary being taught to disband all sublime and magnificent thoughts of our Lords glorious coming, the Resurrection and final judgment, and our conformity to him in glory, and to hope for a state in the Kingdom of God, wherein they should be entertained with such little and trifling, such fading and transitory things as this World does afford. *Dionysius* being then in the Province of the *Arsenosite*, where this Opinion had prevailed so far, as to draw whole Churches into Schism and Separation, summoned the Presbyters and Teachers, who preached in the Country Villages, and as many of the People as had a mind to come, advising them that in their Sermons they would publicly examine this Doctrin. They presently defended themselves with this Book, whereupon he began more closely to join issue with them, continuing with them three days together from morning to night, weighing and discussing the doctins contained in it. In all which time he admired their constancy and love to truth, their great quickness and readiness of understanding, with so much order and decency, so much modesty and moderation were the Discourses managed on both sides, doubts propounded, and assent yielded. For they took an especial care not pertinaciously to defend their former opinions, when once they found them to be erroneous, nor to shun any objections which on either part were made against them. As near as might be they kept to the present

<sup>a</sup> De Sentent. Dionys. Tom. I. p. 548. &c. & id. Phot. Cod. CCXXXII. fol. 501.

<sup>b</sup> Exhib. ibid. c. 24. p. 270.

present question, which they endeavoured to make good; but if convinced by argument that they were in the wrong, made no scruple to change their minds, and go over to the other side, with honest minds, and sincere intentions, and hearts truly devoted to God, embracing whatever was demonstrated by the holy Scriptures. The issue was, that *Coracion* the Commander and Champion of the other Party, publicly promised and protested before them all, that he would not henceforth either entertain, or dispute, or discourse, or preach these opinions, being sufficiently convinced by the arguments which the other side had offered to him: all the Brethren departing with mutual love, unanimity, and satisfaction. Such was the peaceable conclusion of this Meeting, and less could not be expected from such pious and honest souls, such wise and regular Disputers. And happy had it been for the Christian World, had all those controversies that have disturbed the Church, been managed by such prudent and orderly debates, which as usually conducted, rather widen the breach, then heal and mend it. *Dionysius* to strike the controversy dead, while his hand was in, wrote a Book concerning the Promises, (which *S. Hierom*, forgetting what he had truly said elsewhere, that it was written against *Nepos*, tells us was written against *Irenæus* Bishop of *Lyons*, mistaking the person probably for his opinion) in the first part whereof he stated the question, laid down his sense concerning it: in the second he treated concerning the *Revelation* of *S. John* (the main Pillar and Buttreffs of this Opinion) where both by reason and the testimony of others, he contends that it was not written by *S. John* the Apostle and Evangelist, but by another of that name, an account of whose judgment herein we have represented in another place.

XVI. THE last controversy wherein he was concerned was that against *Paul* of *Samofata* Bishop of *Antioch*, who had confidently vented these and such like impious dogmata, that there is but one person in the Godhead, that our blessed Saviour was, though a holy, yet a meer man, who came not down from Heaven, but was of a meer earthly extract and original, in whom the word (which he made not any thing distinct from the Father) did sometimes reside, and sometimes depart from him, with abundance of the like wicked and senseless propositions. Besides all which he was infinitely obnoxious in his morals (as few men but serve the design of some lust by Schism and bad opinions) covetous without any bounds, heaping up a vast estate (though born a poor mans son) partly by fraud and sacrilege, partly by cruel and unjust vexations of his brethren, partly by fomenting differences, and taking bribes to assist the weaker party. Proud and vain-glorious he was beyond all measure, affecting Pomp and Train, and secular Power, and rather to be stiled a temporal Prince than a Bishop, going through the streets and all public places in solemn state, with persons walking before him, and crouds of people following after him. In the Church he caused to be erected a Throne higher then ordinary, and a place which he called *Secretum*, after the manner of Civil Magistrates, who in the inner part of the *Prætorium* had a place railed in, with Curtains hung before it; where they sat to hear Causes. He was wont to clap his hand upon his thigh, and to stamp with his feet upon the Bench, frowning upon, and reproaching those, who did not Theatrically shout and make a noise while he was discoursing to them, wherein he used also to reflect upon his predecessors and the most eminent persons that had been before him, with all

<sup>a</sup> Descript. in Dionys. <sup>b</sup> Prefat. in l. 18. Com. in Esa. p. 242. T. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Antiq. Apost. Life of S. John n. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Euseb. ubi sup. c. 27. p. 277, 281. Epiph. Heret. LXXV. p. 262. Athanas. de Synod. Arim. & Seleuc. p. 920. Niceph. l. 6. c. 27. p. 420.

<sup>e</sup> Epist. Synod. II. Antioch. ap. Euseb. ibid. c. 30. p. 280. &c.

all imaginable scorn and petulancy, magnifying himself as far beyond them. The Hymns that were ordinarily sung in honour of our Lord, he abolished as late and novel, and in stead thereof taught some of his profelyted Females upon the *Easter* solemnity to chaunt out some which he had composed in his own commendation, to the horror and astonishment of all that heard them, procuring the Bishops and Presbyters of the neighbouring parts to publish the same things of him in their Sermons to the People, some of his Profelytes not sticking to affirm, that he was an *Angel* come down from Heaven. All which he was so far from controlling, that he highly encouraged them, and heard them himself not only with patience but delight. He was moreover vehemently suspected of incontinency, maintaining *ἑσθλαὶς γυναῖκες*, subintroduced *Women* in his house, and some of them persons of exquisite beauty, contrary to the Canons of the Church, and to the great scandal of Religion. And that he might not be much reproached by those that were about him, he endeavoured to debauch his Clergy, conniving at their Vices and Irregularities, and corrupting others with Pensions, and whom he could not prevail with by evil arts, he awed by power, and his mighty interest in the Princes and great ones of those parts, so that they were forced with sadness to bewail at home, what they durst not publish and declare abroad.

XVII. TO rectify these enormities most of the chief Bishops of the East resolved to meet in a Synod at *Antioch*, to which they earnestly invited our *Dionysius*. But, alas, age and infirmities had rendered him incapable of such a journey, and had given him a Writ of Ease, upon which account he begged to be excused from it. But that he might not be wanting in what he could, he sent Letters, wherein he declared his sense and opinion of those matters, and in his Epistle to the Church of *Antioch*, to shew his resentment of the thing, he not only wrote not to the man, but gave him not so much as the civility of a salutation. In this Synod the crafty Fox hid his head, dissembling his sentiments, and palliating his disorders, and confessing and recanting what he was not able to conceal, so that for the present he still continued in his place. How he was afterwards discovered and laid open, convicted, condemned and deposed in another Synod in that City, and *Domnus* substituted in his room; how he refused to submit to the sentence of the Council, and for some time maintained his station by the power of *Zenobia*, a Queen in those parts, and a Jewish Profelyte whose favour he had courted and obtained; and how at last upon the Bishops appeal he was turned out, and the Synodical Decree executed by the immediate order of the Emperour *Valerian*, is without the limits of my business to enquire.

XVIII. A little after this first Synod at *Antioch* died our *S. Denys* in the XII year of *Gallienus* Ann. CCLXV. when he had sitten seventeen years Bishop of *Alexandria*, dying probably the same year and on the same day with *S. Gregory Thaumaturgus*, whose memories are accordingly celebrated September XVII. in the Calendar of the Roman Church. His memory was continued at *Alexandria* (as we learn from *Epiphanius*) by a Church dedicated to him, but flourished much more in the incomparable Vertues of his past life, and those excellent Writings he left behind him, which mainly consisted of vast numbers of Epistles; and 'tis probable all his Writings were nothing else, his larger Tracts being written in the nature of Epistles. Which, were they still extant, instead of those little

little fragments preserved by *Eusebius*, besides other advantages, they would probably furnish us with the most material transactions of the Christian World in those times, then which in those early Ages there was not a more active and busie period of the Church.

His Writings, whereof some Fragments onely are now extant.

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|--|--|
| <i>Liber de Penitentia ad Cononem Episcopum Hermopolitanum.</i>    | <i>Epistola suo &amp; Ecclesie sue nomine ad Sixtum &amp; Eccl. Rom. de eadem re.</i>  |
| <i>Libellus de Martyrio ad Originem.</i>                           | <i>Ad Dionysium Romanum de Iuliano Epistola.</i>   |
| <i>De Promissionibus adversus Nepotem Libri II.</i>                | <i>Epistola ad Hermamonem.</i>   |
| <i>Ad Dionysium Romanum adversus Sabellium, Libri IV.</i>          | <i>Epistola ad Domitium &amp; Didymum.</i>   |
| <i>Ad Timotheum Libri de Natura.</i>                               | <i>Epistola ad Compresbyteros Alexand.</i>   |
| <i>De tentationibus Liber ad Euphran.</i>                          | <i>Epistola ad Hieracem Episc. Aegyptiac.</i>  |
| <i>Commentarius in primam partem Ecclesiasticis.</i>               | <i>Epistola de Sabbato.</i>  |
| <i>Epistola ad Cornelium Episcopum Romanum.</i>                    | <i>Epistola de Mortalitate.</i>  |
| <i>Epistola ad Stephanum Episcop. Rom. de Baptismo.</i>            | <i>De Exercitatione Epistola.</i>  |
| <i>Ad Sixtum Papam de Baptismo Epistolae III.</i>                  | <i>Epistola ad Ammonem Bernenicensem Episcopum, contra Sabellium.</i>  |
| <i>Adversus Germanum Episc. Epistola.</i>                          | <i>Alia ad Telephorum.</i>   |
| <i>Epistola ad Fabium Antiochia Episc.</i>                         | <i>Ad Euphranorem alia.</i>  |
| <i>Epistola ad Novatianum de Scilicet.</i>                         | <i>Ad Ammonem &amp; Euporum Epistola.</i>  |
| <i>Epistola de Penitentia ad Fratres per Aegyptum constitutos.</i> | <i>Ad Basilidem Episcopum Pentapolit.</i>  |
| <i>Ad gregem suum Alexandrinum Epistola oburgatoria.</i>           | <i>Epistolae plures. Ex his superest Epistola Canonica de diversis Capitibus. Extat Gr. L. Tom. I. Concil. &amp; alibi cum Commentario Balsamonis.</i> |
| <i>Epistola ad Laodiceos.</i>                                      | <i>Epistolae ἑσθλαὶς, seu Paschales plurimae.</i>  |
| <i>Epistola ad Armenios de Penitentia.</i>                         | <i>Epistola ad Ecclesiam Antiochenam adversus Paulum Samosatenum.</i>  |
| <i>Epistola ad Romanos ὁμοῦ.</i>                                   |  |
| <i>Alia ad eosdem de Pace &amp; Penitent.</i>                      |  |
| <i>Ad Confessores Novatianos Rome Epistolae III.</i>               | Doubtful, or rather Supposititious.  |
| <i>Ad Philemonem Presbyterum Romanum de Baptismo.</i>              | <i>Epistola ad Paulum Samosatenum Gr. L. Concil. Tom. I.</i>   |
| <i>Epistola itidem ad Dionysium Presbyterum Rom. de Baptismo.</i>  | <i>Responsiones ad Pauli Samosateni decem Quaestiones, Gr. L. ibid.</i>  |

*The End of S. DIONYSIUS Alexandrinus's Life.*

A  
CHRONOLOGICAL  
TABLE  
OF THE  
Three First Ages  
OF THE  
Christian Church.

Tatian. Orat. contr. Græc. p.167.

Παρ' οἷς ἀσωαρήθη ἐξὶν ἡ τῶν χρόνων ἀναγραφὴ, ὥστε ταῖς ἐδὲ τὰ τ' ἰσο-  
εῖαι ἀληθεύειν διωάτον.

Chrysoft. Homil. II. in verb. Efai. vidi Domin. Tom.3. p.740.

Καθὰ τῶν γὰρ ὅροι ἐ πῆλαι ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς τὰς ἀρέρας ἐκ ἐδὲσι Συγχρῆδς· ὅπως  
οἱ χρόνοι ἐ οἱ κρηρὶ τὰ πρὸς γράμματα ἐκ ἐδὲσιν ἀλλήλοις συμπήψην, ἀλλὰ διείρ-  
ηοντες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αὐτὰ, ἐ τῶν τ' πρὸς ἑκάστη διακρίνεις τὰ ξιν,  
πολλῆς ἀπαλλάττεισιν ἡμῶς παρεχθῆς.

L O N D O N,

Printed by Andrew Clark for Richard Chiswel at the Rose and  
Crown in S. Pauls Church-yard. MDCLXXVI.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
1	Augusti. 43	C. Julius Cæsar Vipfania- nus. L. Æmil. Paulus.	Our Lords Circumcifion : His being prefented in the Temple. His flight into Egypt. The Maffacre of the Infants at Bethlehem. The death of Herod about the time of the Paffover.
2	44	P. Vinicius Nepos. P. Alphinius Varus.	Archelaus declared Tetrarch of Judæa.
3	45	L. Ælius Lamia. L. Servilius Geminus.	In the beginning of this (or ra- ther the end of the foregoing year) our Lord returned out of Egypt. His education and abode at Nazareth.
4	46	Sex. Ælius Catus. C. Sentius Saturninus.	Augustus refufes the title of Lord.
5	47	L. Valerius Mefſala. Cn. Cornelius Cinna.	Great Earthquakes hapned. Tiber overflows. An Eclyps of the Sun, -March. 28.
6	48	M. Æmil. Lepidus. L. Arruntius Nepos.	About this time the Jews and Samaritans accused Archelaus to Augustus, who banifhed him to Vien in France.
7	49	A. Licinius Nerva. Q. Cec. Metellus Creticus.	
8	50	M. Furius Camillus. S. Nonius Quinctilianus.	
9	51	Q. Sulp. Camerinus. C. Poppæus Sabinus.	
10	52	P. Corn. Dolabella. C. Junius Silanus.	
11	53	M. Æmil. Lepidus. T. Statilius Taurus.	The Jews taxed by Quirinus the Roman Governour. In thofe days rofe up Judas of Galilee, and drew away much people af- ter him. He is ſlain, and his two ſons crucified.

Our Lord is generally fupposed to have been born Decem. XXV. fix days before the Com-  
mencement of the common *Æra*. Ann. *Augusti Imp.* XLII. For though in ſtrictnefs the XLII.  
year of *August.* ended Nov. XXVII. (accounting his reign from his entering upon the *Trium-*  
*virate*) yet ſeeing the civil *Roman* year expired not till the laſt of Decemb. it may be ſaid to ex-  
tend all that time. His XLIII. year in common reckoning, and the firſt year of the vulgar  
*Æra* of our Lord commencing Jan. 1. when the *Romans* began their year and the new Conſuls  
took place.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
12	54	T. Germanicus Cæsar. C. Fonteius Capito.	By occasion of the Passover our Lord goes up with his Parents to Jerusalem, and there disputes with the Rabbins in the Temple.
13	55	C. Silius Nepos. L. Munacius Planeus.	Augustus solemnly makes his Will, and lays it up with the Vestal Virgins.
14	56.	Sex. Pompeius Nepos.	Augustus dies, and is interred with great funeral honours. Serv. Numerius affirms upon his Oath, that he saw him ascend into Heaven.
	1 Tiberius ab Aug. 19.	Sex. Apuleius Nepos.	
15		1 Drusus J. Cæsar. 2 C. Norbanus Flaccus.	
16		2 T. Statil. Sefenna. 3 L. Scribonius Libo.	The Magicians and Mathematicians banished Rome by Tiberius.
17		3 C. Cælius Rufus. 4 L. Pomponius Flaccus.	
18		4 Cl. Tib. Nero III. 5 D. German. Cæsar II.	
19		5 M. Junius Silanus. 6 L. Norbanus Balbus.	Josephus called Caiaphas made High-priest of the Jews by the favour of Valerius Gratus the Roman Governour.
20		6 L. Valerius Messala. 7 M. Aurelius Cotta.	
21		7 Cl. Tib. Nero IV. 8 Drusus J. Cæsar II.	
22		8 C. Sulpicius Galba. 9 D. Haterius Agrippa.	
23		9 C. Asinius Pollio. 10 C. Antistius Vetus.	
24		10 Sex. Cornel. Cethegus. 11 L. Vitellius Varro.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
25	Tiber. 11	Cossus Cornel. Lentulus.	Towards the end of this year Pontius Pilat is sent to be Procurator of Judæa.
	12	M. Asinius Agrippa.	
26	12	Cn. Cornel. Lentulus. Gat.	Pilat commands the Roman Standards with the Image of Tiberius upon them to be brought into the Temple to the great offence of the Jews.
	13	C. Calvisius Sabinus.	
27	13 14	M. Licinius Crassus. L. Calphurnius Piso.	Herod Antipas putting away the daughter of Aretas King of Arabia, marries Herodias his brother Philips wife.
28	14 15	Ap. Junius Silanus. p. Silius Nerva.	Joseph our Lords reputed Father is by some said to decease this year.
29	15 16	C. Rubellius } Gemini. C. Fusius }	John the Baptist begins to preach and to baptize, (probably) about Mid-summer, or as B. Usher thinks, Octob. 19.
30	16 17	C. Cassius Longinus. M. Vinucius Quartinus.	Our Lord baptized Jan. 6. having completed the 29. year of his age, and 12. days. His first Passover April 6.
31	17 18	Tiber. Nero Cæsar. V. L. Ælius Sejanus.	His second Passover, March 28. His cure of the Paralytic at the Pool of Bethesda. His sending out the 12 Apostles. John the Baptist beheaded.
32	18 19	Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. A. Vitellius Nepos. Suff. M. Fur. Camill <sup>9</sup> Scrib.	The third Passover, April 14. 4000 fed with 7 loaves. Christs Transfiguration. The LXX. Disciples sent out. Zachæus converted. Bartimæus cured of his blindness.
33	19 20	Ser. Sulpit. Galba. L. Cornelius Sylla.	Lazarus raised. Our Lords triumphant entry into Jerusalem. The Lords Supper instituted. The fourth Passover. Our Lord apprehended, arraigned, crucified April 3. rises again, and ascends into Heaven. The 7 Deacons chosen. S. Stephen stoned, Dec. 25.

304 <i>A Chronological Table.</i>			
<i>Ann. Chr.</i>	<i>Roman Emperours.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>
34	Tiber. 20	P. Fabius Perficus.	<i>The Persecution following S. Stephen's death.</i> <i>S. Philip's preaching at Samaria. His converting and baptizing the Eunuch.</i> <i>Peter and John return to Jerusalem.</i>
		21 L. Vitellius Nepos.	
35		21 C. Cestius Gallus Camerinus.	<i>S. Paul converted, Jan. 25.</i> <i>S. Peter visits the Churches.</i> <i>Jonathan the son of Annas made High-priest. Many favours conferred upon the Jews by Vitellius.</i>
		22 M. Servilius Rufus.	
36		22 Q. Plautius Plautianus. al. Lælianus.	<i>Peters Vision.</i> <i>Cornelius his Conversion.</i> <i>Peter accused for his converse with the Gentiles at his return to Jerusalem.</i>
		23 Sex. Papinius Gallienus.	
37	Caligula } à Mart. 16.	23 Cn. Acerronius Proculus.	<i>S. Paul comes to Jerusalem, and after 15 days is by revelation commanded to depart thence. He goes for Tarsus.</i>
		24 C. Pontius Nigrinus.	
38		1 C. Cæsar Caligula. II.	<i>A cruel Persecution raised against the Jews at Alexandria by Flaccus the Præfct of Egypt</i>
		2 L. Apronius Cæfianus.	
39		2 M. Aquilius Julianus.	<i>Pontius Pilat lays violent hands upon himself.</i> <i>The great increase of the Church of Antioch. The Believers first called CHRISTIANS there.</i>
		3 P. Nonius Asprenas.	
40		3 C. Cæsar Caligula III. Suff. L. Gellius Publicola.	<i>Caligula commands Petronius to set up his Statue in the Temple at Jerusalem: but at the great instance of the Jews it is deferred.</i>
		4 M. Cocceius Nerva.	
41	Claudius } à 1 Febr.	4 C. Cæsar Caligula IV. Suff. Q. Pompon. Secundus	<i>S. James the Great the Apostle beheaded by the command of Herod. Peter delivered out of Prison.</i>
		1 Cn. Sentius Saturninus.	
42		1 Tib. Claudius Imp. II.	<i>Barnabas and Paul set forward in their preaching of the Gospel. They plant the Christian Faith in Seleucia, Cyprus, and other places.</i>
		2 C. Licinius Cæcina Largus	

<i>A Chronological Table.</i> 305			
<i>Ann. Chr.</i>	<i>Roman Emperours.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>
43	Claudii. 2	T. Claudius Imp. III.	<i>Claudius abrogates many of the Roman Festivals.</i> <i>Elion is made High-priest of the Jews in the room of Matthias the son of Ananus deposed.</i>
		3 L. Vitellius II.	
44		3 L. Q. Crispinus II.	<i>Herod dies, being immediately struck by an Angel for his pride and ambition.</i>
		4 T. Statilius Taurus.	
45		4 M. Vicinius Quartinus.	<i>The Blessed Virgin said by some to die this year, by others three years after.</i> <i>The Apostles disperse themselves to preach the Gospel to the several Provinces of the Gentile World.</i>
		5 M. Statilius Corvinus.	
46		5 C. Valerius Asiaticus.	<i>Paul and Barnabas preach at Lystra: Paul stoned there. Their return to Antioch.</i>
		6 M. Valerius Messala.	
47		6 T. Claudius Imp. IV.	<i>30000 of the Jews, raising a tumult in the Feast of Unleavened Bread slain by Ventidius Cumanus Procurator of Judæa.</i>
		7 L. Vitellius III.	
48		7 A. Vitellius postea Imp.	<i>A Council holden by the Apostles and others at Jerusalem to determine the Controversie about legal Rites. The Decrees of the Synod sent to the Churches.</i>
		8 L. Vipsanius Poplicola.	
49		8 Cn. Pompeius Gallus.	<i>Barnabas preaches the Gospel in Cyprus: S. Paul in Syria, Cilicia, &amp;c.</i> <i>The Jews banished Rome by the edict of Claudius.</i>
		9 Q. Verannius Lætus.	
50		9 C. Antistius Vetus.	<i>S. Paul having travelled through Macedonia, comes to Athens, disputes with the Philosophers, converts Dionysius the Areopagite, and thence passeth to Corinth, where he resides 18 months.</i>
		10 M. Suillius Rufus Nervilianus.	
51		10 T. Claudius Imp. V.	<i>S. Paul continues at Corinth, where he meets with Aquila and Priscilla not long before banished Rome by the decree of Claudius. Hence he writes to the Thessalon.</i>
		11 Ser. Cornelius Orsilus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
52	11 P. Cornelius Sylla Faustus.		S. Paul departs from Corinth, passes to Ephesus thence to Jerusalem, and returns back to Ephesus.
	12 L. Salvius Otho Titianus.		
53	12 D. Junius Silanus.		He preaches and disputes daily in the School of Tyrannus, convinces the Jews, and converts great numbers to the Faith.
	13 Q. Haterius Antoninus.		
54	13 M. Afnius Marcellus.		S. Paul fights with Beasts, i.e. men of evil and brutish manners at Ephesus. He preaches there still, and in the parts thereabouts.
	13 Oct. 1 M. Acilius Aviola.		
55	1 Nero Claudius Imp.		S. Pauls departure from Ephesus. He passes through Macedonia and Greece, and gathers contribution for the Saints at Jerusalem.
	2 L. Antistius Vetus.		
56	2 Q. Volusius Saturninus.		S. Paul comes to Jerusalem, and is apprehended in the Temple, and secured in the Castle. His imprisonment at Casarca, and arraignment before Felix the Roman Governour.
	3 P. Cornelius Scipio.		
57	3 Nero Claud. Imp. II.		S. Paul kept prisoner at Casarca under Felix.
	4 L. Calpurnius Piso.		
58	4 Nero Cl. Imp. III.		S. Pauls arraignment before Festus. He is sent to Rome, where he arrives about the end of this, or the beginning of the following year. *
	5 M. Valerius Messala.		
59	5 C. Vipfanius Poplicola. al. Apronianus		S. Pauls free imprisonment at Rome. He writes his Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philipians, to Timothy and Philemon.
	6 C. Fonteius Capito.		
60	6 Nero Cl. Imp. IV.		About the latter end of this year S. Paul is set at liberty, and before his departure out of Italy writes his Epistle to the Hebrews.
	7 Cossius Cornelius Lentulus		

\* The time of S. Paul's being sent to Rome, depends upon Festus his coming into Judea to succeed in the room of Felix: which though it cannot be precisely determined, yet plain it is, that it must be while Pallas (Felix his Brother, by whose mediation with the Emperour, Felix at his return had his life spared when accused by the Jews for his mal-administration) was yet in some favour with Nero, wherein he was declining some time before, and from which he seems wholly to have fallen upon Agrippina's death (upon whose interest he stood at Court) who was slain Neron. V. Ann. Chr. LIX. Pallas himself being poisoned Neron. VIII. Ann. LXII.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
61	Neronis. 7	C. Cæsonius Patus.	S. Paul now released, travels for the propagation of the Gospel, especially in the Western parts, ἐν ὁρίσιν τῆς Δύσεως ἐλθὼν, Clem. Rom. Ep. ad Corinth. p. 8. probably into Spain, or Britain.
	8	C. Petronius Turpilianus al. Sabinus.	
62	8 P. Marius Celsus.		S. James the less, the Brother of our Lord, and Bishop of Jerusalem, thrown by the Jews from the Temple, and knocked on the head with a Fullers Club.
	9 L. Afnius Gallus.		
	9 Suff. Seneca & Trebellius.		
63	9 L. Memmius Regulus.		Simcon chosen to be S. James his successor in the See of Jerusalem.
	10 Paulus Virginus Rufus.		Anianus succeeds S. Mark in the Bishoprick of Alexandria. Euseb. Chron.
64	10 C. Lecanius Bassus.		Nero burns the City of Rome, and to wipe off the odium from himself, charges it upon the Christians, and raises the First Persecution against them under that pretext.
	11 M. Licinius Crassus Frugi.		
65	11 P. Silius Nerva.		* S. Peter and Paul suffer Martyrdom at Rome.
	12 C. Julius Atticus Vestinus.		Several prodigies at Jerusalem forebode the destruction of that Church and State.
	12 Suff. Anicius Cerealis.		
66	12 C. Suetonius Paulinus.		Nero residing in Achaia, commits the management of the War against the Jews to Vespasian.
	13 L. Pontius Telesinus.		
67	13 L. Fonteius Capito.		Vespasian carries on the War with great diligence and success. Josephus is taken prisoner.
	14 C. Julius Rufus.		
68	Galba 2 a Jun. 10. 1	C. Silius Italicus. M. Galerius Trachalus Turpilianus	Phanassus the son of Samuel the last High Priest of the Jews.

\* Some of the most learned Chronologists of the Roman Church place the Martyrdom of these two great Apostles two years later, viz. Ann. Chr. LXVII. which if any like better, I will not contend, the Persecution probably extending to the last of Nero, though it seems most probable that they should suffer about the beginning of it.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
69	<i>Otho</i> } à Jan. 15. <i>Vitellius</i> } ab April. 20. <i>Vespasianus</i> } à 1. Julii	Ser. Sulpitius Galba. Imp. II. T. Vinus Rufinus. al. Crispinianus.	Vespasian being proclaimed Emperor, leaves Judæa, goes to Alexandria, and thence for Rome.
70		1 Fl. Vespasianus Imp. II. 2 T. Vespasianus Cæsar.	Titus remanded by Vespasian to prosecute the Jewish War. Jerusalem besieged, taken, sacked, and burnt. 1100000 of the Jews perish, 97000 taken prisoners.
71		2 Imp. Vespasianus III. 3 M. Cocceius Nerva, postea Imper.	The Jewish Nobility, and the spoils of the Temple carried in triumph to Rome. S. Bartholomew the Apostle said to be martyred this, by others, the following year.
72		3 Imp. Vespasianus IV. 4 T. Vespasianus Cæsar. II.	Ebion, so called from an affected poverty, born at Cocaba a Village in Basanitis, and Cerinthus noted Heretics, begin more openly to shew themselves about this time.
73		4 Fl. Domitianus. 5 M. Valerius Messalinus.	S. Thomas slain at Maliapor in India. S. Martialis at Ravenna in Italy.
74		5 Imp. Vespasianus V. 6 T. Vespasianus III.	The last Cense made at Rome: several very aged persons then noted, mentioned by Pliny, lib. 7. c. 49. justifying the great Age of several Ecclesiastic persons of those times.
75		6 Imp. Vespasianus VI. Tit. Vespasianus IV. 7 Suff. Domitianus IV.	The Temple of Peace dedicated by Vespasian, and the Jewish spoils laid up in it.
76		7 Imp. Vespasianus VII. Tit. Vespasianus V. 8 Suff. Domitianus V.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
77	<i>Vespasianus</i> } 8 9	Imp. Vespasianus VIII. Tit. Vespasianus VI. Suff. Domitianus VI.	Linus Bishop of the Church of the Gentile Christians at Rome suffers Martyrdom, having sat 12 years, 4 months, and 12 days: though others allow but 11 years, 2 months, and 23 days.
78		9 L. Ceionius Commodus Verus. 10 C. Cornelius Priscus.	Antipas a faithful Martyr slain at Pergamus. Onuphr. by others referred to Ann. 93.
79	<i>Titus</i> à } Jun. 24 } 1	10 Imp. Vespasianus IX. 1 Tit. Vespasianus VII.	A great eruption of Vesuvius; in the over-curious search whereof Pliny the Elder perished the following year.
80		1 Titus Vespas. Imp. VIII. 2 Fl. Domitianus VII.	Titus commands Josephus his History of the Jewish War to be laid up in the Library at Rome.
81	<i>Domit. à</i> } Sept. 13. } 2 3	2 M. Plautius Sylvanus. 3 M. Annus Verus Pollio.	
82		1 Domitianus Imp. VIII. 2 T. Flavius Sabinus.	
83		2 Imp. Domitianus IX. 5 T. Virginius Rufus II.	Domitian banishes the Philosophers out of Rome and Italy, and severely punishes the incest of the Vestal Virgins.
84		3 Imp. Domitianus X. 4 Ap. Junius Sabinus.	
85		4 Imp. Domitianus XI. 5 T. Aurelius Fulvus.	Anianus S. Marks successor in the Bishoprick of Alexandria, dies, and is succeeded by Avilius.
86		5 Imp. Domitianus XII. 6 Ser. Cornelius Dolabella.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
87	Domit. 6	Imp.Domitianus XIII.	Domitian assumes divine honours, commanding himself to be stiled Lord and God.
	7	A. Volusius Saturninus.	
88	7	Imp.Domitianus XIV.	
	8	M. Minucius Rufus.	
89	8	T. Aurelius Fulvius.	Philosophers and Mathematicians again banished out of Rome.
	9	A. Sempronius Atratinus.	
	9	Imp.Domitianus XV.	Apollonius Tyanaeus the famous Magician, set up by the Gentiles as Rival to our Saviour, is brought before Domitian, shews tricks of Magic, and is said immediately to vanish out of his sight.
90	10	M. Cocceius Nerva II.	The Second Persecution.
	10	M. Ulpius Trajanus.	* Cletus Bishop of Rome martyred this (if not rather the foregoing) year, April 26. he is succeeded by Clemens, May 16.
91	11	M. Acilius Glabrio.	About this time S. John is supposed to be sent by the Proconsul of Asia to Rome, and by Domitian to have been put into a Vessel of hot oil, and then banished into Patmos.
92	11	Imp.Domitianus XVI.	
	12	A. Volusius Saturninus II.	
	12	Sex. Pompeius Collega.	
93	13	Cornelius Priscus.	
	13	L. Nonius Asprenas Torquatus.	S. John writes his Book of Revelations.
94	14	M. Arrecinius Clemens.	Josephus finishes his Books of Jewish Antiquities.
	14	Imp.Domitianus XVII.	Fl. Clemens, Domitians Cousin-german, and Consul with him this year, put to death for being a Christian. His Wife Fl. Domitilla, Domitians Niece, banished for the same cause.
95	15	T. Flavius Clemens Mart.	

\* This Cletus is by the Greeks, and that with greatest probability, made the same with Anacletus, which breeds a great difference in their account of years. But because the account of the Greeks is not so clear and smooth, we have chosen, in assigning the times of the Bishops of Rome, to follow the Writers of that Church.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
96	15 Nerva à } 18. Sept. }	C. Fulvius Valens.	Nerva revoking the Acts of Domitian, S. John is released of his banishment, and returns to Ephesus.
		C. Antistius Vetus	
97	1	Coc. Nerva Imp. III. T. Virginius Rufus III. Suff. C. Cornelius Tacitus, historicus.	S. John (this year probably) after solemn preparation writes his Gospel at the earnest request of the Asian Churches.
	2	Imp. Nerva IV.	Avilius dying, Cerdo succeeds in the See of Alexandria.
98	Trajan. } à Jan. 27 }	M. Ulpius Trajanus II.	S. Clemens Bishop of Rome is banished, and condemned to the Marble Quarries in the Taurica Chersonesus.
	1	C. Sotius Senecio II.	
99	2	A. Cornelius Palma.	
	2	Imp. Trajanus III.	S. John dies, and is buried at Ephesus.
	3	M. Cornelius Fronto III. Suff. Plinius junior.	S. Clemens of Rome is thrown into the Sea, with an anchor tied about his neck, November 9. having been sole Bishop of Rome 9 years, 11 months, and 12 days.
	3	Imp. Trajanus IV.	Anacletus (according to the computation of the Church of Rome) succeeds in that See, April 3.
100	4	Sex. Articulcius Patus.	
	4	C. Sotius Senecio III.	
101	5	L. Licinius Sura.	
	5	Imp. Trajanus V.	Elxai a false Prophet, Author of a new Sect, arises. Epiph. Hæref. 19.
	6	L. Appius Maximus.	
	6	L. Licinius Sura II.	
102	7	P. Neratius Marcellus.	
103			
104			

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
105	Trajani. 7	T. Julius Candidus.	Bartholomæus Bishop of Edessa suffers Martyrdom; others place it, Ann. 109.
		8 A. Julius Quadratus.	
106	8	L. Ceionius Commodus Verus.	The Greek Menology mentions 11000 Christian Soldiers banished by Trajan into Armenia, and that 10000 of them were crucified upon Mount Ararat.
		9 L. Tullius Cerealis.	
107	9	C. Sotius Senecio IV.	The Third Persecution wherein Simeon Bishop of Jerusalem is crucified in the 120 year of his age.
		10 L. Licinius Sura III.	Ignatius Bishop of Antioch condemned, and sent to Rome to be thrown to wild Beasts.
108	10	Ap. Annius Trebonius Gallus.	Ignatius his bones are conveyed back to Antioch, and there solemnly interred.
		11 M. Atilius Bradua.	
109	11	A. Cornel Palma II.	Onesimus S. Paul's Disciple, whom the Martyrologies make Bishop of Ephesus, stoned at Rome, Feb. 16.
		12 C. Calvisius Tullus II.	Primus made Bishop of Alexandria.
110	12	Clodius Crispinus.	Evaristus succeeds Anacletus Bishop of Rome, though the Greeks, who make Cletus and Anacletus the same person, make him immediately to follow Clemens.
		13 Solenus Orfilus Hasta.	
111	13	L. Calpurnius Piso.	Justus dying Zacchæus succeeds in the See of Jerusalem.
		14 Vettius Rusticus Bolanus.	
112	14	Imp. Trajanus VI.	
		15 C. Julius Africanus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
113	Trajani 15	L. Publius Celsus.	
		16 C. Clodius Crispinus.	
114	16	Q. Ninnius Hasta.	
		17 P. Manlius Vopiscus.	
115	17	M. Valerius Messala.	The Jews at Alexandria, and about Cyrene in Egypt rebel, who are slain in great numbers.
		18 C. Popilius Carus Peto.	
116	18	Æmilius Ælianus.	Papias Bishop of Hierapolis sets on foot the Millenarian Doctrine.
		19 L. Antistius Vetus.	
117	19	Quinctius Niger.	
		20	
118	Adrian 2 ab Aug. 9. 5	1 T. Vipsianus Apronianus.	
		1 Imp. Adrianus II.	The Fourth Persecution raised against the Christians, reinforcing that which had been set on foot by Trajan.
119	2	T. Claudius Fuscus	
		2 Imp. Adrianus III.	Pope Evaristus martyred. He fate 9 years, 3 months, 10 days. He was succeeded by Alexander a Roman.
120	3	Q. Junius Rusticus.	Justus made Bishop of Alexandria.
		3 L. Catilius Severus.	The Christians severely persecuted at Rome, whereof many Martyrs, and more driven to hide themselves in the Cryptæ and Cœmeteria under ground.
121	4	T. Aurelius Fulvus, postea Imp. Antoninus.	
		4 M. Annius Verus II.	A great tumult at Alexandria about the Idol Apis found there.
122	5	L. Augur.	
		5 M. Acilius Aviola.	The Persecution rages in Asia, under the Government of Arrius Antoninus the Proconsul.
122	6	Corellius Panfa.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
123	Adriani 6	Q. Arrius Pætinus.	Adrian comes to Athens, and is initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. Quadratus Bishop of Athens, and Aristides present Apologies to the Emperour in behalf of the Christians.
	7	C. Ventidius Apronianus.	
124	7	M. Acilius Glabrio.	Serenius Granianus writes to the Emperour in favour of the Christians, by whose Rescript to M. Fundanus Proconsul of Asia (Granianus his successor) the proceedings against them are mitigated.
	8	C. Bellicius Torquatus.	
125	8	P. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus II.	
	9	Q. Vettius Aquilinus.	
126	9	Vesproni <sup>9</sup> Candid <sup>9</sup> Ver <sup>9</sup> II	Adrian revisits Athens, finishes and dedicates the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, and an Altar to himself.
	9	Ambiguus Bibulus. al. M. Loll. Pedius	
	10	Q. Jun. Lepidus.	
	10	Gallicanus.	
127	11	C. Cælius Titianus.	
	11	L. Nonius Asprenas Torquatus.	Aquila, a Kinsman of the Emperours, first turns Christian, then apostatizing to Judaism, translates the Old Testament into Greek.
128	12	M. Annius Libo.	
	12	Q. Juventius Celsus.	
129	13	Q. Julius Balbus.	
	13	Q. Fabius Catullinus.	Ælius Adrianus having repaired Jerusalem, calls it after his own name, Ælia. The Martyrdom of Alexander Bishop of Rome, after he had sat 10 years, 5 months, 20 days, to whom succeeded Sixtus a Roman.
130	14	M. Flavius Aper.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
131	Adriani. 14	Ser. Octavius Lænas Pontianus.	Hymenæus made Bishop of Alexandria, being the sixth Bishop of that See.
	15	M. Antonius Rufinus.	
132	15	Sentius Augurinus.	The Jews rebel against the Romans under the conduct of Barchochab an Impostor. Justin Martyr converted to Christianity about this time, or it may be, the following year.
	16	Arrius Severianus.	
133	16	Hiberus.	The Jews dispersed and overcome by the prudent Arts of Julius Severus the Roman General, though not fully suppressed till the following year, when Barchochab was executed.
	17	Jul. Silanus Sifenna.	
134	17	C. Julius Servilius Ursus Severianus.	Basilides the Hæresiarch makes himself famous at Alexandria.
	18	C. Vibius Juventius Verus.	
135	18	Pompeianus Lupercus.	Marcus, the first of the Gentile Converts, made Bishop of Jerusalem, all hitherto having been of the Circumcision.
	19	L. Junius Atticus Acilianus.	
136	19	L. Cæionius Commodus Verus.	Getulius, Amantius, Cerealis, and several others suffer Martyrdom.
	20	Sex. Vetulenus Pompeianus.	
137	20	L. Ælius Verus Cæsar II.	Phlegon the Trallian, formerly servant to the Emperour Adrian here ends his Book of Olympiads. Olym. 229. An. I.
	21	P. Cælius Balbinus Vibullius Pius.	
138	21	Sulpicius Camerinus.	
	Antoninus Pius Jul. I. 10	Quinct. Niger Magnus.	
139	1	Imp. Antoninus Pius II.	
	2	Bruttius Præfens.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
140	Antonini Pii. 2	Imp. Anton. Pius III.	Upon Sixtus his Martyrdom Telephorus is chosen Bishop of Rome, according to the Roman account. J. Martyr presents his first (usually put second) Apology for the Christians.
	3	M. Aurelius Cæsar.	
141		3 M. Peducæus Syloga Priscinus.	
	4	T. Hoenius Severus.	
142		4 L. Cuspius Rufinus.	About this time the most absurd and senseless Heretics, the Ophitæ, Cainitæ, and Sethiani arise.
	5	L. Statius Quadratus.	
143		5 C. Bellicius Torquatus.	
	6	T. Claudius Atticus Herodes.	
144		6 Lollianus Avitus.	Eumenes or Hymenæus Bishop of Alexandria dies, Marcus the seventh Bishop of that See succeeds.
	7	C. Gavius Maximus.	Valentinus the Heretic appears.
145		7 Imp. Anton. Pius IV.	
	8	M. Aurelius Cæsar II.	
146		8 Sex. Erucius Clarus II.	Marcion after his frequent recantations, again lapses into Heresy, which he propagates more industriously than before.
	9	Cn. Claudius Severus.	
147		9 M. Valerius Largus.	
	10	M. Valerius Messalinus.	
148		10 C. Bellicius Torquatus II.	
	11	M. Salvius Julianus II.	
149		11 Ser. Corneli <sup>9</sup> Scipio Orfit <sup>9</sup> .	Celadion succeeds as the eighth Bishop of Alexandria.
	12	Q. Nonius Priscus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
150	Anton. Pii. 12	Romulus Gallicanus.	
	13	Antistius Vetus.	
151		13 Sex. Quintilius Gordian <sup>9</sup> .	
	14	Sex. Quint. Maximus.	
152		14 Sex. Acilius Glabrio.	Pope Telephorus martyred, having sat 11 years, 9 months, 3 days. Petav. &c.
	15	C. Valerius Omollus Valerianus.	Hyginus succeeds.
153		15 Bruttius Præfens II.	
	16	M. Antonius Rufinus.	
154		16 L. Aurelius Cæsar.	* Anicetus according to the account of the Greeks succeeds about this time in the See of Rome, not long after which S. Polycarp comes thither: and this no doubt much truer than the computation of the Church of Rome.
	17	Sextilius Lateranus.	
155		17 C. Julius Severus.	
	18	M. Rufinus Sabinianus.	
156		18 Plautius Sylvanus.	Pope Hyginus martyred, after he had sat four years, wanting two days, to whom Pius succeeds. Petav. Ricciol. Briet. &c.
	19	Sentius Augurinus.	
157		19 Barbatus.	
	20	Regulus.	
158		20 Q. Fl. Tertullus.	
	21	Licinius Sacerdos.	
159		21 Plautius Quintillus.	
	22	Statius Priscus.	

\* In the Catalogue of the Bishops of Rome recorded by Optatus and S. Augustin, Anicetus is set before Pius: according to which account Anicetus his succession in that See, and consequently Polycarp coming to Rome, must be placed fifteen years sooner. See the life of S. Polycarp, Num. IV. p. 115.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
160	Anton. Pii. 22	T. Vibius Barus.	
	23	Ap. Annius Bradua.	
161	M. Aurelius L. Ælius Verus. 23 à 6. Martii. } 1	M. Aurelius Cæsar III. L. Ælius Verus Cæsar II.	
162	1	Q. Junius Rusticus.	Justin the Martyr presents his other Apology to the Emperour in behalf of the Christians. The Fifth Persecution begun.
	2	Vettius Aquilinus.	
163	2	L. Papirius Ælianus.	Justin suffered Martyrdom (probably about this time) at Rome, or at most, the next year.
164	3	Junius Pastor.	
	3	C. Julius Macrinus.	Marcus and Timotheus martyred at Rome.
165	4	L. Cornelius Celsus.	
	4	L. Arrius Pudens.	Upon Pope Pius his martyrdom, Anicetus is advanced into the Chair: though Eusebius and the Greeks according to their account, make his Pontificate Commence, Ann. Christ. 154. and accordingly fix the time of Polycarp's coming to Rome.
	5	M. Gavius Orfitus.	
166	5	Q. Servilius Pudens.	
	6	L. Fufidius Pollio.	
167	6	L. Aurelius Verus.	S. Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna suffers Martyrdom there, together with Germanicus and others.
	7	T. Numidius Quadratus.	
168	7	T. Junius Montanus.	Theophilus made Bishop of Antioch, who learnedly defends the cause of Christianity against the Gentiles, Eusebius refers it to the following year.
	8	L. Vettius Paulus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
169	M. Aurelius L. Ælius Verus. } 8 9	Sofius Priscus. Q. Cælius Apollinaris.	Gervasius and Protasius undergo Martyrdom about this time at Millain.
170	9	L. Julius Clarus.	Melito Bishop of Sardis, and Apollinaris Bishop of Hierapolis present their Apologetics to the Emperour for the Christians.
	10	M. Aurelius Cethegus.	
171	10	L. Septimius Severus II. al. I. Tiberius Sereus.	Montanus and his Accomplishes Authors of the new Prophecy, begin now more plainly to discover themselves, having craftily broached their errors some years before.
	11	Herennianus. al. C. Scoedius Natta.	
172	11	Claudius Maximus.	Tatian, heretofore Justin Martyr's Scholar, becomes author of the Sect, called Encratitæ.
	12	Cornelius Scipio Orfitus.	Bardefanes the Syrian infected with Valentinianism.
173	12	Claudius Severus.	Pope Anicetus crowned with Martyrdom, having been Bishop of Rome 8 years, 2 months, 7 days.
	13	T. Claudius Pompeianus.	Soter succeeds.
174	13	Annus Trebonius Gallus.	M. Aurelius his Victory over the Quadi and Marcomanni in Germany, gained by the Prayers of the Christian Legion.
	14	L. Flaccus.	
175	14	Calpurnius Piso.	
	15	M. Salvius Julianus.	
176	15	T. Vitrasius Pollio.	
	16	M. Flavius Aper.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
177	M. Aurel. 16	L. Aurel. Commodus Imp.	Soter being taken away by martyrdom, Eleutherus a Greek succeeds in the Church of Rome. Athenagoras the Christian Philosopher of Athens is now supposed to have presented his Apology.
	17	Plautius Quintillius.	
178		17 Vettius Rufus.	The foregoing year a Persecution raged horribly in France, wherein besides many others died Pothinus Bishop of Lyons, to whom succeeded Irenæus, the year following.
	18	Cornelius Scipio Orfitus.	
179		18 Imp. L. Aurelius Commodus II.	The Cataphrygian Hereſe greatly prevails.
	19	Vespronius Candidus Verus.	
180	Commodus } à Mart. 16. 5	19 Bruttius Præſens II.	Julianus created Bishop of Alexandria.
	1	Sex. Quintili Gordianus.	Pantænus a Christian Philosopher opens the Catechetical School at Alexandria.
181		1 Imp. Commodus III.	The Persecution against the Christians much abated.
	2	Antistius Burrhus.	
182		2 Petronius Mamertinus.	Theodotion of Pontus, first a Marcionite, then a Jew, translates the Old Testament into Greek.
	3	Trebellius Rufus.	The Temple of Serapis at Alexandria burnt down.
183		3 Imp. Commodus IV.	
	4	M. Aufidius Victorinus.	
184		4 M. Eggius Marullus ſeu Marcellus.	Commodus introduces the worship of Isis (formerly prohibited) into Rome.
	5	M. Papirius Ælianus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
185	Commodi 5	Triarius Maternus.	
	6	M. Atilius Metilius Bradua	
186		6 Imp. Commodus V.	About this time Lucius a Prince of Britain is said to have sent Letters to Pope Eleutherius to furnish him with Preachers to publish the Christian Faith in these parts. Origen born.
	7	M. Acilius Glabrio.	
187		7 Tullius ſeu Clodius Crispinus.	Apollonius a great Philosopher, and (as S. Hierom affirms) a Senator, pleads his own, and the cause of the Christian Religion before the Senate, for which he suffers Martyrdom.
	8	Papirius Ælianus.	
188		8 C. Allius Fuscianus.	The Capitol burnt by Lightning, which destroyed the adjacent buildings, especially the famous Libraries.
	9	Duillius Silanus.	
189		9 Junius Silanus.	Demetrius ordained Bishop of Alexandria, who ſate 43 years.
	10	Q. Servilius Silanus.	Serapion made Bishop of Antioch, this, or at others, the following year.
190		10 Imp. Commodus VI.	Commodus will have himself accounted Hercules, the son of Jupiter, and accordingly habits himself; with other extravagant instances of folly.
	11	Petronius Septimianus.	
191		11 Caſſius Apronianus.	Julian a Senator, and many others said to be martyred about this time.
	12	M. Attilius Metilius Bradua II.	
192		12 Imp. Commodus VII.	Pope Eleutherius having ſate 15 years and 23 days, dies; in whose room Victor an African succeeds.
	13	P. Helvius Pertinax.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
193	<i>Pertinax</i> à 1 Januar.	Q. Sotius Falco.	
	<i>Did. Julian</i> , à Mart. 28.	C. Julius Clarus.	
	<i>Severus</i> } à Maii 11. } I		
194	<i>Severi</i> I	Imp. Severus II.	Clemens Alexandrinus Pantænus his Scholar and successor in the Catechetical School, was famous about this time.
		2 Clodius Albinus Cæsar II.	Pope Victor excommunicates Theodorus the Heretic.
		2 Q. Fl. Tertullus.	Narcissus made Bishop of Jerusalem. He is famous for miracles and an holy life.
195		3 T. Fl. Clemens.	
		3 Cn. Domitius Dexter.	Pope Victor revives the controversy about the celebration of Easter, threatens to excommunicate the Asiatic Churches, for which he is severely reprov'd by many, and especially by Irenæus.
196		4 L. Valerius Messala Priscus.	Several Synods holden to this purpose.
		4 Ap. Claudius Lateranus.	The Jews and Samaritans rebel, and are overcome, and their Religion strictly forbidden. Severus triumphs for that Victory.
		5 M. Marius Rufinus.	
197		5 Tib. Aterius Saturninus.	
		6 C. Annii Trebonius Gallus	
198		6 P. Cornelius Anulinus.	Severus creates his son Antoninus Emperor, his son Geta Cæsar, and bestows a large Donative upon the Soldiers, which gave occasion to Tertullian to write his Book De Corona.
		7 M. Aufidius Fronto.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
200	<i>Severi</i>	7 Tib. Claudius Severus.	The Christians at Rome severely treated by Plautianus Prefect of the City, and in Afric by Saturninus the Proconsul.
		8 C. Aufidius Victorinus.	Tertullian writes his Apologetic either this, or the following year.
201		8 L. Annii Fabianus.	Pope Victor after 9 years, and 2 months, being martyred, leaves the place to Zephyrinus.
		9 M. Nonius Mucianus.	Tertullian presents his Discourse to the President Scapula.
202		9 Imp. Severus III.	The Sixth Persecution; wherein Leonidas, Origen's Father suffers Martyrdom at Alexandria: Irenæus at Lyons in France.
		10 Imp. Antoninus Caracalla.	
203		10 P. Septimius Geta.	Origen a very Youth sets up a Grammar School at Alexandria, and becomes famous.
		11 L. Septimius Plautianus.	At 18 years of Age he is preferred by Demetrius the Bishop to be Instructor of the Catechumens.
204		11 L. Fabius Chilo Septimius.	The Secular Games celebrated at Rome, upon which occasion, probably, Tertullian wrote his Book De Spectaculis, and it may be, that De Idololatria.
		12 M. Annii Libo.	
205		12 Imp. Antoninus Caracalla II.	
		13 P. Septimius Geta Cæsar.	
206		13 M. Nummius Annii Albinus.	Origen makes the famous attempt upon himself, in making himself an Eunuch.
		14 Fulvius Æmilianus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
207	Severi 14	M. Flavius Aper.	Tertullian writes against the Marcionites; and his Book De Pallio, and was then (probably) made Presbyter of Carthage. About this time Minucius Felix is supposed to publish his Dialogue called Octavius.
	15	Q. Allius Maximus.	
208	15	Imp. Antoninus Caracalla III.	
	16	P. Septimius Geta Caesar II.	
209	16	T. Claudius Pompeianus.	
	17	Lollianus Avitus.	
210	17	M. Acilius Faustinus.	
	18	C. Cæsonius Macer Rufinianus.	
211	18	Q. Epidius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus.	
	Antoninus Caracalla à 4 Febr. } 1	Pomponius Bassus.	
212	1	M. Pompeius Asper.	Alexander a Cappadocian Bishop, made Bishop of Jerusalem.
	2	P. Asper.	
213	2	Imp. Caracalla IV.	
	3	P. Cælius Balbinus.	
214	3	Silius Messala.	A disputation held at Rome between Caius and Proclus one of Montanus his Disciples; whereupon Pope Zephyrin excluded Proclus and Tertullian communion with the Church of Rome, which occasioned Tertullians starting aside to Montanus his Party.
	4	Q. Aquilius Sabinus.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
215	Antonini 4	Æmilius Latus.	Tertullian writes against the Orthodox, against whom he inveighs under the name of Psychici.
	5	Anicius Cerealis.	
216	5	Q. Aquilius Sabinus II.	
	6	Sex. Corn. Anulinus.	
217	6	Bruttius Præfens	A Greek Translation of the Bible, called the Fifth Edition, found in a Hogs-head at Jericho, inserted by Origen into his Octapla.
	Macrinus & Diadumen. F. à 10. April. } 1	Extrictus.	
218	2	Anton. Diadumenus Caesar.	
	Antoninus Elagabalus à 7 Jun. } 1	Adventus.	
219	1	Imp. Elagabalus II.	Pope Zephyrin dies. He sat 22 years, and so many days. Succeeded by Callistus.
	2	Licinius Sacerdos.	
220	2	Imp. Elagabalus III.	Julius Africanus a famous Christian Writer, sent upon an Embassy to the Emperour, for the rebuilding of Nicopolis (anciently Emmaus) a City in Palestin.
	3	M. Aurelius Eutychianus Comazon.	
221	3	Annius Gratus.	
	4	Claudius Seleucus.	
222	4	Imp. Elagabalus IV.	Hippolytus Bishop of Portus composes his Paschal Canon.
	Alexander Mam. à Martii 6. } 1	M. Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
	<i>Alexandri</i>		
223	1 Maximus.		<i>Among the famous men of this time was Ulpian the Lawyer, who collected all the Imperial Edicts formerly published against the Christians.</i>
	2 Papirius Ælianus.		
	2 Claudius Julianus.		<i>The Christians cruelly persecuted at Rome at the instigation of Ulpian the great Lawyer.</i>
224	3 Claudius Crispinus.		<i>Pope Callistus martyred, after he had sat 5 years, 1 month, 12 days. Urban chosen in his room.</i>
	3 L. Turpilius Dexter.		
225	4 M. Macius Rufus.		
	4 Imp. Alexander II.		
226	5 C. Quinctilius Marcellus.		
	5 D. Cælius Balbinus II.		<i>Hippolytus Bishop of Portus suffers Martyrdom.</i>
227	6 M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus.		
	6 Vettius Modestus.		<i>Origen ordained Presbyter by Alexander Bishop of Jerusalem, and Theodotus of Cæsarea.</i>
228	7 Probus.		
	7 Imp. Alexander III.		<i>The Sixth Greek Edition found at Nicopolis.</i>
229	8 Dio Cassius historicus.		
	8 Calpurnius Agricola.		<i>Origen prosecuted, and Synodically condemned by Demetrius Bishop of Alexandria.</i>
230	9 Clementinus.		

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
	<i>Alexandri</i>		
231	9 T. Claudius Pompeianus.		<i>Origen resigns up his Catechetical School to his Scholar Heraclas, who is soon after chosen Bishop of Alexandria.</i>
	10 Felicianus.		<i>Pope Urban beheaded. He is succeeded by Pontianus.</i>
232	10 Julius Lupus.		<i>Origen departs from Alexandria, and fixes his residence at Cæsarea in Palestine.</i>
	11 Maximus.		<i>Plotinus becomes Ammonius his Scholar at Alexandria.</i>
233	11 Maximus II.		
	12 Ovinus Paternus.		
	12 Maximus III.		
234	13 Urbanus.		<i>Pontianus Bishop of Rome banished into Sardinia.</i>
	13 L. Catilius Severus.		<i>Maximinus raises the Seventh Persecution against the Christians.</i>
235	14 L. Ragonius Urinatius Quintianus.		<i>Origen writes his exhortation to Martyrdom.</i>
	<i>Maximinus à 18 Martii</i>		<i>Pope Pontianus suffers martyrdom in Sardinia..</i>
	1 Imp. Maximinus.		<i>Anterus succeeds in the Chair.</i>
236	2 C. Julius Africanus.		<i>Anterus scarce having possessed his place one month, is slain; and Fabian elected in his room.</i>
	2 P. Tirtius Perpetuus.		
237	<i>Pupienus Balbinus à Martii 26.</i>		
	3 L. Ovinus Rusticus Cornelianus.		
	1 M. Ulpius Crinitus.		
238	<i>Gordianus à Mense Martii.</i>		
	1 C. Nonius Proculus Pontianus.		

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
239	Gordiani 1	Imp. Gordianus.	Zebinus Bishop of Antioch dies; Babylas is chosen to that See.
	2	M. Acilius Aviola.	
240		2 Vettius Sabinus.	About this time Origen is thought to have taken his second journey to Athens, where he finished his Commentaries upon Ezekiel.
	3	Venustus.	
241		3 Imp. Gordianus II.	
	4	T. Claudius Pompeianus II.	
	4	C. Aufidius Atticus.	
242		5 C. Aferius Prætextatus.	
	5	C. Julius Africanus.	Origen is sent for into Arabia, where he disputes with, and converts Beryllus from his un-sound and erroneous opinions.
243		6 Æmilius Pappus.	
	6	Fulvius Æmilianus.	
244	Philippus à mense April. } 1	Peregrinus.	
		1 Imp. Philippus.	
245		2 Tib. Fabius Titianus.	
		2 Bruttius Præfens.	Dionysius, one of Origen's Scholars, and successors in the Schola Kατηχητικῶν, made Bishop of Alexandria.
246		3 Nummius Albinus.	
247		3 Imp. Philippus II.	The Annus Milleſimus ab U.C. begun this, ended the following year, and celebrated by the Emperour with all imaginable solemnity and magnificence.
		4 M. Philippus F. Cæsar.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
248	Philippi 4	Imp. Philippus III.	Cyprian chosen Bishop of Carthage.
	5	M. Julius Philippus F. II.	
249	5 6	Fulvius Æmilianus II.	A tumult raised at Alexandria by an Impostor, gives occasion to a preliminary Persecution against the Christians there.
	Decius à Maio. } 1	Vettius Aquilinus.	
250		1 Imp. Messius Decius.	The Eighth Persecution raised by Decius. S. Cyprian in retirement. Pope Fabian martyred. After whose decease a vacancy in that See for above a year, Novatian endeavouring to thrust himself in.
		2 Annius Maximus Gratus.	
251		2 Imp. Decius II.	Great Schisms in the African Churches about the lapses. Cornelius elected Bishop of Rome.
	Gallius & Volusianus F. à Dec. } 3	Q. Etruscus Decius F. Cæsar.	
252		1 Imp. Trebonianus Gallus II.	The Novatian Doctrines condemned in a Synod of 60 Bishops at Rome. The Emperours renew the Persecution begun under Decius. A great mortality throughout the World.
		2 C. Vibius Volusianus.	
253		2 C. Vibius Volusianus II.	Cornelius first banished, then recalled, cruelly beaten, and at last beheaded. Lucius succeeds him.
	Valerianus cum Gallieno F. à Dec. } 3	M. Valerius Maximus.	
254		1 Imp. Licinius Valerianus II.	Origen dies, and is buried at Tyre. Valerian the Emperour at first a great Patron of the Christians.
		2 Imp. Gallienus.	
255		2 Imp. Valerianus III.	Pope Lucius after one year, and three months suffers Martyrdom. Stephen a Roman chosen to be his successor.
		3 Imp. Gallienus II.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
256	Valeriani 3	M. Valerius Maximus.	<i>The great controversy about the rebaptizing such as had been baptized by Heretics hotly ventilated.</i>
	4	M. Acilius Glabrio.	<i>The heats between Cyprian and Stephen of Rome.</i>
257	4	Imp. Valerianus IV.	<i>The Ninth Persecution begun by Valerian.</i>
	5	Imp. Gallienus III.	<i>Sabellius confounds the persons in the Trinity, and spreads his Heresie.</i>
258	5	M. Aurelius Memmius Fuscus.	<i>Pope Stephen slain Aug. 2. which others refer to the foregoing year. Sixtus succeeds.</i>
	6	Pomponius Bassus.	<i>S. Cyprian beheaded at Carthage, Sept. 14.</i>
259	Gallienus solus, capto Valer. 6	Fulvius Æmilianus al. Gallienus IV.	<i>Pope Sixtus and his Deacon Laurentius receive the Crown of Martyrdom.</i>
	7	Pomponius Bassus II. al. Valerianus jun.	<i>Dionysius succeeds in the See of Rome.</i>
260	7	Cornelius Secularis.	<i>Paul of Samosata made Bishop of Antioch.</i>
	8	Junius Donatus.	<i>Gallienus stops the Persecution against the Christians.</i>
261	8	Imp. Gallienus IV.	<i>Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria writes to Pope Dionysius to vindicate himself from the suspicion of Sabellianism charged upon him.</i>
	9	Volusianus.	
262	9	Imp. Gallienus V.	<i>Æmylian attempts to make himself Emperour, and besieges Alexandria, where the Christians are reduced to great straits.</i>
	10	App. Pompeius Faustinus.	
263	10	Nummius Albinus.	
	11	Maximus Dexter.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
264	Gallieni 11	Imp. Gallienus VI.	
	12	Æmilius Saturninus.	
265	12	Valerianus Cæsar II.	<i>A Synod held at Antioch against Paulus Samosatenus the Bishop of it.</i>
	13	L. Cæsonius Lucillus Macer Rufinianus.	<i>Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria, and Gregory Bishop of Neocaesarea depart this life.</i>
266	13	Imp. Gallienus VII.	<i>Hymenæus ordained Bishop of Jerusalem.</i>
	14	Sabinillus.	
267	14	Ovinus Paternus.	
	15	Arcefilaus.	
268	15	Ovinus Paternus II.	<i>Claudius the Emperour persecutes the Christians at Rome.</i>
	Claudius } 1	Marinianus.	
	à Mart. 21.	1	Imp. Aur. Claudius.
269		2	Ovinus Paternus III.
		2	Flavius Antiochianus.
270	Aurelianus } 1	Furius Orfitus.	<i>Another Synod held at Antioch, wherein Paul of Samosata is condemned and deposed, and Domnus placed in his room.</i>
	à Mart.	1	Imp. Aurelianus.
271		2	Pomponius Bassus al. C. Jul. Capitolinus.
		2	Quictus.
272		3	Voldumianus.

332 <i>A Chronological Table.</i>			
<i>Ann. Chr.</i>	<i>Roman Emperours.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>
273	<i>Aureliani</i> 3	M. Claudius Tacitus.	
	4	Furius Placidianus.	
274	4	Imp. Aurelianus II.	<i>Zenobia Queen of the Palmyreni, a Jewess, and (if some might be credited) a Christian, overcome by Aurelian, and carried in triumph to Rome.</i>
	5	C. Julius Capitolinus.	
275	<i>Tacitus</i> } à 25. Sept.	5 Imp. Aurelianus III.	<i>Pope Felix crowned with martyrdom, after he had sitted 4 years and 5 months. His successor was Eutychianus a Tufcan.</i>
		1 T. Nonius Marcellinus.	
276	<i>Florianus</i> } April 12.	1 Imp. M. Cl. Tacitus II.	
	<i>Probus</i> à } Jul. 1.	1 Fulvius Æmilianus.	
277		1 Imp. Aurelius Probus.	<i>The Manichæan Heresie springs up, planted by Manes a Persian, originally called Curbicum, the Author of that wild and execrable Sect.</i>
		2 Anicius Paulinus al. M. Furius Lupus.	
278		2 Imp. Probus II.	<i>Anatolius Bishop of Laodicea, eminent for his skill in Philosophy and Humane Learning. He had formerly been Colleague with Theotecnus Bishop of Cæsarea in Palæstin.</i> <i>Cyrillus the 18 Bishop of Antioch.</i>
		3 M. Furius Lupus al. Virius.	
279		3 Imp. Probus III.	
		4 Ovinus Paternus al. L. Junius Tiberianus.	
280		4 Junius Messala.	
		5 Gratus.	

333 <i>A Chronological Table.</i>			
<i>Ann. Chr.</i>	<i>Roman Emperours.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>
281	<i>Probi</i> 5	Imp. Probus IV.	<i>Theonas created Bishop of Alexandria, the 15 Bishop of that Church.</i>
	6	C. Junius Tiberianus.	
282	6	7 Imp. Probus V.	
	<i>Caius cum FF. Numeriano, Carino</i> } Aug. 12.	1 Pomponius Victorinus.	
283		1 Imp. M. Carus.	
		2 M. A. Carinus Cæsar.	
284		2 Imp. Carinus.	<i>Eutychianus Bishop of Rome crowned with Martyrdom, Decemb. 8. His successor was Caius, a Dalmatian, and a Kinsman (as is said) of Dioclesian.</i>
	<i>Dioclesianus</i> } à Sept. 17.	1 Imp. Numerianus.	
285		1 Imp. Dioclesianus II.	<i>The Dioclesian Æra begins here.</i>
		2 Aristobulus.	
286		2 Maximus Junius Priscillianus.	<i>* The Thebæan Legion under the command of Mauricius, being sent to attend upon Maximian in his expedition against the Bagaudæ, and refusing to do sacrifice, are first decimated, and then universally destroyed at Ocodurus in France.</i>
		3 Vettius Aquilinus.	
287		3 Imp. Dioclesianus III.	<i>Dioclesian and Maximian write to the Proconsul of Afric to punish the Manichees, to burn their Books, execute their Persons, and confiscate their Estates.</i>
		4 Imp. Maximianus Herculeus.	

\* Though this seems the most proper period for the Martyrdom of the Thebæan Legion when Maximian was sent against the Rebels in France; yet is it said in the Acts of their Martyrdom, that in their journey out of the East, they came to Rome, and were confirmed in the Faith by Marcellinus then Bishop of it. Which if so, they could not suffer sooner then *Ann. Chr. CCXCVI.* when Marcellinus succeeded in that Sec.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
288	<i>Dioclesiani</i> 4	M. Aurelius Maximus.	
	5	Pomponius Januarius.	
	5	Annius Ballus.	
289	6	L. Ragonius Quinctianus.	
	6	Imp. Dioclesianus IV.	Tharacus, Probus, and Andronicus suffer Martyrdom at Tartus in Cilicia.
290	7	Imp. Maximianus Hercules II.	
	7	C. Junius Tiberianus.	
291	8	Cassius Dio.	
	8	Africanus Hannibalianus.	
292	9	M. Aur. Asclepiodotus.	
	9	Imp. Dioclesianus V.	Dioclesian assumes the title of Lord, challenges divine honours, and suffers himself to be adored as God.
293	10	Imp. Maximianus III.	
	10	Constantius Chlorus Cæsar.	
294		Galerius Maximianus Cæsar.	
	11	Nummius Tuscus.	
295		Annius Cornelius Anulinus.	
	12	Imp. Dioclesianus VI.	Caius Bishop of Rome martyred April 22.
296		Constantius Cæsar II.	Marcellinus a Roman succeeds in the Government of that Church, who in the Dioclesian Persecution lapsed and sacrificed to Idols, though recovering he died a Martyr.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
297	<i>Dioclesiani</i> 13	Imp. Maximianus Hercules V.	
	14	Galerius Cæsar II.	
298	14	Anicius Faustus.	Zabdas ordained the 27 Bishop of Jerusalem.
	15	Severus Gallus.	
	15	Imp. Dioclesianus VII.	
299		Imp. Maximianus Hercules VI.	
	16	Constantius Chlorus Cæsar III.	The Christians at Rome harassed out in working at Dioclesian's Baths, most of whom, when the Work was finished, were put to death, though the Tenth Persecution did not universally begin till three years after, Ann. Chr. 303. Diocles. 19.
300	17	Galerius Armentarius Cæsar III.	

F I N I S.